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THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EDITED AND CONTINUED

BY

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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,

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PREFACE.

The reign of Akbar, which the Fifth Volume left unfinished, is in this volume brought to a close. Copious Extracts have been drawn from the great *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, a work as yet but little known to the European reader except by vague reputation. Some Extracts relating to the closing years of Akbar's reign have also been taken from the continuation of the *Akbar-náma* by 'Ináyatu-lla. Another and smaller *Akbar-náma* by Shaikh Illáhdád, otherwise called Faizí Sirhindí, has also been laid under contribution; but it does not fulfil the expectations which had been formed of it, as it proves to be little more than a compilation from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and the greater work of Abú-l Fazl. Some curious and interesting personal details have been derived from the Memoirs of Asad Beg, an officer in Akbar's service. His statements place the Imperial government in an unfavourable light, and are far from exalting the personal character of the monarch. The original writers upon the life and times of Akbar may now be considered as exhausted, for their writings have all been diligently searched, and there cannot remain much to be yet gleaned.

A considerable portion of the volume is occupied with notices published by Sir H. Elliot in his original Volume I., and all the contents of that publication have now been re-printed.

The history of the reign of Jahángír depends almost entirely on the Memoirs written by himself or under his direction; for although there are other professed historians of the reign, they mainly draw their information from the Memoirs, and rarely venture upon an independent statement. It has long been known that there were different works, claiming to be Autobiographies of Jahángír. The copious Extracts which are given in this volume leave little room for doubt as to which must have been the more approved and authentic version.

The Note in the Appendix, on the Early Use of Gunpowder in India, is a reprint, with some alterations and additions by Sir H. Elliot himself. The Comments on the Institutes of Jahángír are entirely his own work. Two other Notes were prepared under his direction and superintendence. Sir H. Elliot's notice of Firishta's great history appears in this volume, and the Editor has taken the opportunity of supplying an oft-expressed want, by giving a complete translation of the Introduction to that voluminous work.

The following is a list of the articles in this volume with the names of the respective writers:—

XLII.—Akbar-náma of Abú-l Fazl—Editor.
XLIII.—Takmíla-i Akbar-náma—"Lieutenant" Chalmers.
XLIV.—Akbar-náma of Faizí Sirhindí—Editor and "Ensign" F. Mackenzie.
XLV.—Wáki'át-i Shaikh Faizí—"Lieutenant" Prichard.
XLVI.—Wikáya of Asad Beg—B. W. Chapman, Esq., B.C.S.
XLVII.—Tárikh-i Hakkí—Reprint from old volume.
XLVIII.—Zubdatu-t Tawáríkh ,, ,,
XLIX.—Rauzatu-t Táhirín ,, ,,
L.—Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh ,, ,,

LI.—Táríkh-i Firishta—Reprint from old volume.
LII.—Ma-ásir-i Rahímí ,, ,,
LIII.—Anfa'u-l Akhbár ,, ,,
LIV.—Táríkh-i Salím Sháhí or Túzak-i Jahángírí—Major Price.
LV.—Wáki'át-i Jahángírí—Sir H. M. Elliot, Editor, and others.
LVI.—Tatimma-i Wáki'át-i Jahángírí—Editor.
LVII.—Ikbál-námá—Editor.
LVIII.—Ma-ásir-i Jahángírí—Sir H. M. Elliot and Editor.
LIX.—Intikháb-i Jahángír Sháhí—Sir H. M. Elliot and a *munshí*.
LX.—Subh-i Sádik—Sir H. M. Elliot.

APPENDIX.

A.—Early Use of Gunpowder in India—Reprint from old volume.
B.—Extracts from a work of 'Abdu-l-Hakk Dehlawí—Major A. R. Fuller.
C.—Comments on the Institutes of Jahángír—Sir H. M. Elliot.
D.—Translations from *Shash Fat'h-i Kángrá*—A *munshí* and Sir H. M. Elliot.
E.—Translation of the Introduction to Firishta's History—Editor.
F.—Bibliographical Notices—Reprint from old volume.

ADDENDUM TO VOL. IV.

The following paragraph ought to have been inserted in page 228 at the end of Sir H. M. Elliot's notice of the Memoirs of Bábar. But in arranging the fragmentary copy of the article, part of which was MS. and part print, the passage was accidentally omitted—

"Almost all the above remarks have been taken from Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. pp. 119, 122, and the *Edinburgh Review*, No. xci. Article 2."

ERRATA IN VOL. VI.

Page 8, six lines from bottom, *for* "translation," *read* "translations."
,, 181. Note at foot, *read:* "Some Extracts from another work," and see p. 483.

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HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

XLII.

AKBAR-NÁMA

OF

SHAIKH ABU'-L FAZL.

[Abú-l Fazl 'Allámí was the son of Shaikh Mubárak, son of Shaikh Khizr, who emigrated from Sind to Hindústán. Shaikh Mubárak was born at Nágor, and at an early age gave evidence of great intellectual powers. He became one of the most learned men of the time, and was conspicuous during the reign of Akbar for his great erudition and his liberal opinions on religious matters. He had several sons, two of whom rose to the greatest eminence and celebrity. The eldest, Shaikh Abú-l Faiz, better known as Faizí, was the most popular poet of the time. He was a great favourite and the constant companion of Akbar, who gave him the title of "Prince of Poets." His compositions are still held in very high estimation, as second only to those of Amír Khusrú, the acknowledged chief of Indian poets.

Abú-l Fazl was the second son, and was born on the 14th January, 1551. He was educated under his father's care, and was a devoted student. His range of reading was extensive, and before the age of twenty he had obtained the reputation of being a deep and critical scholar. His attainments afterwards gained for him the high-sounding title of *'Allámí*.

Faizí's poems early attracted the attention of the Emperor, who invited the young poet to his Court while he was engaged in the siege of Chítor, in the twelfth year of the reign. Faizí soon became an established favourite, and enjoyed great influence. By his means Abú-l Fazl was introduced at Court in his seventeenth year. His abilities were immediately recognized, and every year he grew in favour and in power, until he rose to the office of Prime Minister, and became a *mansabdár* of 4000. In the position of courtier and minister he enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the Emperor, and he discharged his duties, both as a civilian and a soldier, with distinguished ability and success. In the following pages some passages will be found relating to his services in the Dakhin, and an incident connected with the siege of Ásír deserves to be here recorded to his honour. Bahádur Khán, the holder of this fortress, was desirous of gaining the favour of Abú-l Fazl, hoping by his influence to avert the Emperor's displeasure. He therefore sent him some rich presents. Abú-l Fazl returned the presents with the following statement: "I have made a vow not to accept presents till four conditions are fulfilled. 1. Friendship. 2. That I should not value the gift too highly. 3. That I should not have been anxious to get a present. 4. Necessity to accept it. Now, supposing that the first three are satisfied in the present case, the favour of the Emperor has extinguished every desire in me of accepting gifts from others."

Both Faizí and Abú-l Fazl imbibed the liberal opinions of their father, and carried them to greater extremes. They were reviled by the faithful as heterodox, as apostates, as heretics, as free-thinkers, as perverters of the truth and deceivers of the faithful. Akbar's tolerance, his early doubts, and his inquiries into the principles of other religions, had shown themselves before the brothers were introduced at Court. But if they did not kindle the fire, they fanned it and kept it alive. In them the Emperor found congenial minds, with feelings and opinions similar to but more decided than his own. With them he

held frequent converse, and indulged his partiality for theological discussion. The result was that he and they, mutually influencing each other, progressed through various phases of scepticism and credulity, until they finally arrived at the rejection of Islám, and the establishment of the "Divine Faith," described as "Divine Monotheism." At the head of this new religion stood Akbar himself; next after him came Abú-l Fazl and Faizí.

Prince Salím, afterwards the Emperor Jahángír, had a great dislike of Abú-l Fazl. The minister served his master too faithfully, and thwarted the ambitious views of the heir so successfully, as to make himself an object of hatred. "He was no friend of mine," wrote Jahángír in his Memoirs, and he took an opportunity to remove the man he feared and hated. The Prince had more than once shown signs of rebellion, and of an intention to assume independence. In the forty-seventh year of his father's reign his ambitious designs displayed themselves more distinctly, and excited much distrust in the mind of the Emperor. At this time Abú-l Fazl was in command in the Dakhin, and Akbar, desiring the support and counsel of his trusty minister, sent him an urgent recall. Abú-l Fazl obeyed the summons immediately, and set out for Ágra with only a slender escort. This afforded the opportunity for making an end of him. A Bundela Rájá, named Bír Singh, was incited by the Prince to waylay the minister, and kill him. Abú-l Fazl had warning of his danger, but refused to turn aside. On Friday, the 4th Rabí'u-l awwal (12th August, 1602), he was attacked by the Bundela, about six *kos* from Narwar, and after a short but gallant resistance he fell dead, and his head was sent as an acceptable offering to the Prince. Early in the reign of Jahángír, the murderer received high promotion, and Jahángír in his Memoirs avows and justifies his having procured the murder by promise of reward. Akbar's grief at the death of his minister was unbounded, and he took active measures to bring Bír Singh to punishment. The murderer was hunted from place to place,

and had several hair-breadth escapes; but the death of the Emperor put an end to his danger, and opened the road to reward and honour.

The author of the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* writes as follows in his Memoirs:

"It has often been asserted that Abú-l Fazl was an infidel. Some say he was a Hindú, or a fire-worshipper, or a free thinker; and some go still further and call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other *Súfis*, he claimed for himself a position above the law of the Prophet. There is no doubt that he was a man of lofty character, and desired to live at peace with all men. He never said anything improper. Abuse, stoppages of wages, fines, absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household. If he appointed a man whom he afterwards found to be useless, he did not remove him, but kept him as long as he could; for he used to say that, if he dismissed him, people would accuse him of want of penetration in having appointed an unsuitable agent. On the day when the sun entered Aries, he inspected his whole household and took stock, keeping the inventory with himself, and burning last year's books. He also gave his whole wardrobe to his servants, with the exception of his trousers, which were burnt in his presence.

"He had an extraordinary appetite. It is said that, exclusive of water and soup, he consumed daily twenty-two *sírs* of food. His son 'Abdu-r Rahmán used to sit at table as *safarchi* (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance, and both watched to see if Abú-l Fazl would eat twice of one and the same dish. If he did, the dish was sent up again the next day. If anything appeared tasteless, Abú-l Fazl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abú-l Fazl was in the Dakhin, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent, 1000 rich dishes were daily served up and distributed among the *amírs;* and near it another large tent was

pitched for all-comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and *khichrí* was cooked all day, and was served out to any one that applied for it.

"As a writer, Abú-l Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand, and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other *munshís;* and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods, are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate him."

Other native writers have expressed similar opinions, and Mr. Blochmann, to whom the above translation is owing, says, "It would be almost useless to add to this encomium on Abú-l Fazl's style. 'Abdu-lla, King of Bukhárá, said that he was more afraid of Abú-l Fazl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as the great *munshí.* His letters are studied in all *madrasas*; and though a beginner may find them difficult and perplexing, they are perfect models. But a great familiarity, not only with the Persian language, but also with Abú-l Fazl's style, is required to make the reading of any of his works a pleasure. His composition stands unique, and though everywhere studied, he cannot be, and has not been, imitated." Yet attention may be called to the just criticism recorded by Ináyatullah, the author of the continuation of the *Akbar-náma*, who says that the later volumes of this work were considered more laboured and abstruse than the first.[1] The style is certainly more complicated and ambitious, and many unusual and even foreign words are employed, so that unwearied attention is required to seize and follow up the meaning of the author.

Abú-l Fazl was author of several works of repute. On his introduction to the Emperor, he presented a Commentary on a *Surat* of the Kurán, which he called *A'yatu-l Kúrsí.* But Badáúní does not fail to record that "people said it was written by his father." The *Maktúbátu-l 'Allámí*, more commonly called *Inshá-i Abú-l Fazl*, is a collection of letters written by Abú-l

[1] See *infrà* next Article.

Fazl to kings and chiefs. The *Ayár-i Dánish* is a translation of the Arabic *Kalila o Damna*. He was also the author of some smaller and less known works. The greatest of his productions was the *Akbar-náma*, in two volumes, and the *A'ín-i Akbari*, which is considered to be its third volume. The *A'ín*, or Institutes, may, however, be regarded as a distinct work. A translation of it by Gladwin was published in the year 1800; but although a very meritorious production for the time, it was imperfect and often incorrect. The first volume of a new translation by Mr. Blochmann, of the Calcutta Madrasa, has just been published. It is a precise and admirable version, and is enriched with numerous notes, which testify to the deep learning and great research of their author. It includes also a series of memoirs of all the nobles and notable persons of Akbar's Court. When the work is complete, the translation will be well worthy to rank with the original. The purely historical part of the *Akbar-náma* comprises in the first volumes an account of the ancestors of Akbar from Tímúr to Bábar. It has a full history of the reign of Humáyún, of which a few Extracts will appear in the following pages. The history of the reign of Akbar is given in full, year by year, from the accession of the Emperor to the end of the forty-sixth year of the reign, A.D. 1602. Many Extracts have been taken from this part of the work.

The *Akbar-náma* enjoys a much higher reputation in India than in Europe. The passage above quoted from the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* is a fair and temperate expression of Oriental judgment. Sir Henry Elliot, whose opinion coincides with that expressed by Elphinstone, and adopted by Morley, gives an unfavourable verdict. He says, "The authority of the *Akbar-náma* is not rated very high in Europe, and Abú-l Fazl is not for a moment to be compared, either in frankness or simplicity, with Comines, Sully, Clarendon and other ministers who have written contemporary history; for though he was a man of enlarged views and extraordinary talents, yet, as Elphinstone remarks, he was a professed rhetorician, and is still the model of the unnatural style which is

so much admired in India. He was, besides, a most assiduous courtier, eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes, and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested. His dates and his general statements of events are valuable; but he requires constant attention, not so much to guard against his barefaced partiality, as against the prejudice which he draws on his favourites by his fawning and fulsome adulation of them, and against the suspicions which he excites by his dishonest way of telling a story, even in cases where the action related was innocent or excusable. His narrative is florid, feeble and indistinct, overloaded with commonplace reflections and pious effusions, generally ending in a compliment to his patron. 'Every event that had a tendency to take from his goodness, wisdom, or power, is passed over or mis-stated, and a uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akbar disappear, and it is from other authors that we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted. The gross flattery of a book written by one so well acquainted with Akbar's disposition, and submitted, it appears, to his own inspection, leaves an impression of the vanity of that prince, which is almost the only blot on his otherwise admirable character.'"[1]

A careful examination of the whole of the book, and the translating of many passages, compel the Editor of this work to withhold his assent from this unqualified condemnation. It is true that in certain passages Abú-l Fazl attributes to Akbar a prescience which approaches to prophecy and powers almost supernatural; but, as Price observes, his veneration for the Emperor amounted almost to adoration. Apart from these occasional blemishes, his faults are those of the rhetorician rather than of the flatterer, and his style ought to be judged by an Oriental standard, not by a contrast with the choicest of Euro-

[1] This is quoted from Elphinstone.

pean memoirs. But though the Editor had arrived at this judgment, he might have hesitated to express it here, had it not been confirmed by the independent opinion of a competent authority. In the preface to his *A'ín-i Akbarí* but just arrived in England, Mr. Blochmann says: "Abú-l Fazl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery, and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study of the *Akbar-náma* will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we compare his works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that while he praises, he does so infinitely less, and with much more grace and dignity, than any other Indian historian or poet. No native writer has ever accused him of flattery; and if we bear in mind that all Eastern works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the whole duty of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank mass of flattery, at the side of which modern encomiums look like withered leaves, we may pardon Abú-l Fazl when he praises because he finds a true hero."

Major Price has given, in his "Retrospect of Mahommedan History," a copious abstract of the *Akbar-náma* for the interval between Tímúr and Akbar. He has also translated elsewhere the account of the capture of Chítor. Major Stewart has translated the account of the taking of Surat. There is in MS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society an abridged translation of the whole work by "Lieut. Chambers, of the Madras Army." This translation was used by Elphinstone for the purposes of his History; and the Editor of this work has had the benefit of it during a portion of the time that he has been at work upon the *Akbar-náma*. The translation of the Extracts which follow this have all been made by the Editor.

A lithographed edition of the *Akbar-náma*, in three quarto volumes, was printed at Lucknow in 1867, at the expense of the Rájá of Pattiála. It is a handsome and costly work, and it is greatly to be regretted that its literary value is by no

means commensurate with the money expended upon it. Gross and obvious errors abound in it, and there are many passages wanting. In one instance the annals of six months of one of the most important years of the reign (the 17th) are altogether omitted. The Editor has used this edition, and it being the only one published, he has referred to it in the following Extracts. But his chief reliance has been on an excellent *Shikasta* MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. He has also had the use of a fair MS. belonging to the Library of the India Office, and of other volumes containing only portions of the work. A new edition of the work is promised for the Bibliotheca Indica.

The *Akbar-náma* has been translated into Hindústání by Muhammad Khalíl 'Alí Khán, under the name of *Wáki'át-i Akbarí*.[1]]

EXTRACTS.

Reign of the Emperor Humáyún.

Kálinjar.

(See Vol. V. p. 189.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 152.] Five or six months after (his accession), Humáyún marched to subdue the fort of Kálinjar. He had invested the place nearly a month, when the garrison being reduced to distress, the commander (*hákim*) submitted. He gave twelve *mans* of gold, besides other things, as tribute, and the Emperor, acceding to his entreaties and lamentations, forgave him, and marched away towards the fort of Chunár, with the intention of besieging that fortress.

Rebellion of the Mirzás.

(See Vol. V. p. 189.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 153.] (In the year 940 H., 1533-4 A.D.), Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, with his son

[1] [The materials for this notice have been derived by the Editor from memoranda left by Sir H. Elliot, and from the valuable Memoir of Abú-l Fazl by Mr. Blochmann, printed as an Introduction to his translation of the *Ain-i Akbarí*. To that Memoir the reader is referred for further details. See also Morley's *Cat. of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society*.]

Ulugh Mirzá, broke out in rebellion, and Humáyún marched against them. He encamped at Bhojpúr, by the side of the Ganges, and sent Yádgár Násir Mirzá over the river at the head of a force against the rebels. Yádgár attacked them, gained a victory, and took Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, and Walí Khub Mirzá prisoners. Muhammad Zamán Mirzá was sent prisoner to Bayána, the other two persons were blinded and sent away in disgrace. Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, unmindful of the mercy shown him, pretended to be submissive, and, effecting his escape, fled to Sultán Bahádur, of Gujarát.

Prince Kámrán gets possession of Lahore.

(See Vol. V. p. 189.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 153.] When Prince Kámrán heard of the death of the Emperor Bábar, he left Kandahár in charge of Mirzá 'Askarí, and set off for Hindústán, to see how he might advance his own interests. At that time Mír Yúnas 'Alí, who had been appointed by the late Emperor, was governor of Lahore. Mirzá Kámrán revolved in his mind a scheme for getting hold of Lahore. One night he falsely pretended to have a difference with Karácha Beg, and spoke harshly to him, so that Karácha Beg left the camp of the Mirzá with his soldiers, and went off to Lahore. Mír Yúnas 'Alí was glad of his coming, and showed him much attention; frequently inviting him to his house, and enjoying his society. Karácha Beg watched his opportunity, and one night when they were drinking wine, and the Mír's soldiers were gone to their homes, Karácha Beg seized him, put him in confinement, and placed his own men in charge of the gates of the fortress. He then sent a messenger to call Mirzá Kámrán, who was expecting such a summons, and starting off with expedition, gained possession of Lahore. He took Mír Yúnas out of prison, and offered to make over the government of Lahore to him; but the Mír declined to accept it, and went to the Emperor Humáyún.

Mirzá Kámrán appointed his own officers over the *parganas* of the Panjáb, as far as the Satlej or river of Ludhiyána. He sent envoys to the Emperor, assuring him of his good intentions, and asking to be confirmed in the government. Humáyún, in his kindness, consented, and recognized him as governor of Kábul, Kandahár, and the Panjáb. * * * In the year 933 Mirzá Kámrán removed Mirzá 'Askarí from the government of Kandahár, and gave it to Khwája Kalán Beg, being annoyed with 'Askarí in consequence of his having been worsted in a fight with the Hazáras while on his way to Kábul.

March against Bengal.

(See Vol. V. p. 190.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 155.] In the year 941 Humáyún turned his attention to the conquest of the eastern countries, and marched to subdue Bengal. When he arrived at the town of Kinár, near Kálpí, he was informed that Sultán Bahádur of Gujarát had laid siege to the fort of Chítor, and had detached a large force under the command of Tátár Khán, who had very ambitious projects in his head; so in the month of Jumáda-l awwal Humáyún fell back to resist his enemies.

Tátár Khán pressed his delusive advice upon Sultán Bahádur, and strongly urged that he might be sent towards the Imperial dominions, representing Humáyún's army to be given up to pleasure and indolence. Sultán Bahádur took measures to forward the views of the rebels. Having fitted out Tátár Khán, he sent twenty *krors* of the old Gujarát coinage,[1] equal to forty of the ordinary Dehlí standard,[2] to the fort of Rantambhor, there to be expended by Tátár Khán in raising forces. He sent Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, father of Tátár Khán,[3] in command of a strong force, against Kálinjar, to increase the rebellious feeling in that neighbourhood. Burhánu-l Mulk Bunyání was sent with a force

[1] زر قدیم گجرات. [2] معمول دهلي.

[3] ['Aláu-d dín was brother to Sultán Sikandar Lodí, and uncle of Sultán Ibráhím. —*Text.*]

of Gujarátís through Nágor, to make a demonstration against the Panjáb. Under the idea that the Imperial army would now disperse, he divided his own army, and although wise and experienced counsellors advised him to keep his army together, their words had no effect. When Tátár Kkán marched on his wild enterprise against Dehlí, Sultán Bahádur himself proceeded to invest the fort of Chítor. * * * Tátár Khán, employing the money at his disposal, gathered a force of nearly forty thousand horse, of Afgháns and others, with which he advanced and took Bayána. While this was going on, Humáyún was engaged in his invasion of the east country; but on receiving the intelligence of it, he hastened back to Ágra. Mirzás 'Askarí and Hindál and Yádgár Násir Mirzá and * * * were sent with eighteen thousand horse to meet the chief army of insurgents, which was marching against Dehlí, for it was deemed expedient to defeat this army first. When the Imperial army approached the insurgents, numbers of the latter deserted every day, until the force dwindled down to three thousand horse. The men collected with so much trouble, and at so great an expense, had neither the heart to advance nor the spirit to fight. At length he (Tátár Khán), washing his hands of life, fought with all the strength he could muster, at Mandráil, and was there killed.

Campaign against Sultán Bahádur.

(See Vol. V. p. 190.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 159.] Humáyún left Ágra on his expedition against Gujarát, in the beginning of Jumáda-l awwal, 941 H. When he encamped near the fort of Ráísín, the commandant sent large presents with a message, saying that the fort was His Majesty's, and the men of the garrison were the servants of His Majesty, and they would hold the fort till Sultán Bahádur's business was settled. As the Emperor was intent upon the conquest of Gujarát, he did not delay here, but marched on to Málwa, and encamped at Sárangpúr. Sultán Bahádur was engaged in the siege of Chítor; and when he heard of the

Emperor's advance, he held a council with his officers, the majority of whom were for raising the siege, and marching against the Emperor. But Sadr Khán, a wise and prudent councillor, urged that the fort was upon the point of surrender, and that they should press the siege to a conclusion, for no Muhammadan king would attack while they were engaged in war with infidels. This advice was followed, and on the 3rd Ramazán, 941 H., the fort of Chítor was taken.

Flight of Bahádur.

(See Vol. V. p. 192.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 162.] On the 21st of Shawwál Sultán Bahádur lost all hope. He ordered all the large guns and mortars to be filled with powder, and to be fired till they burst. When night came on, he, along with Mírán Muhammad Shujá' and five or six of his personal associates, went out from the back of the camp towards Ágra, and afterwards turned towards Mandú. Sadr Khán and 'Imádu-l Mulk went off with 20,000 horse direct to Mandú, and Muhammad Zamán Mirzá with another body went off towards Lahore, to raise disturbances. Great cries and clamour arose on that night from the Gujarátí camp; but the facts of the matter were not known to the Imperial army. The Emperor mounted and remained under arms till morning. It was not till one watch of the day had passed, that Sultán Bahádur's flight became known. The troops then entered the camp, and obtained great plunder. Khudáwand Khán, the tutor and minister of Sultán Bahádur, was taken prisoner. He was very graciously treated, and taken into the Emperor's service. Yádgár Násir Mirzá, Kásim Sultán, and Hindú Beg were sent in pursuit of the fugitives. * * * Sadr Khán and 'Imádu-l Mulk went straight to Mandú, and Humáyún followed, and encamped before the fort. Rúmí Khán deserted from the Gujarátís, and came in to the Emperor, who bestowed a robe upon him. On the 14th (?), Sultán Bahádur entered the fort, and the question of peace came to be debated,

and it was proposed that Gujarát and Chítor should remain in the hands of Sultán Bahádur, and that Mandú should be given up to the Emperor. These terms were finally agreed upon by the negociators on both sides. But on that night the garrison of the fort relaxed their guard, and a party of about two hundred soldiers of the Imperial army went to the back of the fortress, and scaled the walls by means of ladders and ropes. Jumping down from the walls, they opened the gate, and brought in their horses, and others followed. Mallú Khán, the commander of the batteries, a native of Mandú, who had the title of Kádir Sháhí, learnt what was passing, seized a horse, and went to Sultán Bahádur. He was asleep, but the cries of Mallú Khán aroused him, and he rushed out with three or four attendants. On his way he met Bhúpat Ráí, son of Silhadi, one of his councillors, with about twenty horse, whom he joined. On reaching the gate at the top of the *maidán*, they encountered a party of about 200 of the Imperial cavalry. Sultán Bahádur was the first to attack them. He was followed by some others, and he cut his way through, and went off with Mallú Khán and another attendant to the fort of Súngar.[1] He had his horses let down (the precipice of the town) by ropes. He himself followed through a thousand difficulties, and took the road to Gujarát. Kásim Husain Khán (an Imperial officer) was stationed near the fort, and an Uzbek servant of his, named Borí, who had previously been in Sultán Bahádur's service, recognized his old master, and told Kásim Husain, but he took no notice of it. So Sultán Bahádur escaped to Chámpanír, being joined on the way by about 1,500 men.

Return of Humáyún from Gujarát.

(See Vol. V. p. 193.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 172.] [After the conquest of Ahmadábád and] the settlement of the affairs of Gujarát, Humáyún marched towards the port of Díú (in pursuit of Sultán Bahádur); but

[1] "The citadel of Mandú,"—*suprà*, Vol. V. p. 192.

when he left Dandúka, which is about thirty *kos* from Ahmadábád, letters reached him from Ágra with the information that affairs had gone on badly since his departure from the capital, and that revolts had broken out in several quarters. News also came from Málwa, that Sikandar Khán and Mallú Khán had risen and attacked Mihtar Zambúr, the *jágírdár* of Hindia, who had removed into Ujjain with his property. The troops stationed at various places in the province had also gone into Ujjain, where they were besieged by the insurgents. Darwesh 'Alí, *Kitábdár*, the governor, was killed by a gunshot, and the garrison then capitulated. This intelligence determined Humáyún to fall back, and to take up his residence for a time at Mandú, whilst he cleared the province of Málwa of rebels, settled the affairs of the conquered country of Gujarát, and suppressed the revolts in the vicinity of the capital. He therefore placed Gujarát in charge of Mirzá 'Askarí.

Sultán Bahádur recovers Gujarát.

(See Vol. V. p. 197.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 173.] Nearly three months had passed after the Emperor's departure, when the enemy drew together and commenced operations. Khán Jahán Shírází and Rúmí Khán, whose name was Safar, and who was the builder of the fort of Surat, operated in concert. They took possession of Nausárí, which was held by 'Abdu-lla Khán, an officer of Husain Khán, and he retired to Broach. About the same time they took Surat. Khán Jahán then marched against Broach, and Rúmí Khán embarked his guns and muskets (*tufang*) in war *ghrábs*, and proceeded thither by water. Kásim Husain (the governor), unable to make any resistance, went to Chámpanír, and from thence he proceeded to Ahmadábád, seeking help from Mirzá 'Askarí, and Hindú Beg. Saiyid Ishák, who had received from Sultán Bahádur the title of Shitáb Khán, took possession of Kambay. Yádgár Násir Mirzá was summoned from Pattan to Ahmadábád by Mirzá 'Askarí. Daryá Khán

and Muḥáfiz Khán, who were proceeding from Ráísín to Sultán Bahádur at Díú, finding Pattan deserted, took possession of it.

Retreat of Mirzá 'Askarí from Ahmadábád.

(See Vol. V. p. 197.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 174.] When Mirzá 'Askarí retired from Ahmadábád, Sultán Bahádur was full of misgiving and anxiety, but this gave him courage. He pursued the retreating forces, and on coming up with them, Yádgár Násir Mirzá, who was in command of the rear-guard, turned upon him. A sharp fight ensued, in which many of Bahádur's advanced force were killed or taken prisoners. Sultán Bahádur then stopped at Mahmudábád, and the Mirzá rejoined his army. Mirzá 'Askarí had given up all idea of fighting, and continued his march. He lost a good many men in crossing the Mahindarí, whither Sultán Bahádur followed him.

Mirzá 'Askarí at Chámpanír.

(See Vol. V. p. 198.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 175.] When the Mirzás arived at Chámpanír, Tardí Beg Khán received them hospitably, and then retired to his own abode. Next day the Mirzás, with evil designs, sent a message to him, representing the distressed condition of themselves and their army, and asking him to give them some money out of the treasures of the fort. This would enable them to turn and face the enemy, and to communicate with (Humáyún at) Mandú, which a messenger might do in six days. Tardí Beg did not accede to their request. The Mirzás then resolved to seize him, to take possession of all the treasures, and to proclaim Mirzá 'Askarí king. They would then endeavour to make terms with Sultán Bahádur, and if unsuccessful, they would march towards Ágra, which had been left unprotected by Humáyún, because he preferred the climate of Málwa. Tardí Beg came out of the fort to wait upon the Mirzás; but on his way he received information of their designs, and hastened back into the

fort. He then sent to tell the Mirzás that they must not stay there, and they replied that they were going, and wished him to come and say farewell. But he knew their object, and sent a suitable answer. Next morning Tardí Beg fired a gun (to show that he was ready to fight), and the Mirzás marched off by way of Ghát-Karjí, in execution of their wild plan against Ágra. Whilst they remained at Chámpaníṛ, Sultán Bahádur did not cross the Mahindarí, which is about fifteen *kos* distant. But when he heard of their march towards Ágra, and of the foolish scheme they had formed, he crossed the river, and advanced against Chámpaníṛ. Notwithstanding the strength of the fort, and its abundance of munitions, Tardí Beg evacuated the fortress, and went to Humáyún at Mandú, where he informed him of all the Mirzás' evil designs.

Rebellion of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá and Ulugh Mirzá.

(See Vol. V. p. 198.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 176.] One of the disgraceful proceedings which recalled Humáyún to Ágra was the rebellion of Sultán Mirzá and Ulugh Mirzá his son. It has already been related how they before rebelled, and how an order was given to deprive them of sight. But the party entrusted with this order did not execute it, and they escaped. They now again commenced their rebellious proceedings, and after attacking Bilgrám, they went to Kanauj, which was held by the sons of Khusrú Kokaltásh. These men surrendered, and were replaced in charge of Kanauj. Mirzá Hindál, who was in Ágra, went out against them, and crossing the Ganges near Bilgrám, the armies met, and a battle ensued, in which the rebels were defeated. Hindál pursued, and overtook them at Oudh, where Ulugh Beg and his sons were assembled and ready to fight again. The news of the Emperor's return from Gujarát to Ágra now arrived, and the rebels fought once more, and were defeated. Hindál then returned victorious to Ágra.

Death of Sultán Bahádur.

[Text, vol. i. p. 177.] When Humáyún returned to Ágra, Bhúpál Rái, the ruler of Bíjágarh,[1] finding the fort of Mandú empty, came up boldly and took possession of it. Kádir Sháh also returned there, and Mírán Muhammad Fárúkí also came up from Burhánpúr. Sultán Bahádur remained a fortnight at Chámpanír, and then returned to Díú. *** Upon reaching the port, he found the Portuguese commander had arrived there with his vessels and fighting men. The Portuguese chief was apprehensive that as the Sultán was no longer in want of assistance, he meditated some treachery. So he sent to inform the Sultán that he had come as requested, but that he was ill and unable to go on shore, so that the interview must be deferred until he got better. The Sultán, quitting the royal road of safety, proceeded on the 3rd Ramazán, 943 H., with a small escort, on board a boat to visit the Governor. As soon as he reached the vessel, he discovered that it was a mere pretence of sickness, and he was sorry that he had come. He sought to return directly; but the Portuguese were unwilling that such prey should escape them, and hoped that by keeping him prisoner, they might obtain some more ports. The governor came forward, and asked the Sultán to stay a little while, and examine some curiosities he had to present. The Sultán requested that they might be sent after him, and turned quickly towards his own boat. A European *kází* (priest?) placed himself in the Sultán's way, and bade him stop. The Sultán, in exasperation, drew his sword, and cleft him in twain; then he leaped into his own boat. The Portuguese vessels which were around drew together round the Sultán's boat, and a fight began. The Sultán and Rúmí Khán threw themselves into the water. A friend among the Portuguese stretched a hand to Rúmí Khán, and saved him; but the Sultán was drowned in the waves. His companions also perished.

[1] Sixty miles south of Mandú.

Humáyún's march to Bengal.

(See Vol. V. p. 199.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 184.] When the Emperor arrived at Patna, part of his army having come by water, part by land, his counsellors advised him to delay his campaign till after the rainy season. * * * But the King of Bengal urged expedition, and Humáyún complied. When he arrived at Bhágalpúr, he divided his army, and sent Mirzá Hindál, with 5000 men, over the river to march on that side. On reaching Mungír, Humáyún found that Sher Khán had left his son Jalál Khán, afterwards Salím Khán (Sháh), with Khawáss Khán, and * * with 15,000 men, in charge of the town of Garhí, which is the gate of Bengal; and had himself gone to Jhárkand.[1] * *. When the Imperial army reached Garhí, Jalál Khán, disregarding his father's commands, came out and attacked them, * and defeated them. * * Humáyún then hastened forward, and the Afgháns abandoned the place and fled.

Progress of Sher Sháh.

(See Vol. V. p. 200.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 186.] [While Humáyún was at Gaur] Sher Khán seized the opportunity to increase his power. He besieged Benares, and in a short time got possession of the place, and killed the governor, Mír Fazálí. From thence he marched against Jaunpúr, which was held by Bábá Beg Jaláír, father of Sháham Khán, who had been appointed after the death of Hindú Beg. He set the defences of the place in order, and was joined from Oudh by Yúsuf Beg, son of Ibráhím Beg, who was on the march to Bengal. Yúsuf Beg scoured the neighbourhood with his patrols, and was eager for the fray. Jalál Khán, hearing of this, made a rapid march with 2000 men. When Yúsúf Beg came in sight of this force, he at once prepared for battle. He was strongly dissuaded by his officers, on account of the great

[1] Called *Chahárkand* in the text.

disparity of the two forces, but he would not listen. After fighting bravely, he was killed, and next day the enemy invested Jaunpúr. Bábá Beg Jaláír exerted himself strenuously in its defence, and wrote to the *mírzás* and the *amírs*, as well as to the Emperor, to inform them of his position.

Sher Sháh occupies Bengal.

(See Vol. V. p. 204.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 194.] [After the battle of Chaunsá], Sher Khán resolved upon getting possession of Bengal, and marched as far as the frontier of Bihár. There he stopped, and sent his son Jalál Khán with a detachment on this expedition. In a short time he met Jahángír Kulí Beg,[1] and the latter fought bravely. But the decrees of fate were against him, and the *amírs* of Bengal did not show proper spirit in opposing the rebels. Fond of their ease, they rendered no support to Jahángír Kulí. Unable to succeed in the field, Jahángír Kulí sought refuge with the *zamíndárs*, and he and many of his followers were killed. At ease as to Bengal, Sher Khán advanced, and got possession of Jaunpúr. He then sent his younger son Kutb Khán against Kálpí and Etáwa.

Humáyún's bridge over the Ganges.

(See Vol. IV., and Vol. V. p. 205.)

[Text, vol. i. p. 198.] When Humáyún reached Bhojpúr, he found Sher Khán encamped with a large army on the other side of the Ganges. The Emperor ordered a bridge to be thrown over, and it was soon constructed at the ferry of Bhojpúr. * * The Afgháns brought up the elephant Gard-báz, which they had taken at the battle of Chaunsá, to destroy the bridge, and the elephant pressed against the head of the bridge and brought it down. * * It was now thought advisable to march along the bank of the river to Kanauj.

[1] Governor of Bengal, appointed by Humáyún.

Reign of the Emperor Akbar.

Famine.

(See Vol. V. p. 247.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 42.] At this time (first year of the reign of Akbar), there was a great scarcity in Hindústán. In some districts, and especially in the province of Dehlí, it reached a most alarming height. If men could find money, they could not get sight of corn. Men were driven to the extremity of eating each other, and some formed themselves into parties to carry off lone individuals for their food.

Destruction of Himú's family.—Alwar and Ajmír.

(See Vol. V. p. 253.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 56.] Akbar was now informed that Hájí Khán, a *ghulám* of Sher Khán Afghán [Sher Sháh], a brave and able general, was setting up pretensions to rule in Alwar, and that Himú's father and wife, and all his property and wealth, were in that country. So the Emperor sent Násiru-l Mulk [Pír Muhammad Sarwání] with a select force to attack him. Hájí Khán, in dread of the Imperial army, fled before it arrived. Alwar and all the territory of Mewát thus came into the Imperial power. The fugitives proceeded to Dewatí-májárí, a strong place, which was Himú's family home. Much resistance and fighting followed. Himú's father was taken alive, and brought before Násiru-l Mulk, who tried to convert him to the faith; but the old man said, "For eighty years I have worshipped God in the way of my own religion; how can I now forsake my faith? Shall I, through fear of death, embrace your religion without understanding it?" Maulánáa Pír Muhammad treated his question as unheard, but gave him an answer with the tongue of the sword. He then returned with much spoil and fifty elephants to the Emperor. Hájí Khán, when he left Alwar, proceeded to Ajmír, deeming that a secure refuge for his family, and prepared his soldiers for battle. The Ráná, who was a great *zamindár*, was the son of

that *ráná* who had acted improperly towards the late Emperor Humáyún, and had suffered defeat at his hands. Hájí Khán made demands upon him, and grievously troubled him, so that a battle was fought between them in the vicinity of Ajmír. Hájí Khán and Muzaffar Khán Sarwání, his *vakil*, exhibited conspicuous gallantry in the fight, and the Ráná, who was too confident in the number of his forces, was defeated. Hájí Khán then took possession of Ajmír and Nágor and all those parts. When this success of Hájí Khán's was reported to the Emperor, he appointed Saiyid Muhammad Kásim Khán Naishapúrí and * * to march against him. * * * Intelligence was now brought that Hájí Khán was so strong as to offer resistance to the forces sent against him; so the Emperor determined to proceed to Hisár, and to send reinforcements from thence. After visiting the tomb of his father at Sirhind, he proceeded to Hisár, accompanied by Bairám Khán. * * * When intelligence of this reached Hájí Khán, his forces dispersed. Every man went to his own place, and Hájí Khán himself hastened to Gujarát. Muhammad Kásim Khán was sent by the Emperor to take charge of Ajmír. Saiyid Muhammad Bárha and Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram were sent out with a force to capture Jítasáran, and they killed a great many Rájpúts, and made themselves masters of the fort.

Second Year of the Reign.

Death of 'Adali.

(See Vol. IV. p. 508.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 72.] The son of Muhammad Khán, ruler of Bengal, Sadar Khán[1] by name, but who had assumed the title of Jalálu-d dín, resolved to take his revenge on Mubáriz Khán ('Adalí) for having caused the death of his father on the field of battle. He accordingly marched against Mubáriz Khán, and overthrew and slew him in a great battle. He had reigned four years and some days.

[1] *Sic*—"Khizr Khán" was the real name.

Third Year of the Reign.

Adham Khán at Hathkánt.

(See Vol. V. p. 256.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 97.] Among the transactions of this year was the appointment of Adham Khán with a body of men against Hathkánt,[1] which was the strongest place in the neighbourhood of Ágra. The *zamíndárs* of this place were Bhadauriyas[2] and others, and were remarkable for their numbers and courage. They were continually in rebellion against the Kings of Hindústán. Bairám Khán, having a rooted mistrust of Adham Khán, resolved to confer Hathkánt upon him in *jágír*; thus at once removing him from Court, and providing for the chastisement of the malcontents of that neighbourhood.

Fourth Year of the Reign.

Fall of Bairám Khán.

(See Vol. V. p. 261.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 112.] Bairám Khán had been appointed by Humáyún tutor of his son Akbar, and the youth had often addressed him, as noble youths are accustomed to address their seniors, by the name "Bábá." The Emperor was now mindful of the fact, and overlooked in consequence many of Bairám's unseemly actions. * * But at length Bairám's proceedings went beyond all endurance, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with evil-minded flatterers like Wali Beg Zú-l Kadr and Shaikh Gadáí Kambú. When the Emperor became acquainted with the evil designs of these conspirators, he communicated them, before they could be carried into execution, to some of his devoted and intelligent advisers, such as Máham Ánka, remarkable for her intelligence, judgment, and sincerity, to Adham Khán, Mirzá Sharfu-d dín Husain, and some others. * * The Emperor crossed over to Bayána on a hunting excursion, and

[1] On the left bank of the Chambal.—See Glossary, vol. i. p. 86; vol. ii. p. 26.
[2] Ib., vol. ii. p. 25.

Máham Ánka then made known the facts to Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, the governor of Dehlí, a man distinguished for his judgment, shrewdness, and fidelity. * * * The first person of distinction who deserted Bairám Khán was Kiyá Khán Gang, an old and faithful servant of the throne. After that others fell off, one by one and two by two, and proceeded to Court. Máham Ánka, in accord with Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, communicated all important matters to His Majesty, and became responsible for the discharge of the duties of the minister. * * * As a political expedient, and for the public discharge of business, Máham Ánka recommended Bahádur Khán, brother of 'Alí Kulí Khán, for the exalted office of minister, and His Majesty appointed him. * * But although he received Etáwa in *jágír*, and bore the name of minister, the real duties were discharged by Máham Ánka.

Fifth Year of the Reign.

Character of Bairám Khán.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 164.] Bairám's natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of man, his natural good qualities were overclouded, and arrogance was fostered by flattery. Every one who looks with complacency on his own merits and deserts opens his heart to the wiles of sycophants.

Sixth Year of the Reign.

Adham Khán.

(See Vol. V. p. 271.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 181.] The folly and wilfulness of Adham Khán were well known. His mother, Máham Ánka, had charge of the royal harem, and he now conspired with some of his mother's servants to carry off two of the beauties of Báz Bahádur, who had lately been presented to the Emperor. When every

one was engaged in preparing for the march, and little heed was paid to what was going on, the abduction was effected. When this disgraceful action was made known to the Emperor, he sent two fast riders after the fugitives, who exerted themselves so well that they overtook them, and brought them back. Máham Ánka, lest these two women should be brought into the presence of the Emperor, and expose her conduct and the villany of her son, had the two poor innocent girls put to death, for dead people tell no tales. His Majesty had not yet torn the veil from his eyes, so he passed over this heinous crime.

Seventh Year of the Reign.

Prisoners of War not to be made Slaves.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 202.] One of the gracious acts of His Majesty in this (seventh) year of his reign was the prohibition against making slaves of prisoners taken in war. It had been the custom of the royal troops, in their victorious campaigns in India, to forcibly sell or keep in slavery the wives, children, and dependents of the natives. But His Majesty, actuated by his religious, prudent, and kindly feelings, now issued an order that no soldier of the royal army should act in this manner; for although evil-disposed men might follow senseless courses, and taking up arms against the Emperor might suffer defeat, the children and people belonging to them were to be secure from all molestation from the royal troops, and no one, small or great, was to be made a slave. All were to be free to go as they pleased to their own houses or to the houses of their relatives; for although the repression and destruction of insolent opponents and the chastisement and coercion of rebels are among the duties of the ruling power, and are approved by lawyers and men of justice, still the punishment of their innocent wives and children is a transgression of the law. For if the husband pursues an evil course, what fault is it of the wife? and if the father rebels, how can the children be blamed?

Murder of Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Atka by Adham Khán.

(See Vol. V. p. 277.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 218.] Adham Khán, the youngest son of that pattern of chastity Máham Anka, who had neither a well-ordered mind nor a good temper, in the rashness of youth and intoxication of prosperity, was very envious of Shamsu-d dín Atka Khán. The Khán-khánán Mun'im Khán was also under the influence of the same feeling, and exhibited it constantly in ways that no one of lower dignity could have done. He irritated and excited Adham Khán, until at last, on the 12th Ramazán, a great outrage was committed. Mun'im Khán, Atka Khán, Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, and other nobles, were sitting in the royal audience chamber engaged in business of state. Adham Khán came violently in with a party of ruffians more violent than himself. Those who were present in the court rose up, to show their respect, and Atka Khán also half stood up. As soon as he entered, Adham Khán clapped his hand to his dagger in a menacing way, and faced Atka Khán. He then cast an angry look upon Khusham Uzbek, one of his officers, and upon the other graceless wretches who had joined him in this outrageous business, as if to ask them why they hesitated. The truculent Khusham Uzbek then drew his dagger, and inflicted a terrible wound in the bosom of the minister. Atka Khán, in the greatest terror, rushed off towards the apartments of the Emperor, and had nearly reached them, when he received two sword cuts, and fell dead in the court yard of the palace. Dismay came upon all present, and a great outcry arose.

The blood-stained murderer, with that demented presumption which marked his proceedings, now directed his steps to the private apartments where His Majesty was sleeping. He mounted, sword in hand, to the parapet (*suffah*) which surrounds the palace on all sides about the height of a man and a half, and endeavoured to force his way inside. A eunuch who was near shut the door and locked it, and refused to open it for all the

menaces of the assassin. The attendants of the royal court were greatly to be blamed that they did not at once inflict merited punishment on the murderer, and put a stop to his proceedings. But this want of resolution was probably ordained so that the courage and justice of the Emperor might become manifest to all, both small and great. The noise awoke him, and he inquired what was the matter, but no one of the inside attendants could inform him. He then went out himself to ascertain the facts. One of the old officers of the palace made known what had happened.

Amazed at the horrible statement, His Majesty inquired what it all meant, and the attendant then confirmed his words by pointing to the blood-stained corpse. When the Emperor realized the actual state of affairs, his anger blazed forth, and by a sudden inspiration he rushed out by another door, and not by that to which the assassin had fled in his vain hope. As he went forth, one of his attendants placed a sword in his hand without being asked for it. He took it and went on. On turning a corner of the parapet, he perceived the ungrateful culprit. Addressing him by an opprobrious epithet,[1] he asked what he had done. The presumptuous villain then rushed forward, and seizing both the hands of the Emperor, besought him to inquire into and reflect upon the matter, and not to condemn him without investigation. The Emperor, letting go his sword, delivered himself from the grasp of the culprit, and endeavoured to seize his sword. But the wretched man loosed his hold of the Emperor, and endeavoured to retain his sword. Relinquishing his attempt to get the sword, the Emperor struck him a blow in the face with his fist, which brought him senseless to the ground. Farhat Khán and Sangrám Hoshnak were there present, and the Emperor with angry looks demanded why they stood there looking on. He ordered them to bind the mad-brained fellow, and they and some others did so. He then gave his just command for them to cast him down headlong from the parapet. These stupid men

[1] *Bacha-i ládah*, "son of a bitch."

showed tenderness where want of tenderness would have been a thousand times better, and did not hurl him down as they ought to have done, and he was only half killed. They were then ordered to bring him up and cast him down again. So they dragged him back by the hair, and throwing him down more carefully, his neck was broken and his brains knocked out. So that criminal received the just reward of his deed. The vigorous hand of the Emperor had dealt him such a blow that those who were not aware of the fact supposed it to have been given with a mace.

Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán and Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, who were near at hand, recoiled before the Emperor's anger, and took to flight. Yúsuf Muhammad Khán, the eldest son of Atka Khán, when he was informed of the fate of his father, assembled the Atka *khail* in arms, and blocked the road against Adham Khán and Máham Anka. They were as yet unaware of the just retribution inflicted by His Majesty, who had paid no regard to his connection (*nisbat*) with Máham Anka. * * But one of their number went and saw the punishment the culprit had received at the hands of the Emperor, and their anger was then appeased.

Máham Anka was at her own home, stretched upon the bed of sickness. She had heard of her son's outrageous conduct, and that the Emperor had put him in confinement. Moved by her maternal affection, she arose and went to the Emperor, hoping to obtain the release of her son. When the Emperor saw her, he told her that Adham had killed his *atka*, and that he had inflicted the retaliatory punishment. Máham Anka did not understand from this that her son was dead, so she replied that His Majesty had done well. But the *takhta-begi*, one of the ladies of the Court, then told her the truth, that he had been killed, and that he bore upon his face the marks of a blow with a mace,—these marks being, in fact, those made by His Majesty's fist.

Máham Anka's good sense so far restrained her that she said nothing disrespectful to the Emperor, but she was greatly distressed. Her heart received a thousand wounds, and the colour

forsook her face. She wished to go and see the body of her son, but His Majesty would not allow her, and he endeavoured to console and comfort her with kind and gentle words. On the same day the two corpses were sent to Dehlí, and the Emperor, after doing his utmost to console Máham Ánka, gave her permission to return home. That wise and grief-stricken woman respectfully took her departure. She then resigned herself to the divine decree, and passed her days in grief and sorrow. The disease with which she was afflicted increased, and forty days afterwards she died. His Majesty was deeply grieved at the death of this pattern of chastity. Her body was sent to Dehlí with all respect and honour, and the Emperor himself followed it for some steps. The nobles and officers of the state all testified their respect, and the Emperor ordered a splendid monument to be erected over her and her son.

Eighth Year of the Reign.

Remission of the Pilgrim Tax.

[Text, vol. ii, p. 239.] It was an old standing custom for the rulers of Hindústán to exact contributions, according to their respective means, from the pilgrims who visited the holy shrines. This tax was called *karmí*. His Majesty's judgment and equity condemned this exaction, and he remitted it, although it amounted to *krors* of rupees. An order was accordingly issued abolishing it throughout his dominions. * * * He was pleased to say that although this was a tax on the vain superstitions of the multitude, and the devotees did not pay it except when they travelled abroad, still the course they adopted was their mode of worshipping the Almighty, and the throwing of a stumbling-block and obstacle in their way could never be acceptable in the sight of God.

Ninth Year of the Reign.

Remission of the Jizya.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 257.] One of the munificent acts of the Emperor at the beginning of this the ninth year of his reign was

the remission of the *jizya* (poll-tax upon infidels), which, in a country so extensive as Hindústán, amounted to an immense sum.

Conquest of Garha-kátanka.

(See Vol. V. p. 288.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 263.] Khwája 'Abdu-l Majíd Ásaf Khán, although he was a Tájik and a civilian, yet by the help of the good fortune of the Emperor, he had performed such deeds as would have humbled even Turks in his presence. He now resolved upon attempting the conquest of Garha-katanka. In the vast territories of Hindústán there is a country called Gondwána, that is, the land inhabited by the tribe of Gonds, —a numerous race of people, who dwell in the wilds, and pass most of their time in eating and drinking and the procreation of children. They are a very low race, and are held in contempt by the people of Hindústán, who look upon them as outcasts from their religion and laws. To the east of this country lies Ratanpúr, a dependency of the country of Jhárkand; and on the west it borders on Ráísín, belonging to the province of Málwa. The length of this district is 150 *kos*. On the north lies Panna,[1] and on the south the Dakhin, and the breadth is eighty *kos*. This country is called Garha-katanka, and it contains many strongholds and lofty forts. It has numerous towns and villages, and veracious writers have recorded that it contains seventy thousand villages. Garha is the name of the chief city, and Katanka is the name of a place[2] (near it), and these two places have given their names to the whole country. The seat of government was the fort of Chaurágarh.

In former times there was no one supreme ruler, but the country was ruled by several *rájás* and *ráis*, and at the present time, when, by the will of fortune, it no longer belongs to this

[1] This name is written "Patta" both in the print and in the MS., but the description given applies to Panna. Shaikh Illah-dád also writes it "Pattah" in his *Akbar-náma*.

[2] *mauza*, "place" or "village."

race, there are several *rájás*, such as Rájá Garha, Rájá * * *. The fighting men of this country are chiefly infantry, the horsemen being few. From the earliest establishment of the Muhammadan power in India no monarch had been able to reduce the fortresses of this country or to annex the territory.

At the time when Ásaf Khán received the *jágír* of Karra, and accomplished the conquest of Panna, the government of this country was in the hands of Rání Durgávatí, commonly known as "the Rání." She was highly renowned for her courage, ability, and liberality, and by the exercise of these qualities she had brought the whole country under her rule. The author has heard from intelligent men who have been there that she had twenty-three thousand inhabited villages under her sway. Twelve thousand of these were managed by her own *shikkdárs*, and the remainder were in the possession of tributary chiefs. The heads of the various clans paid their homage to her. She was the daughter of a Rájá of the tribe of Chandel, who was named Sálibáhan, who was Rájá of Ratah and Mahoba.[1] He married her to Dalpat, a son of Aman Dás. He did not belong to a high tribe, but he was wealthy, and as evil times had fallen upon Rájá Sálibáhan, he had consented to this alliance.

This Aman Dás rendered valuable assistance to Sultán Bahádur Gujarátí in the reduction of Ráísín; he had consequently been promoted, and had received the title of Sangrám Sháh. He was the son of Arjun Dás, son of Sukhan Dás, son of Gorak Dás, son of Kharjí. From old times there had been an ancestor in the house of the ruler of Garha holding a respectable position; but Kharjí, by his superior intelligence and tact, managed to acquire something in the way of tribute from the other chiefs of that country, and raised a force amounting to a hundred horse and ten thousand foot. His son, Sukhan Dás, carrying out the plans of his father, raised his army to five hundred horse and sixty thousand foot, enlisting many Rájpúts both in his cavalry

[1] See *suprà* Vol. IV. p. 462, note. The print and the MS. agree in the names as here given.

and infantry. He found two clever and able assistants, one belonging to the Kharchali tribe dwelling at Hamírpúr, and the other belonging to the tribe of Parihár.[1] Under him the government was carried on with great intelligence and vigour. His son Arjun succeeded him in the fortieth year (of his age). After him came Aman Dás, above mentioned.

This Aman Dás was an ill-disposed crafty fellow. He constantly opposed the will of his father, and engaged in evil pursuits. His father several times put him in confinement, and then endeavoured to bind him with covenants and promises. But the graceless fellow again relapsed into his evil courses, and having been guilty of some disgraceful actions, he fled to Rájá Nar Sing Deo, grandfather of Rájá Ram Chandar of Panna. Rájá Nar Sing treated him as a son, and when the Rájá went to attend upon Sultán Sikandar Lodí, he left him behind with his son Parbihan, who was then a minor. There he acted with great intelligence. His father, Arjun Dás, being dissatisfied with his ill-conducted son, appointed his son Jogí Dás to be his heir; but he, having regard to his elder brother's rights, did not accept this position.

Aman Dás, having heard of his father's intentions, made a rapid journey, and concealed himself in his mother's house. There, with the assistance of one of the Rájá's attendants, with whom he had long had relations, he one night killed his father. The men of the place then assembled and made him prisoner, and sent a person to communicate the facts to his brother. But the younger brother would not fall in with their views; he refused to do anything against his elder brother, who stood to him in the position of a father, and said that as his brother had chosen to risk eternal perdition, how could he look him in the face? All persuasion was useless, and he went off into the wilds.

The two confidential friends of the father were true to duty, and would not recognize his succession. They sent an account

[1] See Glossary, Index, "Parihar."

of the occurrence, to Rájá Nar Singh Deo, and urged him to take possession of the territory. The Rájá took leave of Sultán Sikandar, and returned with a strong force. Aman Dás secured himself in the mountains; but as he could not hold out against the power of the Rájá, he opened communications, and said that as he had in his folly and wickedness killed one father, how could he then make war upon another? When the Rájá had overrun the territory, and left his officers in charge of it, Aman Dás came to meet him on his road, attended by only a few followers. After great display of weeping, the Rájá forgave him and restored his country. He kept up continual lamentation for his crime, and it is difficult to say whether this was mere hypocrisy, or whether the contrition he exhibited to his people was really sincere. When Aman Dás died, the succession devolved upon his son Dalpat, who ruled seven years and then died.

According to report Aman Dás, who received the name of Sangrám, had really no son. It is said that he induced Gobind Dás Kachhwáha, one of his attendants, to allow his wife, who was pregnant, to be delivered in his (Aman's) female apartments. If a daughter was born, it was to belong to the father; but if a boy, Aman Dás was to acknowledge it as his own, and no one should know anything about it. Gobind Dás acquiesced, and a boy was born, who was represented to be the Rájá's son. He received the name of Dalpat, and was married to Ráni Durgávatí. When he died, he left a son, named Bír Náráyan, only five years of age. With the assistance of Adhár Káyath, the Ráni assumed the government, showing no want of courage and ability, and managing her foreign relations with judgment and prudence. She carried on some great wars against Báz Bahádur and his officers, and was everywhere victorious. She had as many as twenty thousand excellent horse soldiers, and a thousand fine elephants. The treasures of the Rájás of that country came into her possession. She was a good shot, both with the bow and musket, and frequently went out hunting, when she used to

bring down the animals with her own gun. When she heard of a tiger, she never rested till she had shot it. Many stories of her courage and daring are current in Hindústán. But she had one great fault. She listened to the voice of flatterers, and being puffed up with ideas of her power, she did not pay her allegiance to the Emperor.

When Ásaf Khán conquered the country of Panna, the Rání Durgávatí, infatuated with the ideas of her army, her courage, and her ability, took no heed of her new neighbour. Ásaf Khán at first kept up friendly and conciliatory relations with her; but he sent sharp spies and shrewd merchants into her country to get information of the communications and ways of ingress and egress. When he had obtained information of the wealth and treasures of this woman, he conceived the idea of making himself master of the country. He began first with ravaging the frontier villages, and went on until in the present year he received the Imperial command to effect the conquest of Garha.

Twelfth Year of the Reign.

Sulaimán Kiráni of Bengal.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 409.] While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Chítor, Sulaimán Kiráni of Bengal again had the Emperor's name recited in the *khutba*, and made a wolf-like peace with Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán. The facts of the case are as follows:—When Mubáriz Khán, better known as 'Adalí, set up pretensions to royalty (in Bengal), Táj Khán Kiráni with his brothers fled to Bihár. There he pursued an artful and wily course, both in the days of Muhammad Khán, ruler of Bengal, who had rebelled, and afterwards also in the days of Bahádur Khán, until the time when 'Adalí was slain fighting against Bahádur Khán. When, after some time, the latter died, his brother Jalálu-d dín advanced his claim to the sovereignty of Bengal and Bihár. Táj Khán and his brothers were sometimes opposed to him, sometimes in league

with him. He also made an artful and hypocritical friendship with Khán-zamán. When Jalálu-d dín died, Táj Khán obtained possession of Bengal and Bihár. He shortly afterwards died, and his younger brother Sulaimán succeeded, and established his authority over the two provinces. Sulaimán kept up a sort of friendship with Khán-zamán, and looking sharply after his own interests, he strengthened his position. Numbers of roving Afgháns gathered round him, and he amassed wealth and gathered together many elephants. After Khán-zamán had received the punishment due unto his deeds, the Emperor appointed Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán to the government of Jaunpúr. Asadu-lla Khán, an officer of Khán-zamán, had charge of Zamániya, a place built by Khán-zamán, and on the death of the Khán, Asadu-lla, in his stupidity, sent a person to Sulaimán, offering to surrender the place to him and to become his subject. But Mun'im Khán having got information of this, sent some persons to Asadu-lla, who induced him to forego this determination, and to repair in person to Khán-khánán. The Afghán army, which had come up with the intention of taking possession of Zamániya, went back disappointed. Lodí Afghán, who was the chief minister of Sulaimán, and remarkable for his wisdom and intelligence, was on the banks of the Sone. He knew Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán to be a man desirous of peace, so he entered into friendly relations with him, hoping thus to secure his own territories from the attacks of the Imperial forces. Presents and letters passed between them, strengthening their friendship. Meanwhile the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Chítor, and Sulaimán was occupied in subduing the Rájá of Orissa and Ibráhím.

But Sulaimán was ill at ease about Khán-khánán; so, while the Emperor was besieging Chítor, he sought to establish amity with him, Lodí being his medium. After some correspondence, it was arranged that Khán-khánán should pay Sulaimán a visit, to establish friendship between the Emperor and Sulaimán, and to arrange for the Emperor's name and titles being read in the *khutba* and impressed upon the coins. Khán-khánán deter-

mined to go and effect the objects in view, although many wise and sagacious persons endeavoured to dissuade him. But he paid no heed to them, and proceeded to Patna on his visit, attended by three hundred chosen men and by several of his officers and their attendants, numbering altogether about one thousand men. Lodí came to meet him, and show him proper respect. Then came Báyazíd, eldest son of Sulaimán; and at five *kos* from Patna, Sulaimán himself came forth to give him a formal state reception. Sulaimán conducted him to his own dwelling, and there gave him a sumptuous entertainment. The Imperial name was read out in the pulpit, coins were struck with it, and suitable tribute (to the Emperor) was presented. But a party of Sulaimán's turbulent adherents formed the design of seizing Khán-khánán, while the Emperor was engaged at Chítor with his great nobles, and while there was no one left at the capital who could interfere with their designs upon the Khán. When Lodí became acquainted with this conspiracy, he [*endeavoured to divert them from their purpose*]. Sulaimán assented to his views, but the fierce Afgháns would not listen to his words. Khán-khánán got information of the plot, and, with the advice of Lodí, he got away from his camp by a clever stratagem, and galloped off, attended by a small well-mounted escort. He was a long way off before the Afgháns were aware of his escape; and as they had failed in their purpose, they affected to maintain a friendly feeling. Báyazíd and Lodí hastened after the Khán, and, after showing him great honour and respect, they returned. Khán-khánán crossed the Ganges, and after two or three stages, he received the despatch of the conquest of Chítor.

Sulaimán now returned re-assured to Bengal, and devoted his attention to his own affairs. He treacherously seized upon the country of Orissa, in which the temple of Jagannáth is situated, and perfidiously killed the Rájá. Ibráhím [Sultán of Dehlí],[1] who was not quite right in his mind, and was soured by his fall from his lofty position, had taken refuge with the Rájá of Orissa,

[1] See *suprà*, Vol. V. p. 245.

and still dreamed of sovereignty. Sulaimán, by promises and oaths, got Ibráhím into his clutches, and then sent him to the next world.

Seventeenth Year of the Reign.

Battle of Sarnál.

(See Vol. V. p. 345.)

[1] Two hours before nightfall they fell in with a brahman, who informed them that the enemy with a large force had halted in the town of Sarnál, on the bank of the Sakánír, about four *kos* distant. On receiving this information, the Emperor held a council, and Jalál Khán urged that, as their own forces had not come up, and the enemy was in great strength, it was inexpedient to fight by day: they should either wait for reinforcements, or fall upon the enemy by night. But this sensible and prudent counsel did not please the Emperor, who said it was unworthy of brave warriors, and that it was advisable to make a dashing attack at once. "Let each one of us," said he, "single out his adversary and bring him down." * * * Trusting in heaven, they went on their course, till they came in sight of Sarnál. His Majesty went on a little in advance, to the bank of the Mahindarí,[2] to arrange his men. He gave orders for them to buckle on their armour; and when he thus prepared for the assault, he had not with him more than forty men.

Intelligence was now brought of the approach of the heads of his columns; but he was so angry at their tardiness, that he declared none of them should share in the honours of the fight. But he was informed that they had lost their way, and that Sháhbáz Khán, who had been sent to hasten their arrival, had been long in reaching them. This statement appeased his anger. Among the chiefs of the army who now came up and joined him were Khán-i 'Álam, Saiyid Mahmúd

[1] The text of this and the two following Extracts is wanting in the Lucknow edition.

[2] The Mahindarí is the Mahí (see Vol. V. p. 435.)

Khán Bárha, Rájá Bhagwant Dás, Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram, Kúnwar Mán Singh, Bábá Khán Kakshál, Bhúpat, Salím Khán Kákar, Bhúj Hájí, Yúsuf Khán, and some others. The whole force now amounted to about 200 men. As they were crossing the river, Mán Singh requested that he might be appointed to the advanced force. His Majesty said that he had no army to divide, but on that day they must all fight heartily together. But Mán Singh earnestly entreated that, in order to show his devotion, he might be allowed to push on a few paces in front. He received permission, and with a few brave men went on in advance. Akbar himself and his companions followed, and all passed over the river safely at a ford.

Ibráhím Husain Mirzá had previously entered the town of Sarnál. When he saw the dust of the approaching force, and the way in which the horsemen crossed the river, he told his companions that he was sure that the Emperor was there present. But the ill-starred foolish man led his forces out of the town to a rising ground, and there took up a position. When the Emperor's men had come out of the river, they were scattered and broken up into parties, each of which pushed on as best it could. The Emperor himself, with a few followers, approached the river-gate of Sarnál, where he was encountered by a party of the rebels. But Mukbil Khán, a Kalmuck slave, rushed forward with a few brave fellows, and soon watered the dust with their blood. On entering the town, they found it full of men, and learned that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá had gone out by another way to prepare for battle.

The Emperor, having disentangled himself from the streets of the town, and the crowds of people, endeavoured to encourage his followers, and to strike dismay into the enemy. Bábá Khán Kákshál, with a party of brave men, assaulted, and bore back the enemy. Others also, as they got clear from the streets of the town, came up in all directions, and took part in the fight. Among them Bhúpat, the brother of Rájá Bhagwant Dás, met his death bravely fighting with a party

of the enemy he had encountered. The ground was rugged, and so covered with thorn hedges, that two horsemen could not proceed abreast. His Majesty still pressed on slowly, and was supported by Rájá Bhagwant Dás. Three of the enemy now attacked them. One menaced Bhagwant Dás with his javelin; but the Rájá stood up in his stirrups, and avoiding the weapon, he struck his adversary so fiercely with his spear that he was glad to retreat. The other two attacked the Emperor, and a formidable hedge prevented Khán-i 'Álam and others from rendering any assistance; but the Emperor dashed from the hedge upon his adversaries so fiercely that they turned and fled. Ibráhím Husain, who was fighting manfully, finding himself defeated, turned and fled. The royal troops pursued and cut down many of the fugitives.

Affairs of Bengal.

(See Vol. V. pp. 372, 511.)

When the death of Sulaimán Kirání became known, Khán-khánán Mun'im Khán marched from the fort of Chunár against the province of Bihár. Sikandar Uzkek died about the same time. Khán-khánán then sent Tangri Kulí with a force against Hájípúr, and Tálibí with another detachment against Patna. Gújar, unable to resist, sent presents and propositions of submission. He offered to enter the Imperial service, and to assist in the conquest of Bengal, upon condition of receiving Gorakpúr for the support of himself and family, and of the province of Bihár being allotted in *jágir* to the Imperial nobles; or that the *sarkár* of Hájípúr and Bihár should be assigned to him for that year, he being responsible to the Imperial treasury for the revenue, and that in the next year he should receive a *jágir* in Bengal. Mun'im Khán accepted this proposition, and was about to make Gorakpúr over to him, when Lodí, whose craft appeared in all the matters of that country, conspired with Háshim Khán, and upset the arrangement. Gújar, finding that

he had nothing to expect from Mun'im Khán, was obliged to side with Lodí.

Mun'im Khán, having received tribute from Lodí, started on his return, when intelligence arrived that Yúsuf Muhammad had taken possession of Gorakpúr. Mun'im Khán had taken this Yúsuf Muhammad, son of Sulaimán Uzbek, to Court, and had brought his misconduct to the notice of the Emperor, who deemed it prudent to put him in confinement. But when His Majesty went on his campaign in Gujarát, Yúsuf escaped from his prison in Ágra, and wrested Gorakpúr from the hands of the men of Páyinda Muhammad Bangash. When Mun'im Khán was informed of this, he immediately ordered Khán Muhammad Basúdí and Páyinda Muhammad Bangash to repress the revolt. He himself also marched from the town of Muhammadábád along with Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás, Majnún Khán Kákshál, and some other nobles. But on the march Majnún Khán, with all the Kákshals, parted from him. The reason of this defection was, that false statements had been made to Majnún Khán, that Bábá Khán Jabbárí, Mirzá Muhammad Sháh, and the other Kákshals who had accompanied the Emperor on the campaign in Gujarát, had killed Sháhbáz Khán, and had gone over to join the Mirzás. In consequence of this, it was asserted that an order had arrived for the arrest of Majnún Khán. The Khán-khánán sent officers to re-assure Majnún Khán, and to bring him with them. But their efforts were in vain, until letters arrived from Bábá Khán detailing the favours received from His Majesty, and the services he had rendered in the campaign. Ashamed of his suspicions, Majnún Khán returned and rejoined the army of Khán-khánán; but before he arrived, Khán-khánán had accomplished the reduction of Gorakpúr.

Meanwhile Dáúd, puffed up with pride, had marched against Jaunpúr, having sent on Lodí in advance with a select force and the elephants. He obtained possession of Zamániya by the capitulation of Muhammad Kásim, the *muhr-dár* (seal-bearer). Khán-khánán collected the *amírs* under his command, and sent

forward a strong force against Dáúd, he himself following more leisurely. * * Lodí was greatly elated with the capture of Zamániya, and he sent 5000 or 6000 men across the Ganges, under the command of Yúsuf Muhammad, who had escaped from Gorakpúr and joined the Afgháns. After he had crossed the Ganges, Mirzá Husain Khán and Rájá Gajpati attacked and defeated him, inflicting heavy loss. Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás and other *amírs* joined the victors, with considerable reinforcements, at Gházípúr. Khán-khánán also arrived with a strong force. Lodí threw up fortifications between the rivers Sáh (Sye) and Ganges, and there held his ground. Combats took place every day between the bold spirits of the two armies. But although the Imperial forces maintained a bold attitude, they were inferior in men, elephants, and guns. The Emperor was at the time engaged in the siege of Surat: so Mun'im Khán offered terms of peace; but Lodí haughtily rejected them. The *amírs* in the royal army were in a depressed condition, and were neither inclined to fight nor retire. But the Imperial good fortune attended them, and Lodí accepted terms of peace and withdrew.

The reason of this was, that when Dáúd came to Mongír from Bengal, he made away with Yúsuf, the son of Táj, and nephew to himself, in the apprehension that Lodí might support him. Lodí had been an old servant of Táj, and he had given his own daughter in marriage to Yúsuf; but his intercessions for him were of no avail. When Lodí became acquainted with the fact, he deserted Dáúd, and joined Mun'im Khán, sending suitable tribute to the Emperor. Dáúd, on ascertaining this defection, fell back, and shut himself up in the fort of Garhí, where he scattered the treasure of his father among his soldiers. Jalál Khán, Saiyid Húrí, and Kálá Pahár, whose name was Rájú, now separated from Lodí, and divisions arose in Lodí's forces. Lodí was thereby compelled to abandon his design of attacking Dáúd, and to take refuge in the fort of Rohtás. He wrote from thence to assure Mun'im Khán of his fidelity to the

Emperor, and calling for his support. The Khán sent him aid, and looked anxiously for the return of the Emperor.

Christians at Surat.

(See Vol. V. p. 351.)

Whilst the siege of Surat was proceeding, a large party of Christians from the port of Goa arrived, and they were admitted to an audience of the Emperor, although it is probable that they had come to assist the besieged, and to get the fort into their own hands. But when they saw the strength of the Imperial force, and its power of carrying on the siege, they represented themselves to be ambassadors, and besought the honour of an interview. They offered various articles of the country as presents. Akbar treated each one them with great condescension, and conversed with them about the affairs of Portugal, and other European matters.

Eighteenth Year of the Reign.

I'dar and Dúngarpúr.

(See Vol. V. p. 353.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 8.] [When the Emperor set out from Gujarát on his return to Ágra], he appointed Muzaffar Khán to the government of Málwa. He also sent Mán Singh, Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram, and * * * * and a strong force, to proceed by I'dar to Dúngarpúr and that neighbourhood, to reduce to subjection the *zamíndárs*, and afterwards to proceed to Ágra. * * * * The Emperor reached the capital on the 2nd Safar, 981, and soon afterwards Mán Singh, and the other *amírs* who had gone by way of I'dar, rejoined the Imperial standard. When this chief and his followers reached Dúngarpúr, they found the *zamíndárs* of that country prepared to resist. Mán Singh defeated them, and inflicted great loss upon them. After ravaging the country, he went, in accordance with orders, to U'dípúr, the country of the Ráná. The Ráná came forth to

meet him, and received with proper submission the royal robe which had been sent to him. He conducted Mán Singh to his own abode, and there entertained him. Some treacherous designs entered the mind of the Ráná, but he was dissuaded from them by his well-wishers, and Mán Singh went his way in peace.

Muzaffar Khán.

(See Vol. V. p. 370.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 8.] Muzaffar Khán arrived to attend upon His Majesty, and was raised to the dignity of minister. An order had been sent from Gujarát, directing him to quit the place he might be in, and to repair at once to the Royal presence. He accordingly hastened from Sárangpúr to the capital, and then was installed in office. * * * * But in a short time he became proud, conceited, and self-willed, so that he looked upon his position as due to his own merit, not to the favour of the Emperor. After a time, when the matter of the *dágh* (horse-branding) came under consideration, he was too puffed up in his own conceit to inquire into the matter, but talked foolishly about it. * * * * [When the Emperor was about to embark on his campaign against Patna], he offered the command of the camp of the Imperial household to Muzaffar Khán; but he further increased the displeasure of the Emperor by making improper objections to his acceptance of this duty.

Nineteenth Year of the Reign.

Capture of Hájípúr.

(See Vol. V. p. 377.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 75.] Khán-i 'Álam procured a number of experienced pilots, and embarking in boats on the evening of the 24th Amurdád, the pilots conducted the force across the river so cleverly that the enemy knew nothing of it. Then they ascended the small stream which parts from the Ganges and flows past Hájípúr. The enemy, greatly astonished at the sight, opened a furious fire of cannon and musketry, and the

assailants were on the point of being defeated. A number of *ghrábs* which the Emperor had near him were now sent to their support. The enemy endeavoured to stop them, but they were unable to make way against the stream, and failed in the attempt. The royal boats then proceeded to Hájípúr by the river Gandak. They were met with a very heavy fire, but could not be stopped, and disembarking they made an assault upon the place. It was captured after some severe fighting. Some rascals set the town on fire, and began to plunder; but the forts were taken possession of by the royal forces.

Garhí and Tánda.

(See Vol. V. p. 381.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 84.] Garhí is the gate of Bengal. On one side of it is a lofty mountain, very difficult of ascent, even for a man on foot, how then can a horseman get up it? On the other side several rivers join the Ganges. In the midst a strong fortress had been built by the rulers of the country. A council of war was held as to the way of attacking it, and it was resolved that some way of access must be sought. The *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood said that there was a secret way through the country of the Teli Rájá, which, though impracticable for beasts of burden, might be surmounted by active and intelligent horsemen. * * * Majnún Khán was sent at the head of a brave and resolute detachment by this route. Kiyá Khán Gang was directed to proceed towards Garhí with a party of friendly *zamíndárs*. The rest of the army was about to march, when the sight of the Imperial forces completely overawed the enemy. The leading forces of Khán-khánán made them waver; but when Kiyá Khán's force appeared, they were filled with consternation, and took to flight. A place thus strong, by the help of God, fell without a struggle! * * *

On the 23rd Mihr the Emperor reached Iskandarpúr, near to Manikpúr, where he received a despatch from Khán-khánán, announcing that Dáúd had fled, and that the Imperial troops

had occupied Tánda, the capital. When Garhí fell, Dáúd, unable to contend against the victorious forces, had retreated before them. At Tánda the river Ganges separates into two branches. One flows towards Sátgánw and Orissa; the other towards Mahmúdábád, Fatháb́ád, Sunargánw, and Chittagánw. Dáúd followed the course of the river of Sátgánw until he reached the confines of Orissa, in the hope of continuing his resistance there. Khán-khánán then entered and occupied Tánda, which is the central point of Bengal.

Twentieth Year of the Reign.

Revolt in Bengal.

(See Vol. V. p. 390.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 109.] Whilst Khán-khánán was absent on the campaign against Dáúd in Katak, Kálá Pahár, Babúí Mangalí, and a number of disaffected Afgháns, took arms and attacked the Kákshals. These made but a faint resistance, and were dishonoured by their pusillanimity. The Afgháns occupied the territory of Ghorá-ghát, and pursued the Kákshals, not allowing them to draw rein until they reached Tánda. The Khán-khánán returned in haste, and, without entering Tánda, proceeded at once against the enemy. He found the turbulent force posted on the other side of the Ganges. Not far off the river divides into two branches. Over one of these he cast a bridge, and was preparing to do so over the other, when the enemy took the alarm and fled. Khán-khánán then proceeded to Málda, and sent a detachment under Majnún Khán to Ghorá-ghát, which quickly brought the place again under the Imperial authority.

Warlike operations in Bihár.

(See Vol. V. p. 380.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 109.] It has been already stated that when Akbar returned from the conquest of Patna, he deemed it ex-

pedient to send Muzaffar Khán to serve as an assistant to Farhat Khán in the siege of Rohtás, without allowing him the honour of an interview. The Khán was for some time stunned with his disgrace; but he at length listened to the prudent counsels of Khwája Shamsu-d dín Khátí, and bringing out some of his hoards, he busied himself in equipping his forces. He soon obtained possession of Júndh and Sahsarám, which, in consequence of the Emperor's having been so fully occupied, had not been assigned in *jágír* to any one. He trained and prepared his forces carefully, and when Farhat Khán, with the other *amírs*, invested Rohtás, he showed himself fully ready for service, and soon proved his valour. Bahádur, the son of Haibat Khán, made a sortie from the fortress. He was opposed by Muzaffar Khán, who drove him back with a considerable loss of munitions and elephants. The *amírs* proceeded to invest the fortress, and he, attaching himself to Farhat Khán, exhibited great diligence.

In a short time, the conduct of Muzaffar Khán won back the Royal favour. The Emperor addressed a letter to him, with instructions to prosecute the siege of Rohtás if he and the *amírs* with him considered that the place might be reduced in a given time; but if the opinion was that the siege would be protracted, he was to raise it and employ his forces against the Afgháns, who were creating disturbances in Bihár, and to compel them to become dutiful subjects of the Imperial throne, or else to inflict condign punishment upon them. Muzaffar Khán replied that the army was not possessed of the implements for carrying on a siege, and that the probable time of its fall could not be calculated,—it therefore seemed desirable to first rid the province of the contemptible enemy who distressed it. He accordingly joined Mírzáda 'Alí Khán and the other warriors who had been left in the province by the Emperor. He also formed a union with Muhsin Khán, 'Arab Bahádur, and the forces which had been left under them by Mun'im Khán to protect his *jágír*. With these he rendered good service, and repressed all the malcontents in the province. He drove Adham

Khán Mutanabbi out of Ibráhímpúr, and Daryá Khán from the town of Jasarkánur to Jhárkand.

When he had thus restored order, the officers of Mun'im Khán were moved with envy against him, and sent him away. As he had no *jágír* on which to support his followers, he retired with Khudádád Birlás and Khwája Shamsu-d dín to Júndh and Sahsarám. As he was on his way thither, intelligence reached him that those two places had been occupied by forces from Rohtás. So he continued his march, and by valour and good management cleared those two places of the enemy. He had no sooner done this than new disturbances broke out in Bihár. Disregarding the ungrateful behaviour of the Bihár officials, he once more intervened, and rendered good service.

The circumstances of the case were these. Mun'im Khan Khán-khánán had left 'Arab Bahádur in Mahír, which is a fort between Bihár and Jhárkand. Ghází and Hájí, two brothers, came with a party of turbulent Afgháns from Jhárkand, and seized the place. Many of the garrison were put to the sword; but 'Arab Bahádur made his escape, and, hastening to the *amírs* of the province, they gathered their forces, and marched to repress this outbreak. The Afgháns retired to the fastnesses of the mountains and defied them. The *amírs* went after them, and at length found themselves unable either to advance or retire. A party of nearly 300 Rájpúts, in the service of Rájá Bhagwant Dás, bravely advanced, but were defeated, and lost nearly 100 of their number. They now sent to solicit aid from Muzaffar Khán, who soon joined them with his victorious followers.

A letter at this time arrived from Khán-khánán, which made them hesitate in their movements. It brought the information that Junaid was hastening by way of Jhárkand to Bihár, and urged the necessity of overpowering him before he could obtain reinforcements. Muzaffar Khán took a bold view of the matter, and resolved that the proper course was to crush the rebel Afgháns before Junaid could join them. There was no knowing

whether Junaid would reach the neighbourhood in less than ten days, and it was to be hoped that the enemy before them might be routed in one day, after which the Imperial forces would be in a better condition to meet the intruder. It was accordingly determined that a detachment should proceed with all speed and caution, and get close in to the rear of the enemy, while the main force prepared for battle in front. Muzaffar Khán commanded the centre, Farhat Khán the right, and * * * Khwája Shamsu-d dín was placed in command of the force which was to gain the enemy's rear.

The enemy was posted on a hill, full of confidence in their numbers, and in the strength of their position. When they found themselves suddenly threatened both in front and rear, they were seized with dismay and fled. The Imperial troops achieved a victory, and secured much spoil. They followed in pursuit until they reached a hill near Rámpúr, in Jhárkand, where the enemy made a stand. * * Muzaffar Khán made his dispositions in front, and Khwája Shamsu-d dín, as before, got to the rear of the enemy, and attacked bravely. Husain Khán and * * several leaders of the enemy having fallen, the rebels fled; and the Imperial troops gained a decisive victory. After returning thanks for their success, they withdrew, and repaired to their respective cantonments.

The news of this victory arrested Junaid for a time in his contemplated attack upon Bihár. But a few days afterwards he found the means of reaching Nuzhatábád in that province, and there raised a revolt. The *amírs* of the province withdrew into Patna, and in their distress again applied to Muzaffar Khán for help. He accordingly moved to their assistance. On his march, he was met by letters from the Emperor, acknowledging and eulogizing his services, and conferring upon him the *jágir* of Hájípúr previously held by Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás. This stimulated him to further exertions. He effected a junction with the other *amírs*, and began operations against the insurgents. He erected a bridge by which he passed over the Punpun river.

But instructions now arrived from Khán-khánán, directing caution in attacking Junaid, as he himself intended to march against him. The *amírs* concurred in this policy of procrastination, and although Muzaffar Khán advised a bolder course, his counsels were of no avail. He was adverse to remaining quiet or retreating, and was about to attack Junaid, when great alarm was raised by disturbances which had broken out at Hájípúr, and he was obliged to repair thither.

Táj Khán Panwár and others had attacked Mír Mahmúd Shaukiti, who held Hájípúr for Muzaffar Khán, and had killed him and about a hundred of his people. So Muzaffar Khán was constrained to relinquish his designs against Junaid, and he proceeded with Khudádád Birlás and others to Hájípúr. Notwithstanding the numbers of his opponents, he determined to attack them. As a direct advance against them was impracticable, he crossed the Ganges, and came to the town of Sawánih, between which place and Hájípúr the river Gandak runs with a strong current. The Afgháns were confident in their numbers, and in the weakness of their foes. But Muzaffar had resolution, which is the key of success and of victory. He was joined by Udí Karan, the *zamíndár* of Champáran.

While the enemy was on one side of the river, and Muzaffar was on the other, seeking some way of getting over, the *zamíndár* suggested a way of accomplishing this difficult operation. He said that higher up the river his people had some strong boats, in which the troops might be conveyed over. * * Three hundred men under Kásim 'Alí Sístání, etc., were sent over the river by night, attended by messengers, who were to bring intelligence of the passage having been safely effected. When the information was brought that this detachment had crossed over and were approaching the enemy, Muzaffar Khán sent some boats full of men over the river, under the command of Khwája Shamsu-d dín and Khudádád Birlás, to attack the enemy in front. The Afgháns received them with the fire of matchlocks, and showers of arrows; but in the midst of the fight, the drums

of the force which had been sent to their rear spread a panic among the Afgháns, and they took flight. Many of them were slain. Hájípúr was delivered from them, and great spoil fell into the hands of the victors. The inhabitants of Patna had watched the proceedings with malicious interest, but refrained from rendering the rebels any assistance, though they were filled with disappointment.

After achieving this success, Muzaffar Khán received information that Fath Khán Musazai, and some others, had assembled a large force of Afgháns on the other side of the river Gandak, with the intention of raising disturbances. Muzaffar Khán, in his foresight and zeal, set forth at once to oppose them. On reaching the river, he went with a party to reconnoitre, and endeavour to find a place to cross over; for although the river is narrow, it is very deep. While thus engaged, he saw a party of the enemy's horse, about 200 in number He immediately gave directions to Khwája Shamsu-d dín and 'Arab Bahádur to make a detour, cross over the river, and attack them unawares. They obeyed; but the enemy, perceiving their approach, fell back to obtain assistance. Muzaffar Khán then passed over the river, to join his advanced force. The flying enemy, being joined by reinforcements, faced round and gave battle. The great numbers of the enemy struck terror into the Imperialists, so that they dispersed and fled. Many threw themselves into the river, and were drowned. Muzaffar Khán was about to plunge into the river, when Khwája Shamsu-d dín seized his bridle, and made off towards the mountains; but he sent back a swift horseman to the camp, to try and bring up more men. The enemy pressed on in pursuit, but Khwája Shamsu-d dín, 'Arab Bahádur, and others, about fifty in all, turned round and checked their advance with showers of arrows. Night was coming on, and Muzaffar Khán was in this strait, when the blaze of the Imperial good fortune shone forth.

A report had reached the camp of Muzaffar Khán that he had been killed, and the men were about to hasten off, when the

messenger who had been sent back arrived and revived their drooping spirits. Khudádád Birlás, Mihr 'Alí, and about 200 men boldly dashed across the river, and the messenger who had been sent for them took back the intelligence of their approach. The enemy, notwithstanding their success and the excess of their numbers, were unable to stand against the assault of this gallant band, but took to flight. Defeat was thus turned into victory, and great booty was won. Next day they plundered the camp of the Afgháns, and obtained much spoil. The machinations of the enemy were thus defeated. Those who escaped went and sought refuge with Táj Khán Panwár. There they pursued their evil designs, and in the abundance of their wealth, the paucity of their wisdom, and the numbers of adventurers, they again took the offensive.

Muzaffar Khán prudently effected his retreat across the Gandak, and took up a position in a spot bounded on three sides by the river, and on the fourth by a great swamp. There he busied himself in collecting men and stores. The enemy, emboldened by this retreat, came up and surrounded the force of Muzaffar Khán; but being unable to make any impression upon it, they were disheartened. In the course of a few days Muzaffar's men increased in numbers and recovered their spirits. The *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood also took heart, and exerted themselves in furnishing things required. A bridge was then thrown over the river. To obviate any disaster in crossing, it was prudently resolved to send over by night a party of men, who were to make an entrenchment as a defence against the enemy, so that the troops might be able to deploy when they should get to the other side. But no one was willing to undertake this duty till Khwája Shamsu-d dín Kháfí boldly volunteered for the perilous work. He soon crossed over, and the Afgháns retreated before him, in the expectation that the Imperial troops, finding their opponents in retreat, would disperse in search of plunder, and afford a favourable opportunity for attacking them. Muzaffar Khán took all proper precautions, and sent a strong force over

to make the place secure. The Afgháns, aware of the movement, threw off all concealment, and moved a strong division against this advanced force. The infantry gave way, and their flight caused a panic among a body of horse. Their backward rush broke down the bridge, and near 300 men, horse and foot, perished in the river. Khwája Shamsu-d dín, Khudádád Birlás, and several other distinguished soldiers made a stand, and twice checked the advance of the enemy with showers of arrows. A third attack was made, but an arrow pierced the horse of Husain Khán, the commander of the enemy, and brought him down. The enemy then broke, and desisted from their attacks. No harm befel the brave Imperial soldiers. By dint of great exertion the bridge was repaired, and all the army passed over. The Afgháns then retired, and joined their main army under Táj Khán.

Muzaffar Khán followed them, and was informed by his scouts that a party of the rebels, in perfect ignorance of his approach, was seeking for a suitable position for earthworks. Muzaffar Khán left Khudádád in command of a small force, to secure his camp, and marched with the design of making the enemy's men prisoners. He fell suddenly upon them, and, after a short resistance, they fled precipitately. Many were killed, among whom was Táj Khán Panwár, whose head had been cut off and brought in by Hájí Pahlawán, without his knowing who the victim was. Jalál Khán Ghazní, one of their bravest chiefs, was taken prisoner, and many others were taken or slain. A complete victory was gained; but although nightfall and the thick growing trees prevented the destruction of the rebels' houses, many of the brave soldiers secured a good booty. Next morning the army advanced; but the enemy dispersed, and threw themselves into the river. Great numbers perished, but about 100 of the boldest succeeded in reaching the opposite shore. This revolt was thus entirely suppressed.

Soon after this, Satrí and Jatrí,[1] with a party of Afgháns,

[1] Names of two Afgháns.

seized the opportunity to take possession of the country of Bakra. This is a populous district, thirty *kos* long and twenty *kos* broad, in the vicinity of Mongír, by the river Ganges. When Muzaffar Khán was informed of this outbreak, he marched to suppress it. A sharp action followed, in which Fath Khán, the commander of the insurgents, and seventy-nine of his men, fell. Muzaffar then occupied the country.

These successes of Muzaffar Khán made Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán averse to his remaining in that neighbourhood, so he sent an order directing him to repair immediately to Court. * * * * But while Muzaffar was chafing in vexation, a command arrived from the Emperor, ordering him to remain where he was, and carry on his work until recalled by an Imperial order. So he returned joyfully to Hájípúr, * * * and shortly afterwards the far-seeing Emperor, appreciating his services and merits, bestowed upon him the wide territory extending from the ford of Chaunsá to Garhí.

Rájá Todar Mal.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 138.] Rájá Todar Mal now arrived at Court, bringing with him fifty-four elephants, which had been taken in Bengal, in the campaign of Takrohi. These he presented, and he made a report upon the state of the country. He received many marks of favour, and was promoted to the dignity of *diwán*, and to the charge of the revenue and civil affairs of the Empire. He was an honest sincere man, and devoid of avarice. Would that he had been free from hatred and revenge, and that harshness had not been so conspicuous in his character!

Twenty-first Year of the Reign.

Conquest of Siwána.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 147.] Siwána is a famous fortress in the province of Ajmír, and belonged to Chandar Sen.[1] It was held by Bathá Ráhtor. Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram and Rái

[1] "Son of Mál Deo."—Faizí Sirhindí.

Singh had not conducted their operations skilfully. The horses of their men were out of condition, and want of grain and provender had reduced their army to a miserable state. Saiyid Ahmad and others were first sent to assist, and to do their best in reducing the fort, so that the troops might return. The *amírs* hastened from their estates to take their part in the siege. Just at this time Jalál Khán was killed, and this encouraged the rebels to raise their heads still higher in rebellion. More especially Kalla, son of Rái Rám, and grandson of Mál Deo, who collected a large number of men in the fort of Wíkúr. The Saiyids of Bárha and other chiefs of the army were directed to put down these rebels, and the operations against Siwána were suspended. Sháhbáz Khán was appointed to conduct a reinforcement, and return to Court. When he approached the scene of operations, he learned that the Imperial army had already invested the fortress, and were pressing it hard. Sháhbáz Khán pressed forward zealously, to take part in the siege. By vigorous and valiant exertions, the place was reduced, and the garrison made prisoners. Leaving a detachment under the Bárha Saiyids as a garrison, he marched against Siwána.

Eight *kos* from the fortress of Siwána, he came to a stone fort called Dúnára.[1] He found it occupied by a body of Rájpúts, of the Ráhtor clan, who refused his summons to surrender. So he set about the siege in earnest, and prepared *sábáts*. In a short time the fort was taken, and many of the Ráhtors were slain. He then marched against Siwána, the garrison of which place had been intimidated by the fall of Dúnára. He again constructed *sábáts*, and pressed on the operations of the siege so vigorously and boldly that the garrison, after a short delay, capitulated.

Death of Dáúd.

(See Vol. V. p. 400.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 158.] When victory declared for the Imperial army, the weak-minded Dáúd was made prisoner. His horse

[1] On the Loní, thirty-five miles from Siwána.

stuck fast in the mud, and * * * a party of brave men seized him, and brought him prisoner to Khán-jahán... The Khán said to him, "Where is the treaty you made, and the oath that you swore?" Throwing aside all shame, he said, "I made that treaty with Khán-khánán. If you will alight, we will have a little friendly talk together, and enter into another treaty." Khán-jahán, fully aware of the craft and perfidy of the traitor, ordered that his body should be immediately relieved from the weight of his rebellious head. He was accordingly decapitated, and his head was sent off express to the Emperor. His body was exposed on a gibbet at Tánda, the capital of that country.

Campaign against Gajpati. Capture of Rohtás.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 161.] In consequence of the difficulty of transporting camp equipage, Gajpati[1] had broken out into rebellion, and formed the design of plundering Gházípúr. But Sháhbáz Khán arrived with the royal forces, and shook the foundations of his position. He fled to the ford of Chaunsá, pursued by the Imperial troops. There he crossed the Ganges, and continued fighting. The royal forces, having found means of crossing the river, pursued him, and inflicted upon him a severe defeat, taking his boats, guns, and camp equipage. In their pursuit of him, they came to the fort of Mahawá,[2] which they invested, and Sangrám, the commandant, immediately surrendered. Sháhbáz placed a garrison in it, and continued his pursuit of the rebel, who fled into the wooded and rugged country of Bhojpúr. All efforts to overtake him proving vain, the royal troops retired. On the following day the rebel attacked the retreating forces on the bank of a river, and kept up the fight till night. The ground was so broken and confined, that the royal troops were unable to cross in face of their assailants; but, being guided by Sangrám, they fell upon the baggage of the enemy. Unable to accomplish anything by day, the rebel

[1] Briggs calls him "Raja of Gunjowty."—Firishta, ii. p. 250.

[2] Twenty-eight miles north-west of Rohtás.

made a night attack, but being again defeated, he fled to Jagdespúr, one of his strongest retreats. For two months the royal forces were actively engaged in clearing away the trees round the fort. At length the place fell, and the family and property of the rebel was captured, but he himself escaped.

After this defeat, Gajpati fled in great distress and terror to the foot of the hills of Rohtás, and there concealed himself. Bari Sál, his brother, with a large body of rebels, sought refuge among the woods and defiles, but they were discovered and slain by the Imperial forces, and great spoil was captured.

When Gajpati was [first] defeated, he placed his son Sri Rám, with a body of rebels and the necessary armament, in the fort of Sher-garh.[1] Sháhbáz Khán invested this fort, constructed *sábáts*, and made regular approaches. The people of the neighbourhood were coming in and submitting to the Imperial government, when a great and unexpected piece of fortune fell upon him. At the time when this country had no (Imperial) noble to manage it, the fort of Rohtás fell into the hands of Junaid, and he placed it under the charge of Saiyid Muhammad, one of his most trusty adherents. On the death of Junaid, the Saiyid held the fort for some time as a rebel against the Imperial authority; but he at length induced his men to agree in sending tribute to the Emperor by the hands of some faithful adherent. When the Imperial army approached the fortress under the direction of guides, without whose help the access would have been difficult, they resolved to make submission, and capitulated. Muzaffar Khán also was approaching with the army of Bihár to attack the fortress. The garrison sent out officers to treat with Sháhbáz Khán and surrender the fort. He joyfully agreed to their terms, and took possession of the fortress. Upon hearing of the capitulation, Muzaffar Khán returned disappointed.

The fortress having thus fallen, the people of the hills were filled with alarm. Sri Rám surrendered the keys of Sher-garh to Sháhbáz Khán.

[1] Or "Shergutty," sixty-five miles S.E. of Jagdespúr.

Twenty-second Year of the Reign.

The Mint.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 195.] On the 2nd Ázar, Muzaffar Khán, Rájá Todar Mal, and Khwája Sháh Mansúr were summoned to a council at Kot-pakalí, where many important matters were discussed and settled. Bihár was given to Shujá'at Khán, Mír Mu'izzu-l Mulk and other adherents. The mint of the Empire, which had been under the management of a *chaudhari*, was now divided.[1] That of Fathpúr was placed under the direction of Khwája 'Abdu-s Samad, the elegant penman (*shirín-kalam*); that of Lahore under Muzaffar Khán; of Bengal, under Rájá Todar Mal; of Jaunpúr, under Khwája Sháh Mansúr; of Gujarát, under Khwája 'Imádu-d dín Husain; and of Patna, under Ásaf Khán. On the same day an order was issued, directing the coinage of four-cornered rupees.

European Novelties.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 196.] Hájí Habíb had been sent to the port of Goa, with a large sum of money and intelligent artisans, to examine and bring to the Emperor's knowledge the various productions of art and skill to be found in that town. He now returned to Court, having with him a number of men clad in Christian garb, and beating drums and playing European instruments. He presented fabrics which he had selected. The artisans who had gone there to acquire knowledge exhibited their skill, and received applause. Musicians of that country played upon various instruments, especially upon the organ, and gave great delight to all who heard them.

Defeat of the Rájá of Madhgarh.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 196.] This *zamíndár* having been guilty of some overt acts, Sádik Khán was sent with a considerable force to induce him by kind words to return to his allegiance, or to

[1] The printed text has "*tafhím*," instead of the right word, "*taksím*;"—an absurd blunder, but not worse than many others.

compel him, if necessary. The Imperial force prepared to make its way through the jungle to the town of Úndacha,[1] which is the principal place of that chief. When they approached the fort of Karharáa,[2] they found that Paramánand Panwár had shut the fort, and prepared against a siege. The royal forces invested the place, and in short time it was compelled to capitulate. The army then pursued its march, but was greatly impeded by the dense woods. Cutting their way through, they reached the Satdhára,[3] on the north of Úndacha. The army of the insurgent was arrayed for battle on its banks. Skirmishes went on for a day or two, and the Imperial army was at last directed to cross the river. [*Severe fighting, with varying results.*] The enemy were at length defeated and put to flight, and their camp was plundered. * * Horal Deo, the eldest son of the Rájá, was killed. * * Rám Sáh, another son, was wounded, and fled, and near 200 Rájpúts were slain.

Twenty-third Year of the Reign.

Conquest of Kombalmír.

(See Vol. V. p. 410.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 205.] Kombalmír is a fortress situated upon a high mountain, and difficult of access. It was held by dependents of the *ráná*, and few had been able to make any impression upon it in former times. * * * Sháhbáz Khán was sent in command of an army against this fortress. Rájá Bhagwant Dás, Kunwar Mán Singh, and other chiefs were directed to accompany him. * * On the 4th Farwardín, Sháhbáz invested the place. Fear and distraction fell upon the enemy, and by accident a large gun that was in the fort burst, and destroyed the magazine. The assailants immediately dashed up the hill. They encountered a large body of Rájpúts posted at a gate near the temple, who made a firm stand, but were cut to pieces, and the fort was

[1] Urcha on the Betwá, in Bundelkhand. It is the chief seat of the Bundelas.

[2] About eighteen miles south of Narwar.

[3] "Seven streams." The Betwá is so called at Urcha.

secured. The Ráná then fled to the hills of Bánswárra. Sháhbáz Khán placed Ghází Khán Badakhshi in command of the fort, and went in pursuit. The fort of Kokanda fell into his power, and he also captured the fort of Udípúr, where he secured an immense booty.

Tribute of Bengal. Arrival of a European and his Wife.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 207.] While the Emperor was encamped on the Beyah, letters arrived from Khán-jahán, accompanying the tribute from Bengal, and from Rájá Mál Gosain, the *zamíndár* of Kúch, who had renewed his demonstration of obedience to the Imperial throne. The tribute of Bengal consisted of the choicest productions of Bengal, and of fifty-four elephants. Along with these came a European, named Partáb Bár, one of the chief merchants of the ports of Bengal, who was accompanied by Basúrbá,[1] his wife; he was graciously received at Court, and his sound sense and upright conduct won the favour and esteem of the Emperor.

Discussions in the 'Ibádat-Khána.

(See Vol. V. p. 526.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 215.] When the capital was illumined by the return of the Imperial presence, the old regulations came again into operation, and the house of wisdom shone resplendent on Friday nights with the light of holy minds. On the 20th Mír, in that place of meeting, the lamp was kindled to brighten the solitude of seclusion in the banquet of society, and the merits of the philosophers of the colleges and monasteries were put to the test of the touchstone. *Súfis*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnís*, *Shí'as*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chár-báks*,[2] Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief, were gathered together in the royal assembly, and were filled with delight. Each one fearlessly brought forward his assertions

[1] These names are very doubtful.

[2] *Chárvákas*, Hindú materialists.

and arguments, and the disputations and contentions were long and heated. Every sect, in its vanity and conceit, attacked and endeavoured to refute the statements of their antagonists.[1] * * * One night the *'Ibádat-Khána* was brightened by the presence of Padre Radalf,[2] who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigoted men attacked him, and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly! These men brought forward the old received assertions, and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces, and they were nearly put to shame; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say, "If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Kurán to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the *'ulamá* with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest." The black-hearted mean-spirited disputants shrank from this proposal, and answered only with angry words. This prejudice and violence greatly annoyed the impartial mind of the Emperor, and, with great discrimination and enlightenment, he said: "Man's outward profession and the mere letter of Muhammadanism, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing. I have forced many Brahmans, by fear of my power, to adopt the religion of my ancestors; but now that my mind has been enlightened with the beams of truth, I have become

[1] Here, and in other parts of this chapter, there are in the MSS. long passages which are not printed in the Lucknow edition. Among the rest, that about the Padre.

[2] There can be little doubt, as Mr. Blochmann has suggested, that Rodolph is the true reading; but one of my MSS. reads "*Radíf*," and the other "*Raunak*," a known word having been substituted for an unknown in each case. The translation used by Mr. Elphinstone has "Radif." The person intended was Padre Rodolpho Aquaviva, a missionary from Goa.—See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 167; Murray's *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, vol. ii.

convinced that the dark clouds of conceit and the mist of self-opinion have gathered round you, and that not a step can be made in advance without the torch of proof. That course only can be beneficial which we select with clear judgment. To repeat the words of the Creed, to perform circumcision, or to lie prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power, can avail nothing in the sight of God:

Obedience is not in prostration on the earth:
Practise sincerity, for righteousness is not borne upon the brow."

Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign.

A Census.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 324.] An Imperial mandate was issued directing the *jágírdárs, shikkdars,* and *dárogahs* throughout the Empire to draw up, village by village, lists of all the inhabitants, specifying their names and occupations; and that these lists should all be collected together. The officers were not to allow any one to reside who was not engaged in some business or occupation, and they were to inquire into the arrival and departure of clever men, and ascertain whether their designs were good or evil, so that in a short time the true characters of the outwardly respectable and inwardly malicious might be brought to the test. This regulation was the means of establishing tranquillity, and of providing security for the broad expanse of Hindústán.

Twenty-seventh Year of the Reign.

Revenue Regulations.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 368.] At the beginning of this year, His Majesty directed his attention to an improvement of the administration of his territories, and passed new laws for the management of civil and revenue business. Rájá Todar Mal had, previous to this, been named as *wazír;* but the dangers and difficulties of the post, and the opposition to be

encountered, made him unwilling to accept the office. But this unambitious man, who was acquainted with all the mysteries of administration, was now elevated to the office of *diwán*, and in reality to the *wakálat*. His clear judgment soon set matters to rights. Civil and revenue matters received his especial attention. Careful to keep himself free from all selfish ambition, he devoted himself to the service of the State, and earned an everlasting fame. He devoted his skill and powerful mind to simplify the laws of the State, and he allowed no grasping and intriguing men to obtain any influence over him. He now proposed several new laws calculated to give vigour and glory to the government.

That the collectors of the *khálisa* lands and the *jágírdárs* should realize[1] the *mál* and *jihát* (cesses), according to the *dastúru-l 'amal;* and if by fraud or oppression anything beyond the settled amount should be received from the cultivators, they were to account it an excess of the proper payment, and were to levy a fine upon those who had exacted it, and enter the amount in the monthly accounts. At every harvest they were to carefully guard the rights of the lower classes. These cases of giving and taking were dealt with in two ways;—the complainant received redress, and power was given to punish the offenders.

The *'ámils* of the *khálisa* had two subordinates, a *kárkun* (manager), and a *khás-navís* (accountant). These officers had been oppressors, and leaguing with the rich, they had been a great source of evil to the poor. If instead of these two infamous officials, one worthy and honest man should be appointed, the country would prosper, and the people would be contented.

It had been discovered that in the *khálisa* districts, the cultivated lands decreased year by year; but if the lands capable of cultivation were once measured, they would increase year by year in proportion to the powers of the *raiyats;* and engagements should be made for them according to rule. The *raiyats* having

[1] The word used is *báz-yáft*, "resumption." Its meaning here seems to be that the totals were to be "brought back" to the settled standard.

nominated each other as sureties, were to take the proper writings, and in all questions of arrears were to be treated in a considerate manner.

For lands which had lain waste four years, they were to receive a deduction of one-half for the first year, for the second year one-quarter, and for the third year they were to pay according to established rule. For lands which had lain untilled for two years they were to receive a deduction of one-fourth for the first year. For uncultivated lands, they were to receive a small allowance of grain, so as to make the lands capable of yielding revenue. When advances were made for the assistance of poor cultivators, engagements were to be taken from men of respectability, and part was to be repaid at the spring harvest, part at the autumnal harvest. By these arrangements, the country would in a short period become cultivated, the *raiyats* would be contented, and the treasury flourishing. When the collectors increased the assessment, back payments were not to be required from small and insignificant estates.

Every year a report was to be made to the Emperor by the collectors, so that efficient officers might receive augmentations of their pay, and an increase of their honours and rewards; while those who did not faithfully discharge their duties would incur punishment and fall into disgrace.

When a portion of cultivated land was fixed upon, some surveyors, in proportion to its extent, were to be appointed. They were first to measure the land, and were then to acquaint themselves with its quality and produce. (The collectors) were to select a central spot for their residence. They were to carry out their duties everywhere diligently, and to inquire into the state of affairs. In seasons when a sufficient quantity of rain fell, and the lands received adequate irrigation, two and a half *biswas* (in the *bigha*) were to be left unassessed; in jungles and sandy lands, three *biswas* were to be left. Weekly accounts of sequestrations, and daily accounts of the collections, were to be sent monthly to the Imperial Exchequer. An Imperial order

was issued, that when lands suffered under any visitation of Providence, a description of them was to be drawn up, and a copy of it sent to Court, so that the Emperor might give directions appropriate to the case.

If the occupants of hill forts, trusting in the security of their fastnesses, should engage in freebooting, the generals, the *faujdars*, the feudatories, and the revenue collectors were directed to unite and effect a remedy. They were first to admonish the offenders, and if that proved unavailing, they were to take measures for inflicting chastisement upon them. Their country was to be laid waste, and the land was to be granted to *jágírdárs*, from whom the revenue officers were to make no demands. If the Imperial troops received any injury, a fine was to be imposed upon the offenders.

Whatever was levied from the *raiyats* was to be paid over to the treasurers, and they were to give receipts to the *raiyats*. The collectors were to remit the payments four times a month, and at the end of this time no balance was to be left unrealized from the *raiyats*. The *raiyats* were to be so treated that they should be willing to make their payments to the treasury voluntarily. Satisfactory security was to be taken from the disaffected and contumacious; and if the bail was not given, watchmen were to be placed over the crops, and the revenue was to be realized.

A descriptive account was to be drawn up of the assessment of each individual, according to his cultivation and labour, and the dates were not to be either postponed or anticipated. The *patwárí* (accountant) of each village was to apportion [the village] name by name, among the various subordinate agents, and the collectors were to send the cash under the seal of the *patwárí* to the treasurer. They were to be vigilant to prevent oppression, and to treat each individual according to his deserts. The treasurer was to draw up a statement of the *mohurs*, *rupees*, and *dáms* according to the value indicated by their respective names and impressions, and showing the value of the old coinages

in the new royal coins, so that the collectors and *sarráfs* might be able to ascertain the respective values of old and new coins. The *La'l-i Jaláli* of full weight and perfect touch was of the value of 400 *dáms*. The *Chahár-goshah* (four-cornered) rupee was worth forty *dáms*. The ordinary (*dastúri*) *ashrafi* and the Akbar-sháhí rupee, which had become deteriorated in use, were to be taken at the following rates. If the *ashrafi* was only two *birinj* (grains of rice) deficient, it was to be deemed of full value, and to be received as equal to 360 *dáms*. If it was deficient from three *birinj* to one *surkh*, it was to be reckoned at 355 *dáms;* if deficient from a *surkh* to a *surkh* and a half, at 350 *dáms*. The rupee not more than one *surkh* deficient was to be considered of full value, and worth 39 *dáms*. If deficient one and a half to two *surkhs*, it was worth 38 *dáms*. The *La'l-i Jaláli* of proper touch and just weight; the *Jalála* rupee not more than from one and a half to two *surkhs* deficient; old rupees of the Akbar-sháhí coinage which might not be deficient more than from three *birinj* to one *surkh;* were to be received at the treasury. Those of greater deficiency were to be tested separately by the cashier, the particulars of them were to be entered by the accountants in their day-books, and accounts of them were to be sent every day to the Government record office. The *jágírdárs*, treasurers, and *sarráfs* (money-changers) were to act upon the above-mentioned rules. The officers of the *khálisa* and the *jágírdárs* were to make proper reports about the well-conducted and the ill-conducted, the obedient and the refractory people in their jurisdictions, so that they might get their deserts, and that the tranquillity of the country might be secured. Instead of the former expenses (*kharch*), the amount having been settled at one *dám* for each *bígha* of cultivated land, it was hoped that, upon this principle, 24 *dáms* might be the estimated sum to be allowed for each cultivator.[1]

[1] ازاین وجه بیست و چهار دام بکشت و کارسمایان مرحمت شود

Twenty-eighth Year of the Reign.

Third Conquest of Bengal.

(See Vol. V. p. 427.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 390.] In the previous year Khán-i 'Azam Mirzá Koka received the Imperial commands to put aside his work of punishing the rebels of Bihár, and to devote his energies to the conquest of Bengal. By good fortune, the rebels of Bihár had been put to flight before the arrival of the Imperial forces. But the rainy season came on, and the campaign was deferred for that year. When the rains subsided, Sádik Khán, Shaikh Ibráhím, and Shaikh Farid Bukhárí took their departure from Court. Officers were also sent by different roads to all the chiefs of Illahábás, Oudh, and Bihár. In a short time a large force was collected in Hájípúr, and was eager for the advance. Khán-i 'Azam, with an escort of chosen troops, proceeded by way of Garhí. Tarsún Khán * * and others crossed over the river to co-operate on the other side, but being greatly impeded by the abundance of trees, ravines, and water and mud, they recrossed the river and joined the army near Mongír. Tarsún Khán and * * then went forward one or two stages in advance. The rebels occupied a position near Káli-gang, and were prepared to fight. Mirzá Sharfu-d dín Husain, Bábá Khán Kákshál, and many other leading rebels were dead, so Ma'súm Kábulí had succeeded to the command. Katlú Lohání headed the rebels in Orissa, and part of Bengal also was in his power. On hearing of the advance of the Imperial army, Ma'súm Kábulí fell back towards Katlú, with whom he entered into negociations, and succeeded in obtaining a promise of support in men and munitions, when the Imperial forces should arrive. After making this agreement, Ma'súm hastened to Ghorá-ghát and won over Jabbárí, Mirzá Beg, and all the Kákshals. To give them a feeling of security, he left his family and children at their abodes. He himself, with a body of rebels, proceeded to the Káli-gang,[1] and there made ready for battle.

[1] Two copies write Káti-gang.

On the 9th Farwardín, the advanced force of the Imperial army made an easy capture of Garhí, which is the gate of that part of the country. The *amírs* pushed on, and, fortune favouring them, they, on the 16th, came in sight of the enemy, and arrayed their forces for action. They placed batteries on the banks of the Káli-gang, and made ready their war-boats. As the generals were apprehensive of an attack from Katlú, they detached 4000 horse, under the command of Wazír Khán, towards Balkana, and this force went about twelve *kos* from the Imperial camp, to watch the movements of the enemy and guard against surprise.

Skirmishes with muskets and bows went on, and some valiant deeds were performed. But the idle talk and timid suggestions of ignorant people began to take effect upon the leaders of the army. The strength of the enemy's force was greatly exaggerated. So an application was made to the Emperor for reinforcements. The Emperor expressed his opinion that news of victory would soon arrive, but he directed Mirzá Khán, Zain Khán Koka, and * * many others to march eastwards with additional forces. But before they were ready to march, intelligence arrived of victory, and of the flight of the enemy. * * *

The Imperial army had been lying nearly a month in face of the enemy, and interchanges of cannonade and musketry went on daily. Deeds of valour were shown on either side, but a panic at length fell upon the enemy, and the royal army obtained the victory on the 4th of the month. The enemy then fled and dispersed. While a warm action was going on, Kází-záda, a leading man among the rebels, arrived from Fathábád, bringing with him many war-boats and supplies of munitions. He was struck dead by a cannon-ball. Ma'súm Khán then ordered Kálá Pahár, a distinguished rebel, to take his place; but he soon met with the same fate. Dissensions arose among the enemy, and Ma'súm Khán, the Kákshál clan, and Khálidín distrusted each other. The Imperial *amírs* took advantage of this disunion. Khálidín was first won over, and induced to take the oath of

allegiance. Mirzá Beg Kákshál and Jabbárí also made terms, secretly engaging not to fight any more, and to proceed homewards. After a few days they came into the Imperial camp. The enemy being greatly downcast and discouraged, took to flight. 'Azam Khán endeavoured to pursue them, but his efforts were countervailed by the faint-hearted and frivolous objections of some of his officers. So the discomfited enemy made his escape. When the news of this victory reached the Court, orders were given to stop the march of the reinforcements.

Ma'súm, after his defeat, fled to the home of the Kákshals, in order to save his family and children from harm, now that there was ill-feeling between him and the Kákshals. Mirzá Muhammad Kákshál received him in a friendly spirit; but the Kákshals in general had posted their forces about Ghorá-ghát, and were prepared to fight. Ma'súm plundered Ghorá-ghát, and was about to attack the Kákshals. But Khán-i 'Azam sent * * with about 4000 horse, under the command of Tarsún Khán. He arrived, just as matters were going hard with the Kákshals, defeated the enemy, and drove him to Ghorá-ghát. Mirzá Beg, Khálidín, Wazír Jamíl, and others renewed their promises, and went away from the royal camp.

* * After this defeat of Ma'súm Khán, the royal forces prepared to march against Katlú, but Khán-i 'Azam had suffered from the climate, and sought to be relieved of his command. The royal order was for one of the *amírs* to take command of the army and the management of the country for a few days; and either to return to Bihár or stay where they were. Shortly afterwards, on the 8th Khurdád, Sháhbáz Khán was appointed to the command.

Burning of Widows.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 395.] In the interior of Hindústán it is the custom, when a husband dies, for his widow willingly and cheerfully to cast herself into the flames (of the funeral pile), although she may not have lived happily with him. Occasionally love of

life holds her back, and then the husband's relations assemble, light the pile, and place her upon it, thinking that they thereby preserve the honour and character of the family. But since the country had come under the rule of his gracious Majesty, inspectors had been appointed in every city and district, who were to watch carefully over these two cases, to discriminate between them, and to prevent any woman being forcibly burnt. About this time, Jai Mál (son of Mál Deo), who had been sent with his forces to join the *amírs* in Bengal, died of sunstroke in the vicinity of Chaunsá. His wife, the daughter of Múna Rájá, was unwilling to burn; but her son Udí Singh, with a party of his bigoted friends, resolved upon the sacrifice. The matter came to the Emperor's knowledge, and his feeling of justice and humanity made him fear that if he sent messengers to stop the proceedings, some delay might occur, so he mounted his horse, and rode with all speed to the place. As the facts were not fully known, some of these men, in their thoughtlessness, were disposed to resist and make disturbances. * * But when His Majesty arrived, Jagganáth and Rái Sál came forward to meet him, and brought the leader of these foolish men to him. He accepted their assurance of repentance, and only placed them in confinement.

Katlú in Orissa.

(See Vol. V. p. 429.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 401.] When Shaikh Farid escaped from Katlú and reached the Imperial camp, the *amírs* started from their lethargy and crossed the river Damodar,[1] and marched for two *kos* in battle array. Katlú entrenched his camp, and prepared to hold out. There also many others took refuge with him. In another place, was Bahádur with a separate force. At the new moon of Amurdád, Sádik Khán and Sháh Kúlí Khán attacked him, and broke into his entrenchments, when he fled to join Katlú. Next day the Imperial troops followed; and when they came in

[1] Which falls into the Hoogly, near its mouth.

sight of his position, they mounted some guns on the neighbouring heights. These proceedings alarmed the enemy, who fled to Orissa. The Imperial leaders had not resolution and enterprise enough to pursue, but came to a halt by the river.

Burhánu-l Mulk comes to Court.

(See Vol. V. p. 429.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 401.] Burhánu-l Mulk was the younger brother of Murtazá Nizámu-l Mulk. When Husain Nizámu-l Mulk died, the Nizámu-l Mulkí kingdom descended to his eldest son, but in reality the government fell into the hands of the young prince's mother. He, like his father before him, preferred Burhán to all his friends. In course of time, designing persons stirred up strife between him and his relations, so that he seized and sent to a fortress both his mother and his brother. His ignorance and vicious propensities kept him aloof from the loyal and good, and threw him into the company of evil persons, whose bad advice quite perverted his mind. He raised a low fellow, a cock-fighter named Husain, to be his companion, and foolishly gave him the title of Ásaf Khán. * * This low-born fellow stirred up a war against Bidar, and a fierce struggle went on in Kandahár.[1] The news of these foolish proceedings soon spread abroad, and Burhán, having escaped from prison by the aid of his keeper, began to raise disturbances; but his mind was in fetters, and his fortune asleep. He cast his eyes upon the wealth of others, and began to oppress them. When Nizámu-l Mulk was informed of this outbreak, he hastened back, and reached Ahmadnagar on the day he desired. * * Numbers of men deserted Burhán, and he was obliged to fly without fighting. He then went to 'Ádil Khán at Bíjanagar (*sic*). Not being able to effect anything there, he went in the disguise of a *jogí* to Ahmadnagar. There he lived in secret, and endeavoured to raise a party among the evil-disposed. Being discovered, he hastened to the governor of Baglána, and not being able to effect anything there, he went

[1] Sixty miles north of Bidar.

to Kutbu-d dín Khán, at Bidar. From thence he proceeded to the Imperial Court, where he met with a gracious reception. [*Account of the impostor who had preceded him.*—See Vol. V. p. 429.]

Defeat of Ma'súm Kábulí by Sháhbáz Khán.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 412.] After the defeat of the rebels, a portion of the victorious forces marched towards Orissa, and encamped by the river Damodar. There they rested, and a detachment was sent to Ghorá-ghát, to secure the safety of the Kákshals. After some time, Ma'súm Khán, at the head of a strong rebel force, came out of the country of Bhátí against Mirzá Beg Kákshál, who sought refuge with Tarsún Khán at Tájpúr. Ma'súm detached parties to plunder the neighbourhood, and Tarsún Khán shut himself up in the fort. The country was overrun to within seven *kos* of Tánda. When Sháhbáz Khán was informed of this, he marched to inflict punishment on the rebel. An advanced force was sent on with all speed, and he himself marched from Patna with his army. He proceeded by land, and in a short time reached the disturbed districts, and the rebels fell back before him. Ma'súm Khán was near the Jumna, and there he rested. Sháhbáz wrote from Tánda to the *amír* who held Orissa, saying, that Katlú had no longer the courage to face the royal army, and that they should send a portion of their forces to support himself. Accordingly Wazír Khán and * * joined Sháhbáz Khán. That officer then crossed the Ganges, when he was providentially joined by 3000 artillerymen from Bhátí, who had been in the service of Sháh Bardí, then lately deceased. This reinforcement raised great hopes of victory, and was attached to the divisions of Tarsún Khán and Mirzá Beg Kákshál. Sháh Kulí Khán, and two or three other chiefs of distinction, came and joined the royal army. Intelligence was now brought that Bábá Bhakarí, with a rebel force, had gone to the town of Santús, and defeated Tarsún Khán. Sháhbáz Khán sent a detachment under Muhibb 'Alí Khán to support Tarsún, and he

himself quickly followed. The enemy then fled, and much spoil fell into the hands of the royal forces. Ma'súm Khán, knowing the crossing of the river to be a difficult operation, took up a position on the bank of the Jumna, opposite the Imperial army. [*Negociations.*] Sháhbáz Khán at length cut short the negociations, and crossed the river mid a storm of arrows and bullets. The action soon grew warm, and the rebels were beaten, and put to flight, on the 4th Ázur. The boats of the Imperial fleet did not arrive to take part in the fight; but Náráin Búmí and Murád Kákshál brought up their vessels, and contributed to the victory. Muhibb 'Alí Khán was sent in pursuit of the fugitives; but a party of them rallied, and gave battle to the pursuers. Sháhbáz, hearing of this check, marched on to retrieve it. Another sharp battle was fought, in which the enemy was again defeated, and [Ma'súm] Farankhúdí was made prisoner. Much spoil was secured, and the foe fled in confusion. Mirzá Beg, and Sangrám, and Dalpat rendered effective assistance. The royal forces pursued the fugitives over rivers and through marshes to Ghorá-ghát, which was once more plundered. Ma'súm Khán fled with a few followers to Bhátí, and Jabbárí to Kúch. About 150 men were taken prisoners.

Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign.

Operations against Ma'súm Khán.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 432.] After the defeat of Ma'súm Khán, Sháhbáz Khán went on after him towards Bhátí, regardless of the rains and the swollen rivers. 'Ísá Khán, the ruler of that country, professed to be a loyal adherent of the Imperial throne. Sháhbáz Khán now determined to test this by calling upon him to surrender Ma'súm Khán, resolving also to tear the veil from his face, and punish him if he refused. Bhátí is a low-lying country, and is called by that Hindí name,[1] because it lies lower than Bengal. It extends nearly 400 *kos* from east to west, and

[1] *Bháthí*, "down the stream."

nearly 300 from south to north. On the east lies the sea and the country of Jessore; on the west lies the hill country south of Tánda;[1] on the north the salt sea, and the extremities of the hills of Tibet. The father of the chief of this country was a man of the Bais tribe of Rájpúts, who used frequently to display his arrogance, and break out in rebellion. In the times of Salím Khán, Táj Khán, and Daryá Khán, strong armies were sent into the country, and after a severe struggle, the chief was compelled to seek a truce. After a short time, he again broke out in rebellion, but was taken prisoner and put to death. His two sons, 'Ísá and Isma'íl, were sold to merchants. When Salím Khán died, and Táj Khán seized upon the country of Bengal, Kutb Khán, the uncle of 'Ísá, won distinction by his good service. By great exertions, he brought the two brothers out of the country of Túrán. 'Ísá, by his intelligence and prudence, acquired a name, and he made twelve *zamíndárs* of Bengal to become his dependents. By his foresight and adroitness, he continually professed his allegiance to the rulers of Bengal, and sent his tribute; but he took care not to see them.

The army of Sháhbáz Khán reached the banks of the Ganges, near Khizrpúr. This is a place, where there is a ferry over the river, and consequently two strong forts had been built there, one on each side of the river. He soon made himself master of these strongholds, and occupied the village of Sunárgánw. Next he took Katrápúr, where the magazines were, and plundered it. His army next marched rapidly to a large city called Mashhadí, where great plunder was obtained. After this, they encamped on the shores of the Brahmaputra, which is a large river that flows from Khatá. Ma'súm Khán fled before the advanced force, and took refuge in an island, being very nearly taken prisoner. Meantime 'Ísá, who had been away in Kúch, arrived with a large force and excellent supplies. The Imperial officers then

[1] کوهستان بنکاه کروه کهن جنوب تانده. Perhaps و may be inserted before *junúb*: it will then read "on the south Tánda." But the whole description is unintelligible.—See Blochmann's *Ain-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 342.

took post at Totak, on the bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite the town of Kumára-samundar, and fortified their position. They were warmly attacked, both by land and water, but on each occasion obtained a fresh victory. Tarsún Khán was now detached to distract the enemy, by menacing an attack upon their supplies at Bajrápúr. There were two roads from Bhowál:[1] one at a distance from the enemy's position, the other along the river bank pretty close to it. By the decree of fate, Tarsún Khán chose the latter route, and Ma'súm, being apprised of this, marched to attack him with a large force. Sháhbáz Khán sent Muhibb 'Alí Khán and * * with swift messengers to apprise Tarsún of his danger, and to direct him to take up a strong position, and not to fight till he received reinforcements. * * On being informed that a force was approaching, Tarsún Khán, casting prudence aside, inferred that it was his reinforcements, and went forth to meet and welcome them. He had not proceeded far, when he discovered that they were enemies. His friends advised him to return to his camp, gather his own men around him, and wait for the reinforcements; but it was of no avail. With a bold and daring heart he prepared for the fight. Part of his followers left him; but with no more than fifteen who remained true, he gave battle. Two of his relatives were slain fighting bravely, and he himself was taken prisoner. Ma'súm received him with a great show of kindness and friendship, and endeavoured to win him over; but his advances were repulsed with scorn and reproof. This woke the narrow-minded rebel from his dream, and stirred up his wrath, so that he slew Tarsún Khán, full of years and of imperishable fame.

Katlú Kirání.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 436.] When Sháhbáz Khán marched against Bhátí, a force was sent under Wazír Khán to Burdwan, against Katlú. But the time was passed in doing nothing, until Sádik Khán arrived. He was an active and intelligent officer, and

[1] North of Dacca.

soon worked a change. The rebel fled in shame to Orissa, and the Imperial officers pursued him to Takarohí, where he was so pressed that he was obliged to seek refuge in the forests of Dharmpúr. Unwilling to molest him farther, and weary of the campaign, the *amírs* renewed to him the former offer of allowing him to remain ruler of Orissa, as a tributary of the Empire. He accepted the terms, sent his nephew to Court to express his allegiance and duty, and made an offering of sixty choice elephants.

Sháhbáz Khán's failure at Bháti.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 437.] Sháhbáz Khán occupied a position on the Panár river, a branch of the Brahmaputra. Here he entered into negociations with the rebels, in the expectation of being able to win them over to his views. 'Ísá received his propositions very respectfully, and for a time kept up communications. But it became apparent that his words and his intentions were not in unison, and so the war again began. For seven months the Imperial forces obtained victories from time to time, and the rebels were disheartened by failure. But Sháhbáz Khán, in his self-conceit, had paid little regard to the feelings of the *amírs* in his army. They combined to thwart him, and ill-feeling waxed powerful. Death was busy among them, and their position became insupportable. The enemy knew that the Imperial army was dispirited, and although, by good fortune, there had been little rain, the men were listless and in low spirits. The enemy brought up a number of labourers, and cut the banks of the Brahmaputra in fifteen places, and turned the waters into the Imperial camp. When the batteries were flooded, they brought up to them large boats, called in the language of the country *biyára*. A fire of cannons and musketry was opened on both sides, and suddenly a great stroke of fortune happened to the Imperial forces, when a musket-ball from their ranks killed the commander of the assailants. Some of the boats came in collision, and suddenly the waters began to fall. This com-

pelled them to take flight, and many of their men were drowned. They were defeated on all sides, except in the battery of Saiyid Husain, *thánádár* of Dacca, who was taken prisoner.

'Ísá now awoke from his dream of ignorance, and opened communications through the medium of this prisoner. Sháhbáz Khán received his overtures favourably, and 'Ísá consented to submit to the supremacy of the Emperor, and to acknowledge himself a servant. The port of Sunárgánw was to receive an Imperial *dárogha*. Ma'súm was to be sent on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and tribute was to be transmitted to the Emperor. He won the hearts of the *amírs* by his munificent presents, and the royal army retired.

Sháhbáz Khán crossed the river, and reached the confines of Bhowál, looking for the fulfilment of the agreement; but the mind of 'Ísá had been perverted by evil counsellors. He now made new propositions and conditions, which led to sharp contentions. Preparations for renewing the war went on, and on the 19th Mihr he offered battle. The *amírs* in the royal army were so short-sighted and weak in judgment, that they looked for their own advantage in the failure of Sháhbáz Khán, and thought to profit by his defeat. The first to leave him was Muhibb 'Alí Khán, and he was followed by others, who each pursued his own course. Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram made a stand against the enemy; but he was wounded, and was ill-supported by his men, so he evacuated Bhowál. Sháhbáz Khán now awoke to his danger, and endeavoured to conciliate his officers; but his repentance was too late, and he was compelled to retreat towards Tánda, abandoning his baggage. The sons of the *Mír-i 'adl*, and many others were taken prisoners, and Shaikh Muhammad Ghazniví and several others were drowned. * * After eight days' retreat, the army rested to take breath at Sherpúr. Sháhbáz Khán now endeavoured to collect his forces, with the intention of returning to avenge his defeat; but his followers were incensed with him, and refused to support him. On reaching Tánda, Wazír Khán came forward loyally to support him.

But Sháhbáz showed his old temper, and they could not come to any agreement; so Sháhbáz was compelled to proceed to Court. As soon as the news reached the Emperor, he sent officers to stop the return of the unsuccessful chiefs, and to administer counsel and reproof. Sa'íd Khán, and other *jágírdárs* of Bihár and Bengal, were directed to join with their forces, and to aid in the punishment of the rebellious *zamíndár*. * *

'Ísá was too cautious to leave his own country, but he induced Ma'súm to advance to Sherpúr. A detachment of the rebels overran the country as far as Málda, and to within twelve *kos* of Tánda. Wazír Khán did not feel sufficient confidence to go out and attack them; but he held his ground, and secured that important city. The royal messengers now arrived, and turned Sháhbáz Khán back with words of censure. He was told that if more forces were necessary, Rájá Todar Mal and other chiefs should be ordered to join him; but he replied that his army was now numerous, and the men full of ardour. On the 18th De, he entered Bengal, intent on the conquest of Bhátí, and the rebels retreated before him. On reaching the Jumná,[1] he learnt that Ma'súm was at Sherpúr, and did not expect that his opponents would cross the river. Sháhbáz Khán immediately determined to cross the river and advance; but the *amírs* dissented from his design. However, he skilfully conveyed some troops over this great river, and immediately upon their approach the enemy fled, leaving many prisoners and much spoil behind them. * * * Sa'íd Khán and * * went in pursuit of the enemy, who fell back as he approached. After the country was clear of the rebels, the *amírs* returned to Sherpúr Míraja. * *

While the Imperial forces were at Sherpúr, Ma'súm Khán proceeded towards Fathábád in Orissa, and Dastam Khán Kákshál also remained in that neighbourhood, in the hope that if the Imperial army were divided, he might find an opportunity of striking a blow, and before any intelligence was received about Ma'súm, this rebel (Dastam Khán) had overrun the country to

[1] See next note *infrà*.

within twelve *kos* of the Imperial camp. A force was sent against him, before which he retired. [*Dissensions of Sháhbáz Khán and the amírs.*]

At length it was agreed that as the enemy had two armies, the Imperial forces should also be divided. One under Wazír Khán and * * was to march against Ma'súm; while Sháhbáz Khán and * * remained where they were, to watch over and keep in check the rebels of that quarter. * *

Thirtieth Year of the Reign.

Rebels in Bengal.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 466.] Ma'súm Khán, on hearing of the approach of the royal forces, made new preparations. Having selected a strong position, he proceeded to erect fortifications at Taramhání, a place where the Ganges, the Jumná, and the Sáktí unite.[1] There he founded two forts. When the Imperial *amírs* had made the needful preparations, the wary 'Ísá endeavoured to make terms; but his proposals were not listened to. The *amírs* resolved to attack the fortifications, and commenced operations, driving the enemy before them. On the 21st Farwardín, one of the forts was assaulted and taken with the help of boats, and the other was captured on the following morning. They then attacked Ma'súm, who, being unable to check their advance, made his escape by the river.

While the *amírs* entertained expectations of 'Ísá proving true to his engagements, they directed their attention towards Orissa, where Sulaimán Sarbaní had broken out in revolt; and having gathered many Afgháns around him, was plundering the country. They attacked the son of Wazír Khán in the neighbourhood of Burdwan, and after a sharp action, compelled him to shut himself up in that place. The Imperial *amírs* hastened to his relief, and the rebels being compelled to raise the siege, took up a position

[1] "Some leagues below Dacca, the river (Ganges) separates into two branches. One, called Padmávatí, runs eastward, and falls into the sea at Chittagong. The other branch runs northward, and divides into three streams, called Sarsuti, Jumná, and Ganges."—*Ái'ín-i Mahfil.*

on the banks of the river Mangal-kot.[1] * * Sádik Khán attacked them, and defeated them. * * Three hundred of them fell in the action, and a thousand in the pursuit. * *

At the time the Imperial *amírs* retired from Bengal to Bihár, Dastam Kákshál laid siege to Ghorá-ghát. Bábú Mangalí now came up from Sherpúr Míraja, and compelled him to raise the siege. *

Pacification of Bengal.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 490.] When the Emperor marched to the Panjáb, he received intelligence that Wazír was unable by himself to secure tranquillity in Bengal, and that the rebels were still active. Orders were accordingly sent to Sháhbáz Khán, directing him to march from Bihár to Bengal. Although Sháhbáz requested to be allowed to return to Court, messengers were sent to him with positive instructions to proceed on this duty. The messengers reached him at Jaunpúr, and on the 20th Bahman, he proceeded to carry out his duties in Bengal. By conciliation and judicious encouragement he won over the rebels, so that they submitted and became peaceful. A detachment was sent to the country of Bhátí against 'Ísá, and the territory abandoned by Sádik Khán was recovered. 'Ísá humbly submitted, and sent presents to the Imperial Court. Ma'súm Khán had entered so deeply into rebellion, that he was afraid to present himself; but he offered to send his son in token of submission to the Imperial Court, while he himself lived quietly in seclusion. It was determined that the best thing he could do would be to proceed to Mecca, and afterwards go to Court. Many of the Afgháns of Katlú left him and joined the royal forces. Katlú himself made specious representations, and Sháhbáz Khán was simple enough to give back Orissa to him.

At this time, a force was detached against Kokra,[2] a flourishing country lying between Orissa and the Dakhin. Mádhú

[1] Eighteen miles north of Burdwan.

[2] كوكره Khoorda?

Singh Búmí the chief, relying upon the difficulties of the approach over the mountains, offered resistance. The Imperial forces, however, made good their approach, overran the country and made it tributary.

Defeat of the Imperial Forces.—Death of Rájá Bírbal.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 494.] When Kokaltásh (Zain Khán) marched to effect the subjugation of Swád (Swát) and Bajaur, he first subdued Bajaur, in which he found 30,000 houses of the Yúsufzái tribe. * * He then marched against Swát, in which mountain region there were 40,000 houses of the same tribe. On reaching the banks of the river, the natives made a strenuous resistance, and the advanced guard was checked for a time; but the braves of the *altamsh* went to their support, and the sight of their gallantry so encouraged the rest, that they fought bravely, and put the enemy to flight. Kokaltásh built a fort at Jag-dara, in the midst of the country, and then applied himself to the chastisement of the enemy. Twenty-three times he was victorious, and he destroyed seven armies. All the country was brought under his hand, except the hills of Karágar and the country of Bunír. But his army was worn out with ascending mountains and continual fighting; he was in consequence compelled to ask for reinforcements. The Emperor sent Rájá Bírbal, Hakím Abú-l Fath, and other officers to support him. They had no sooner arrived, than dissensions arose among them. Hard words and fierce looks were exchanged between Kokaltásh and the Rájá. The Rájá and the Hakím were also on ill terms with each other. * * When they reached the hills of Malkand, Kokaltásh endeavoured to reconcile them, and they held a long debate as to the distribution of the various forces. Hakím Abú-l Fath hastened off with some forces to the fort of Jag-dara. The Rájá was incensed at this separation, and nursed his angry feelings.

In the morning they met at the fort. Kokaltásh prepared a feast, and invited his colleagues. But the Rájá refused to attend,

and sent to say, that the best thing to be done was for experienced men to meet and determine on the course to be pursued. Kokaltásh repressed his anger, and went to the Rájá. Other chiefs also went with him, and represented that it would be best to recognize Kokaltásh as chief, and meet to consult at his abode. At this council the Rájá and the Hakím spoke hotly, and then abused each other; but by the conciliatory conduct of Kokaltásh, they were appeased. * * He then proposed that a force should be left to hold the fort, while the rest of the army marched against the enemy. He thought that the fresh forces might undertake this work, while he remained with the old force to protect the centre of the country; or if they preferred, they might remain at Jag-dara, while he went to chastise the mountaineers. The Rájá and the Hakím rejected both propositions, and said it was the Emperor's desire, not that they should occupy the country, but that they should inflict chastisement on the enemy, and hasten back to Court. Kokaltásh remonstrated that it was inexpedient to abandon a country which had been acquired with such difficulty; that the attempt to return through the defiles of the mountains would be rash: if they would not agree to either course he had proposed, and were determined to return, the best plan would be to proceed by the way they had come, for that was practicable for an army, and the enemy could not stop them. They adhered to their own proposition, and Kokaltásh weakly put aside his duties as a general, lest his associates should convey their complaints to the Emperor, and excite his displeasure. They were afraid that if they marched separately, their attempts would fail, and they would incur disgrace; so fate had its way, and the word was given for the march of the whole army, and the Rájá and the Hakím received the command of the right and left wing. * *

On the 2nd Isfandármuz, they marched from Jag-dara towards Karágar, and having proceeded five *kos*, they halted at the village of Kándák. Next day the road was full of defiles, and the right wing was left as a rear-guard, while the halt was made half a *kos*

in advance. The advance-guard was to skirmish a little in front for that day, and then fall back. Next morning, when the advance entered the pass, the fight began. The Imperial forces were successful in several encounters, and in a short time carried the pass, and captured some booty. Thousands were lured into this snare. The *altamsh*, also, hearing the cry of plunder, hastened to share it, and large numbers of the main body broke and hastened forward. Kokaltásh, who had chosen the camping ground, when he advanced and came in front of the Afgháns, found the troops engaged in plundering. Hasan Khán Tabatí was carried off wounded, and matters looked very serious. Kokaltásh, on learning this, engaged in the fight, and made a firm stand. That day and that night, and the early part of the next day, the battle went on. Kokaltásh shot four of the enemy's chiefs with his own hands, and the foe was for a time repulsed. The close of the day brought victory; but the baggage of the camels and oxen had been plundered. That which was carried by elephants and mules came up.

Next day they they advanced six *kos*, near to Khánpúr, and there halted. Kokaltásh himself took the command of the rear, and fighting all the way, reached the camping ground. He then repaired to the Rájá, to consult with him as to what course was to be taken, blaming the movements that had been made, and eloquently exposing his own views. As the distance before them was now diminished, and the rugged nature of the way was not visible, the general opinion was, that they should leave the hills and rest for a few days, until a plan could be formed for overpowering their adversaries. Kokaltásh represented that the ground in front of them was most difficult, and it was utterly futile to attempt it. His own opinion was, that they should stay where they were for a while and defend themselves. The space was sufficiently large; there was no danger of the foe gaining a position to command it; there was abundance of water and grass, and plenty of wood to build stockades: they might thus inflict chastisement on the fierce foes who held all the hills

around. Else they might send and endeavour to make peace, by restoring the prisoners and booty they had taken, on condition of receiving hostages. Or, they might wait for a while, until news of their position reached the Emperor, and he sent an army to seize the hills from that side. But fate had ordained it otherwise. They held to their own views, and thought they saw their safety in what was to be their ruin.

On the 6th Isfandármuz, they marched towards the lofty mountain of Bulandrai. Kokaltásh wisely took command of the rear. The fighting began again more fiercely than before. When they had made some little way, and evening came on, finding a lofty mountain before them, they came to a halt. On Kokaltásh coming up, it became clear that there was another defile to pass before they could be safe. As this was governed by heights close at hand, he made haste to push forward. The advance-guard was ordered to ascend the heights and clear the commanding positions; then to come down again at a distance, and at the early dawn show the way over this difficult mountain. When they were repulsed by the Afgháns, Kokaltásh with a party of braves rallied them; but others hastened to fall back, and all order was lost. Although Kokaltásh exerted himself to re-assure them and restore order, it was all in vain. The Afgháns attacked them fiercely on every side with arrows and stones, and they were driven from the heights in disorder and dismay. At the bottom, elephants, horses, and men, were all mixed together in confusion. There many brave and noble men made a bold stand, and sold their lives. One party, having found a passage, made their escape; and at the close of the day another party made their way over the rugged mountain. Kokaltásh was with this party. In the conflict he had resolved to sell his life, but a brave friend seized his rein, and dragged him out of the fight. At length he reached the camp on foot, through a hundred difficulties. Scared and foolish men raised the cry that the Afgháns were upon them. So, in the greatest distress, they moved on from that place at an unseasonable hour. In the

darkness many lost their way, and fell down precipices. The Afgháns stayed behind, securing and dividing the plunder.

Next day, many of the wanderers perished, and some were made prisoners. In this conflict 500 men perished.[1] Among them was Rájá Bírbal, whose loss the Emperor greatly deplored.

Thirty-first Year of the Reign.

Conquest of Birár.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 503.] Birár is a Rájpút state adjoining the country of Málwa. The rulers of the Dakhin did not pay proper obedience to the Imperial Government, so Khán-i 'Azam Mirzá Koka received orders to march, with a great many other *amírs*, to inflict punishment upon them. He proceeded to Hindia, to make preparations for the campaign, and a force which he sent in advance took Sánwalí-garh from Náhir Ráo. Other *zamíndárs* made offers of submission. But dissensions suddenly arose among the *amírs* of the Imperial army. The commander gave grants in Málwa to his own adherents, and the *amírs* who had been sent on the campaign had great altercations with him, so that divisions arose, and the work of the campaign was arrested. Sháhábu-d dín Ahmad Khán went off in anger to his *jágír*, and instead of lending assistance, prepared for opposition. By the exertions of prudent men, a conflict was prevented; but the two *amírs* would not work together. Tolak Khán, one of the principal *amírs*, was thrown into prison on a false charge. Amír Fathu-lla Shírází received many annoyances, and retired before the ruler of Khándesh, to seek refuge with Khán-khánán in Gujarát. By unnecessary delays and dispersion of the troops, the Imperial army in a short time dwindled down, and the enemy, who before had trembled, now grew bold. Rájá 'Alí Khán of Khándesh and * * assembled the forces of Birár and Ahmadnagar, and advanced to give battle. The royal *amírs* now

[1] This must mean one particular episode of the battle, for according to the *Tabakát* nearly 8000 men fell. See Vol. V. p. 451; see also the Extract from the *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh*, post; Elphinstone, book ix. chap. ii.

awoke from their dream, and endeavoured to form some plan, but did not know friend from foe, and could not distinguish between supporters and opponents. Vacillation and discordant counsels made all hope of unity and resistance vain; so they retired before the enemy towards Birár, leaving their baggage. On their march, they put their guide, Hathyá Ráo Búmí, to death, upon suspicion of treachery. From want of proper information, a force was sent into an intricate country, near Kherla, and suffered great loss. Finding Birár unoccupied, they plundered it, and on New Year's Day they sacked Ellichpúr, the capital of the country. One party was for going off to Ahmadnagar, another for trying to hold the country. This proposition was not listened to, and so they moved off with their plunder towards Gujarát. * * When the enemy got intelligence of the retreat, he left his artillery and heavy baggage, and marching quickly against Hindia, he plundered and burnt that town. * * The Khán-i 'Azam went off express to Gujarát, to seek the aid of the forces under Khán-khánán.

Thirty-fifth Year of the Reign.

Europeans at Court.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 602.] At this time, Padre Farmalíún[1] arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa, and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translations of Greek books and of extending knowledge. With him came a number of Europeans and Armenians, who brought silks of China and goods of other countries, which were deemed worthy of His Majesty's inspection.

Orissa.

(See Vol. V. p. 465.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 604.] Rájá Mán Singh, the ruler of Bihár,

[1] فرملیون

had, by his ability, reduced that province to tranquillity, and punished the rebels. So towards the end of the year, he had formed the design of invading Orissa by way of Jhárkand. He halted at Bhágalpúr, and there sent to ask for the co-operation of Sa'íd Khán, the governor of Bengal, who, in consequence of the near approach of the rainy season, postponed his assistance. At the beginning of the present year the Rájá marched by way of Bardwán, and he was accompanied by Bihár Khán and others, with artillery from Bengal. He halted at Jahánábád till the rains should be over, and Sa'íd Khán and others should come to support him. But Katlú had raised his banner in Orissa, and now boldly advanced to Dharpúr, twenty-five *kos* from the Imperial army, with the intention of giving battle. He sent forward Bahádur with a numerous force to Ráipúr; and to check this force the Rájá advanced a detachment under the command of Jaggat Singh. The rebel was obliged to take refuge in fortifications, and then submissively offered to treat; but he, at the same time, artfully called upon Katlú for support. * * Katlú sent men to his assistance. Jaggat Singh was warned of his danger, but paid no heed. At length he was attacked by the rebels, and was obliged to fly and abandon his camp; but he was saved by Hamír, the *zamíndár* who had given him warning, and conducted to Bishanpúr. Upon learning of this reverse, Rájá Mán Singh held a council, and the prevailing opinion was, that it was desirable to retreat to Salímábád, where the families of his troops were, and there to re-organize his army. But the Rájá rejected these counsels, and resolved upon taking the offensive. The Imperial good fortune now came to his aid, and the rebel Katlú died, after an illness of ten days. His younger son succeeded him, but the Afgháns sued for an arrangement. The excessive rains and the depression of the royal forces made a settlement desirable. It was accordingly agreed that the Emperor's name should be used in the *khutba* and on the coins, that the country should be obedient and loyal, that Jagganáth, the celebrated place of worship, should, with its dependencies,

become subject to the royal exchequer, and that no injury should be done to the loyal *zamíndárs*. All of them, with craft and dissimulation, affixed their signatures to this document. On the 4th Shahryúr, Katlú's son was brought in, with 150 elephants and many valuable articles, which were offered as tribute. Rájá Mán Singh then returned to Bihár.

Thirty-sixth Year of the Reign.

Burhánu-l Mulk.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 612.] When Burhánu-l Mulk made his first attempt on the territory of the south, and was unsuccessful, he returned to his estates. Now that Khán-i 'Azam had gone to Gujarát, and Sháhbáz Khán was dead, he betook himself to Rájá 'Alí Khán, the ruler of Khándesh, who, in compliance with the Imperial commands, was eager to assist him. He had also agreed with 'Ádil Khán, of Bíjápúr, that a force should be sent from thence when they approached Ahmadnagar; and accordingly a contingent was sent to the frontier, to await the arrival of Rájá 'Alí's army. Jamál Khán, the governor of Ahmadnagar, resolved to prevent the junction of the two forces. Before Burhánu-l Mulk came near, Jamál Khán defeated his son Isma'íl, and then hastened to attack the forces of Bíjápúr, and defeated them with little difficulty. When, after this, Burhánu-l Mulk entered Birár, Muhammadu-l Mulk and * * other chiefs joined him. Jamál Khán, inflated with his previous victory, marched out rashly to oppose him. * * Rájá 'Alí Khán placed Burhánu-l Mulk in charge of the *amírs* of Birár, and gave battle to Jamál Khán. A sharp fight ensued; but Jamál Khán was killed by a musket-shot, and his army was broken up. A great victory was gained. Soon after, Isma'íl Khán, the son, was brought in a prisoner, and was placed in confinement. The ruler of Khándesh then led a detachment to Ahmadnagar, and soon made himself master of the whole country.

When Burhánu-l Mulk got possession of Ahmadnagar, he

had a fine opportunity of showing his gratitude and fidelity, and of making himself an example to other rulers. But the intoxication of success got the mastery over him. He forgot the many and great favours he had received, oppressed the people under him, and sought his own advantage in the wrongs of others. The Emperor determined to send first an envoy to Rájá 'Alí Khán, who had raised Burhán to the position he held, to consult with him and the other rulers of that quarter, as to whether they would invade his territories. If they agreed, the ambassador was to return; if not, an Imperial army was to be sent. Shaikh Abú-l Faiz Faizí, "the prince of poets," was accordingly sent to Rájá 'Alí Khán and Burhánu-l Mulk.

Thirty-seventh Year of the Reign.

Conquest of Orissa.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 640.] This country had always been governed by independent rulers. Among them was one named Partáb Ráo, whose son, Nar Singh, strove against him, and took an opportunity of poisoning him. Mukund Deo, a native of Telingana, and a servant of the late Rájá, rose up in opposition to the new ruler. Upon the pretence that his wife was going to pay a visit to the usurper, he sent a number of *dúlis*, filled with arms, and a number of active men as ostensible guards of his tribute. They were admitted into the fort, and soon put an end to the usurper. Although it was the rule and custom that new rulers should not expend the treasures accumulated by their predecessors, Mukund broke open seventy chests, and appropriated their contents. He was very liberal in the use of them, but his act alienated the feelings of the people.

When Sikandar Khán Uzbek left the Imperial service and joined Sulaimán Kiráni, the latter sent his son, Báyazíd, by way of Jhárkand, the Benares of that country, against Orissa; and he sent Sikandar with him. The Rájá sent two of his chiefs to oppose him, but many of their men were lured by money to

desert them and abandon their master. Some fighting followed, in which Mukund and his general Ishat Rái were killed. Power then fell into the hands of Rakh Banj (?), but Sulaimán got him into his power, and made an end of him. He then established his power over the whole country.

In the time of Khán-khánán Mun'im Khán and Khán-jahán, a large portion of this country had been brought under the Imperial rule; but through the incompetency of the *amírs* it had been wrested from them by Katlú Lohání. When Katlú died, and Rájá Mán Singh withdrew his forces, as before related, his course was disapproved by many wise men; but a treaty was patched up. The evil spirits of the country now strove to overthrow each other, but so long as Katlú's *vakíl* 'Ísá lived, the treaty was observed. When he died, the turbulent Afgháns seized upon the temple of Jagannáth, and plundered the country of Hamír, who had proved himself loyal.

Rájá Mán Singh regretted the treaty he had formerly made, and projected another campaign, for which he received the Imperial permission. The forces of Bengal and Bihár were named for the service. On the 23rd Ábán, he set off by water, but Tolak Khán and * * the other *amírs* proceeded by land. Mádhú and Lakhí Rái and * * other *zamíndárs* were sent by way of Jhárkand under the command of Yúsuf Khán, the ruler of Kashmír. When the army reached Bengal, Sa'íd Khán, the ruler of the province, was ill; but as the business was urgent, the Rájá pushed on without him. When Sa'íd recovered, he followed the army, and joined it with * * many chiefs and 6500 horse. A great part of the country was occupied. The crafty Afgháns sought to make peace; but experience had shown what their professions were worth, and a deaf ear was turned to their propositions, though some of the *amírs* of Bengal were in favour of an amicable settlement. The enemy took up a position in the forests of Midnapúr, a place in the middle of Orissa. [*Disposition of the royal forces.*] On the 31st Farwardín, Rájá Mán Singh ordered an advance. * * The enemy then crossed the river, and

set their forces in array. Their centre, under the command of Nasíb Khán and Jamál Khán, sons of Katlú, consisted of 3000 horse, and twenty-five elephants. In the wings were 2000 horse and twenty-five elephants, and in their advance were 1200 horse and eighty elephants. Battle was joined and was well contested, the result being for some time doubtful. * * But victory declared in favour of the Imperial forces. The Afgháns had 300 men killed, and the royal army lost forty men.

Capture of Júnagarh.

(See Vol. V. p. 461.)

[Text, vol. iii. p. 651.] When Khán-i 'Azam had established his authority in Gujarát, he resolved to extend his sway, and to bring more of that region under his rule. At first he was impeded by the timidity of his followers; but after they had rested and recovered their spirits, he renewed his projects. Somnát, Koka, Mangalor, Mahú, Paro, and seventeen other places fell into his hands without a struggle. He then resolved upon the conquest of Júnagarh. This was a renowned fort in the country of Súrath, and was held by the grandsons of Amín Khán. Former rulers had been able to make no impression upon it. On the 23rd Khurdád, his army reached the vicinity, and seventeen batteries were raised round the lofty fortress. Núr Beg Khán and some others were detached to check the *Káthís*, who were rendering assistance to the besieged. A great fire broke out in the fortress, causing much destruction; and the European artillery officer, who had embraced the Muhammadan religion, fell dead into the fosse. This greatly encouraged the assailants. But the garrison had abundant supplies, and were confident in the strength of the place. They had a hundred guns, some of which discharged balls of one *man* and a half, and these they fired several times daily. Khán-i 'Azam at length placed some mortars on an eminence commanding the fortress, and opened fire upon it. This disturbed the confidence of the garrison, and a capitulation was proposed. The siege had lasted three months,

but the keys were given up on the 7th Shahryúr. In all, fifty-seven persons of distinction surrendered, all of whom were honourably treated, and received honorary dresses and *jágírs*.

Thirty-eighth Year of the Reign.

Preparations for the Invasion of the Dakhin.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 683.] The expostulations and advice addressed to Burhánu-l Mulk made no impression upon him, so the Emperor resolved to proceed to Ágra to organize a force for service in the Dakhin. On the 25th Mihr, Prince Dániyál was directed to march thitherwards. Khán-khánán, Rái Singh, and many other nobles, with treasure, artillery, and elephants, were ordered to accompany him. Sháh Rukh Mirzá, Sháhbáz Khán, and other chiefs of Málwa, were ordered to join with their forces. Rájá Mán Singh was also directed to march from Bengal, if that province could be safely left. Prince Sultán Murád was instructed to prepare to take part in the campaign. * * At the town of Shaikhupúr, Khán-khánán was summoned to an audience, and he then represented that the most favourable time for an invasion of the Dakhin was after the end of the rains, when grain and fodder might be procured in abundance. So Prince Dániyál was recalled, and the Emperor resolved to head the expedition himself at the conclusion of the rains. * * Khán-khánán was directed to proceed to Ágra, there to collect and organize the forces, and the Emperor returned homewards.

Fortieth Year of the Reign.

War between Ahmadnagar and Bíjápúr.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 713.] Since the time when the Emperor withdrew his gracious attention from the Dakhin, fresh misfortunes had fallen upon that country, and discontent grew rife. Nizámu-l Mulk Burhán was dead, and his son Ibráhím, who succeeded him, took to evil courses. An army marched from

Bíjápúr against him, and on the 16th Amurdád a battle was fought about forty miles from Ahmadnagar, in which he was killed by an arrow. The Bíjápúr army returned triumphant, and the Nizámu-l Mulkí forces were scattered abroad.

Invasion of the Dakhin.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 741.] Prince [Murád], in pursuance of orders, now prepared for the invasion of the Dakhin; but Khán-khánán was delayed by the tardy gathering of his men. Before he joined, some little dissension had sprung up between them. The Prince's desire was that the heads of the army should all join him, and proceed by that road [from Gujarát] to the Dakhin. It was the opinion of the commander-in-chief (Khán-khánán), that he should advance from Málwa. As their opinions did not agree, the Prince, on the 20th Ábán, marched from Ahmadábád, and rested awhile at Broach, in expectation of getting more men. On the 22nd Khurdád, he left Broach. Khán-khánán remained for some time at Bhílsa, which was in his *iktá'*, to assemble his forces. On the 9th Amurdád, he marched for Ujjain. This greatly incensed the Prince, who sent him an angry message. He wrote in reply that he would join the Prince's army as soon as he had received the promised contingent from the ruler (*marzbán*) of Khándesh; the Prince might meanwhile enjoy the pleasures of the chase in Gujarát. The Prince was enraged with this reply, and his flatterers fanned his anger. He marched with his army towards Ahmadnagar.

The chief nobles, and Rájá 'Alí Khán, were inclined to the Prince, and when Khán-khánán became aware of this, he left his army, artillery, and elephants with Mirzá Sháh Rukh and other *amírs*, while he started off express with Rájá 'Alí Khán (to meet the Prince). On the 19th Ázar, he met the Prince at the fort of Chánd, thirty *kos* from Ahmadnagar. The meeting was not cordial. After a great deal of talk, a *darbár* was held. When the army moved, there was no unity of feeling. Khán-khánán, with his numerous force, was offended, and kept aloof

from the management of the business. Sádik Khán brought up an old grievance which he had against Sháhbáz Khán, and rarely went to the *darbár*. On the 8th De, the army encamped half a *kos* from the city, and on that day Khán-khánán and Sháhbáz Khán went to the city (*ba shahr raftand*). Through their negligence an attack was made upon the baggage of the army, which was with difficulty repelled, and the people of the city were encouraged by the evident signs of dissension. On the 8th, the fortress was invested. Chánd Bíbí, sister of Burhán, prepared for resistance. As they had carried off Ahmad,[1] the son, Ikhlás Khán came to Ahmadnagar with Motí, and being defeated, fled to Pattan.

When the royal army approached, Manjúh (the *wazír*) carried off Ahmad, with a portion of the treasure and some of the elephants, to Bíjápúr; but he was nearly taken prisoner. From want of proper munitions, the siege was protracted. Chánd Bíbí was afraid of being taken prisoner; but being informed of the condition of the assailants, she was encouraged to defend the city. On the 9th, Sháh 'Alí and Abhang Khán made a night attack in force upon the battery of Khán-khánán; but the defenders fought bravely, killed many of the assailants, and repelled the attack. If the repulse had been followed up, the pursuers might have entered the fort with the fugitives, and the place would have fallen.

The close blockade and scarcity of provisions were taking effect on the garrison. * * On the 13th, an unsuccessful attack was made upon the camp. * * On the 16th, a caravan from Gujarát came near, and was plundered by Sa'ádat Khán. * * On the 19th, Sher Khwája, Shaikh Daulat, Kámrán Beg, and Daulat Khán, were sent with a force towards Pattan. They inflicted a defeat on Ikhlás Khán, and secured great booty. Then, eager for further plunder, they pillaged the inhabitants of

[1] Ahmad Sháh, who claimed to be of royal descent, had been raised to the throne. An opposite faction had set up Motí, a bázár boy, and he having been taken prisoner Ikhlás Khán procured another child, who was also called Motí:—Briggs, Firishta, vol. ii. p. 270; vol. iii. pp. 291, 292.

Pattan, a city which had received letters of protection. On the 11th Isfandármuz, a portion of the wall was broken down. A mine was carried from the battery of the Prince, and a hole cleared out under the wall. It was filled with powder and exploded, when it brought down about thirty *gaz* of the wall. The troops were ready for the assault; but another mine, which had been carried under the wall from the battery of Sháhbáz Khán, was discovered by the garrison and emptied. From fear of a disaster like that which occurred at Chítor, the storming party was held back, and such a delay occurred, that the daylight passed away, and during the night the garrison repaired the breach. But the garrison was greatly disheartened by the activity of the besiegers, and now proposed an accommodation. They offered to elevate Bahádur, son of the son of Burhânu-l Mulk, to the throne, with the title of Nizámu-l Mulk, and as a vassal of the Imperial throne. The territory of Ahmadnagar was to be confirmed to him, and the province of Birár given up to the Emperor. Jewels, the pick of the elephants, and other things were to be sent as tribute to the Emperor. Notwithstanding the desperate state of the place, and the scarcity of provisions, these unworthy terms were agreed to, and a treaty was concluded on the 17th Isfandármuz.

Forty-first Year of the Reign.

Famine.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 744.] In this year there was little rain, and the price of rice rose high. Celestial influences were unpropitious, and those learned in the stars announced dearth and scarcity. The kind-hearted Emperor sent experienced officers in every direction, to supply food every day to the poor and destitute. So, under the Imperial orders, the necessitous received daily assistance to their satisfaction, and every class of the indigent was entrusted to the care of those who were able to care for them.

Defeat of the Dakhin Confederates.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 764.] The Ahmadnagar affair, and other unfortunate matters, had brought disgrace upon the armies of the Dakhin, and made their leaders desirous of retrieving their fortunes, by contending against the Imperial forces. Sháh Murád was at the head of the royal army, and was desirous of giving battle, but the experienced *amírs* objected, and continued their opposition, until Mirzá Sháh Rukh was appointed commander-in-chief, and Khán-khánán and other distinguished officers were named for different duties. The military chest, the elephants, and the artillery, were carefully looked after, and everything properly arranged. Mirzá Sháh Rukh and Khán-khánán commanded the centre. * * The army marched from Sháhpúr, and took up a position twelve *kos* from Patharí.

The enemy also prepared for battle. The army of Nizámu-l Mulk was in the centre; the 'Ádil Khánís were on the right, and the army of Kutbu-l Mulk on the left. On the 28th Bahman, after the first watch of the day, the river Gang (Godávarí) was passed, and the battle began by an attack on the right wing of the enemy. But they held their ground firmly in a strong position, and kept up a heavy fire. Great bravery was exhibited on both sides, and a long and desperate struggle was maintained. The enemy was numerous, and the superiority of his fire checked the Imperial ranks and made them waver. Jagganáth and several other Rájpúts drew rein, and did not move, while the 'Ádil Khání troops made an onslaught upon Rájá 'Alí Khán of Khándesh. He made a stubborn resistance, and fell fighting bravely, with thirty-five distinguished officers and 500 devoted followers.

Mirzá Sháh Rukh and Khán-kháńán had been successful in their part of the field, so also had Saiyid Kásim and other leaders. The enemy was under the impression that the ruler of Khándesh was in the centre, and thought that Mirzá Sháh Rukh and Khán-khánán were involved in his defeat. During the darkness of the

night, the opposing forces remained separate from each other, each supposing that it had gained a victory. In the course of the night many of the scattered troops rejoined their standards. Under the impression that Rájá 'Alí Khán, of Khándesh, had gone over to the enemy, the Imperial troops plundered his baggage. Dwárka Das of the advance, and Sa'íd Jalál of the left, retired to Nílawí. Ram Chandar, who had fought bravely, and had received twenty wounds with the forces under Rájá 'Alí Khán, remained among the wounded during the night, and died a few days after.

When morning came, the Imperial forces, 7000 in number, found themselves in face of 25,000 of the enemy. They had all night suffered from thirst, and they now carried the river Sugám. The enemy was only half-hearted, and being dismayed by this demonstration took to flight, and made but little resistance. * * Worn out by the protracted conflict, the Imperial forces were unable to pursue. At the beginning of the campaign, the Imperial forces numbered only 15,000, while the enemy were 60,000 in number. Still they had gained this great victory, and had captured forty elephants and much artillery.

Forty-third Year of the Reign.

Abú-l Fazl sent to the Dakhin.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 802.] On His Majesty's return from the Panjáb, he formed the design of marching direct to the south without visiting his capital. But his mind was disturbed by the non-arrival of the Princes, and many idle stories were reported to him. So he halted, resolving to make a politic delay, and he again summoned the Princes to his presence. On the 25th of the month, the author of this work received orders to proceed to the Dakhin, and to bring Prince Sultán Murád to Court. If the *amírs* of the Dakhin were willing to undertake the management of the country, the author was to leave it in their hands, and return with the Prince; but if otherwise, he

was to send the Prince to Court, and to remain and associate himself with the other officers in supporting Mirzá Sháh Rukh. A banner and kettle-drums were given to the Mirzá, and the province of Málwa was assigned to him, so that he might be able to raise and equip an army in his own province, and return to the Dakhin when called upon.

Daulatábád.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 803.] At the beginning of Isfandármuz, the fort of Lohgarh, at Daulatábád in the Dakhin, was taken. Mirzá 'Alí Beg Akbarsháhí besieged it for a month, and want of provisions and water compelled the garrison to surrender and give up the keys.

Forty-fourth Year of the Reign.

Kherla and Násik.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 805.] In this year the fort of Kherla, in Birár, lying between Birár and Gondwána, was obtained by capitulation on the 13th Ábán, the garrison being short of provisions. The fort of Násik, near Ahmadnagar, was taken soon after.

Death of Prince Sultán Murád.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 806.] Alas, that wine should be burdened with suffering, and that its sweet nectar should be a deadly poison! * * On the 17th Urdibihisht, near Dihbárí, on the banks of the Púrtá, twenty *kos* from Daulatábád, Prince Sultán Murád's fits took a grave character, and on the 22nd he became insensible and died.

Forty-fifth Year of the Reign.

Asír.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 837.] On the 22nd Isfandármuz, Khán-i 'Azam, Ásaf Khán, Shaikh Farid, and the writer of this work were directed to invest the fortress of Ásír, and to construct

batteries round it. But the force which was sent on this service, under the command of Shaikh Farid, was very small compared with the numbers of the enemy; so it was deemed prudent to halt at three *kos* from the fortress. Some inexperienced and mischievous persons excited the Emperor's anger at this resolution. But the writer went to visit him, and explained the true state of affairs, and his anger was soon appeased. On the same day the author was appointed to take charge of the province of Khándesh. Thereupon he established twenty-two stations in the province, and to each he appointed a responsible officer. To one he appointed his brother Shaikh Abú-l Barakát, with some experienced subordinate officers; to another his son Shaikh 'Abdu-r Rahmán. In a short time the refractory were brought to obedience, and many others gladly became subjects of the Emperor. The soldiery submitted peacefully, and the peasantry applied themselves to the work of cultivation.

Bengal.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 828.] Disturbances now broke out in the province of Bengal, through the imprudence of Rájá Mán Singh, who, although he was absent in the province of Ajmír, kept the government of Bengal in his own hands, thinking that all would go on quietly, and according to his wish. 'Usmán, Shujáwal, and other Afgháns, broke out in rebellion. Mahá Singh and Partáb Singh made light of this, and attacked them at Bhadrak; but were defeated. The province was not lost; but the rebels got possession of some places.

Disobedience of Prince Salím.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 831.] Salím, the Prince Royal, had been sent against the Ráná (of Udípúr). His love of ease, encouraged by his improper companions, induced him to spend some time at Ajmír in pleasure. After a while, he hastened to Udípúr, and the Ráná then leading his forces in another direction, plundered Bálpúr and other places. Madho Singh was sent against him, and

defeated him. But before this honourable service was accomplished, the Prince was induced by his evil counsellors to form the design of going to the Panjáb, and of there following his own pleasure. But just at this time came the outbreak of the Afgháns in Bengal, and upon the advice of Rájá Mán Singh, he proceeded thither. On the 1st Amurdád, he crossed the Jumna, four *kos* from Ágra, and greatly pained Maryam Makání, the Emperor's mother, by not going to see her. In her kindness she went out after him, to chide him for his neglect; but when he heard of her approach on his return from hunting, he entered his boat, and went off as fast as he could, leaving the venerable lady to return home with sorrowful heart. The Prince went on to Allahábád, where he seized upon many *jágírs*. He appropriated the revenues of Bihár, amounting to more than thirty *lacs* of rupees, and assumed the royal title. The Emperor, in his kindness and forbearance, did not believe all this, and his great nobles agreed with him. Letters were sent to the Prince questioning him upon his irregular proceedings, and he replied that he was doing good service, and was innocent of any wrong.

Ahmadnagar.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 832.] The operations against Ahmadnagar were protracted, and the royal army was in difficulty about supplies. Evil-disposed persons in all parts began to move. So, on the 4th of the month, Mirzá Rustam was sent to Prince (Dániyál) with a *lac* of *mohurs*. Násik fell into the hands of the Imperial officers about this time.

After the rains the Emperor set his heart upon the reduction of Ahmadnagar. He sent directions for using every effort, and he himself proceeded to Burhánpúr. Chánd Bíbí was for keeping the treaty which she had made with the writer of this work; but Abhang,[1] at the head of a large force of Abyssinians and Dakhinís, was fighting against her. On the 26th Farwardín, the royal army arrived, and suspicion seized upon the Dakhiní

[1] The Nihang Khán of Briggs.

forces. One man whispered to another that their leaders had made terms with the Imperial army; so this force of Abhang's lost heart, and dispersed without making any resistance. On the 2nd Urdibihisht, the various intrenchments were assigned to the various *amírs*. Chánd Bíbí was for abiding by the treaty. Several of the leading men in the fortress then took matters into their own hands, and made several unsuccessful sorties. Under the direction of the Prince, great efforts were made to form a *khák-rez*[1] to fill up the ditch and reach to the walls. This was from thirty to forty *gaz* broad, and seven *gaz* deep (*zharfá*). The wall was of bluish stone, and twenty-seven *gaz* high. Mines were formed from the trenches of the Prince and Mirzá Yúsuf Khán; but the besieged broke into them, and filled them up again. They even formed a counter-mine from the inside, and exploded it; but it was smothered by the *khák-rez* and did no damage there. The shock split a bastion of the fortress. When this was discovered, efforts were made to clear out the chasm, and this being effected, 180 *mans* of gunpowder were placed therein. On the 6th Shahryúr, it was exploded. The bastion and thirty *gaz* of the wall was blown into the air. The garrison suffered from the falling stones; but not a particle of stone fell on the besiegers. Through the breach rushed the assailants, and another party made their way in from the intrenchments of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán. Fifteen hundred of the garrison were put to the sword; the rest were saved by the solicitations of their friends. Bahádur, son of Ibráhím and grandson of Burhán, who had been set up as Nizámu-l Mulk, was taken prisoner. Very valuable jewels, embossed arms, a splendid library, fine silks, and twenty-five elephants, were among the booty. The guns and ammunition exceeded all compute. The siege was carried on during the rainy season; but by great good fortune there was no flooding to interrupt

[1] Johnson explains this as "the foot of a wall," but the words mean literally "earth-spreading," and the text makes it clear that it signifies the filling in of the ditch, and the levelling up of dirt against the walls.

the construction of the *khák-res*. The day after the victory, heavy rain commenced. The siege lasted four months and four days.

Death of Jalála the Sectary.[1]

[Text, vol. iii. p. 835.] A party of Lohánís who had come to Ghazní upon business had been attacked from an ambush by the Hazáras. After seven days' fighting, they were compelled by thirst to retire, and they then sought the aid of Jalála. He went with them into Ghazní, in the disguise of a merchant. When they were attacked by the men of Sharíf Khán, and by the *raiyats*, Jalála tried to get them back again to their homes. Again the Hazáras fell upon them and scattered them abroad. Jalála was wounded and carried to the hills, where he was put to death by Murád Beg and other intelligent men.

Disturbances in the Dakhin.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 844.] Although Ahmadnagar had fallen to the Imperial arms, a scarcity of grain soon after weakened their power; the malcontents again assembled, and broke out in rebellion. They placed at their head 'Alí, son of Sháh 'Alí, and uncle of Murtazá Nizámu-l Mulk. Khán-khánán was therefore appointed to take command at Ahmadnagar, and the writer of this history was sent to Násik.

Forty-sixth Year of the Reign.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 849.] The writer of this history was held back from going to Násik, and marched against the son of Sháh 'Alí, which was deemed to be more important. In Isfandármuz in the preceding year, he had joined Khán-khánán, near Barangánw. But intelligence was brought that one of the great vassals of 'Ádil Khán Bíjápúrí was coming towards Ahmadnagar with

[1] Jalála is generally called *táríkí*, "sectary." Chalmers, in his MS. translation, read the word as "*Tájik*," and, strange to say, Elphinstone has adopted that word in one of his notes. Jalála's followers, as Elphinstone shows, were Yúsufzáis, not Tájiks.

5000 horse and 12,000 foot. The Khán deemed it necessary to watch his proceedings, so he proceeded to Jálna-púr, and left the author to march against the son of Sháh 'Alí. On the 27th, the author reached the banks of the Ganga (Godávarí). On the 29th he got possession of the fort of Kálna, which is one of the chief fortresses of Ahmadnagar. * * 'Alí Mardán Khán, the commander of the Imperial forces, was defeated and taken prisoner in Telingána.

The author's efforts were thereupon directed to the repression of this outbreak, and he sent his son with 1200 horse against the enemy. * * On the 6th Khurdád, he defeated them with a loss of 400 killed, and many wounded.

XLIII.

TAKMÍLA-I AKBAR-NÁMA

OF

INÁYATU-LLA.

THIS is the supplement of the *Akbar-náma,* containing the four remaining years of Akbar's reign. It was composed by Shaikh Ináyatu-lla, and is sometimes met with bound up with the *Akbar-náma.*

[The above is all that has been found among Sir H. M. Elliot's papers concerning this "Completion of the *Akbar-náma.*" There is no copy of the work in his library, and not a page of translation. The work seems to be almost unknown in England, for it is not to be found in the Libraries of the British Museum, the East India Office, or the Royal Asiatic Society. A translation of the whole work is given at the end of the MS. translation of the *Akbar-náma* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, already noticed at p. 8 *suprà.* It is the work of "Lieut." Chalmers, of the Madras Army, and was used by Elphinstone. The following Extracts are taken from this translation, and may be accepted as accurate.

Nothing more has been learnt of the work or its author than what he tells us in the following pages. It will be seen from the conclusion that he calls himself "Ináyatu-lla, or Muhammad Sálih."]

EXTRACTS.

The most admirable command of His Most High Majesty * * was issued to this effect, that as the *Akbar-náma* was still unfinished, and Abú-l Fazl was no more, and had not attained

the happiness of completing this noble record, this humble individual (Ináyatu-lla) should relate the annals of four years which remained unchronicled. And as the second volume of the Shaikh was both deficient in beauty of style, and contained many obsolete words unintelligible to the generality of mankind, a point which was not approved of, he was further directed to arrange his diction and phraseology after the model of the first volume, so that his meaning, though wonderful and sublime, should be clad in the familiar garb of common language, and that it might thus be understood and commended by small and great. My hope is, that by obedience to this mandate, the morning of success and complacency may dawn upon me, and that I may thus secure an ample stock of approbation and advancement!

Forty-seventh Year of the Reign.

This year commenced on Thursday, the 27th Ramazán. * * About this time, a letter arrived from the Prince Sultán Dániyál, reporting that (Malik) Ambar had collected his troops in Bidar, and had gained a victory over a party which had been sent to oppose him by Malik Baríd. After exacting tribute from him, Malik Ambar successfully attacked the Kutbu-l Mulkí territories, and then proceeding towards Telingána, had besieged Mír Murtazá in Pathrí. The Prince, therefore, to prevent his junction with the son of Sháh 'Alí in Ahmadnagar, had detached the Khán-khánán against him, while Shaikh Abú-l Fazl was ordered against Rájú.

Prince Salím.

It has already been related, that His Highness the Prince Sultán Salím had set out against the Rájá of Ajmír, attended by a train of followers countless as the stars. But as Akbar had now heard of the disturbances in Bengal, he had countermanded the Prince, and directed him to unite his forces with those of Rájá Mán Singh, to reduce these Eastern rebels, and that

the Prince deferred his departure, and merely hunted towards Allahábád.

When the Emperor was at Akbarábád (Ágra), the Prince wrote to request the honour of an audience, and proceeded as far as Etáwa for the purpose; but here doubts were suggested to him by some ill-inclined persons, and he feared to advance any further. His Majesty was no sooner made aware of this circumstance, than he wrote to the Prince, that "if he were earnest in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to display his confidence by doing so alone, and dismiss his attendants to their *jágírs;* if, on the contrary, suspicion withheld him, he had better retire to Allahábád, there to re-assure his heart, and repair to Court when he was able to do so with full trust and confidence." The Prince, alarmed at this kind yet disdainful communication, instantly despatched *Mír Sadr-i Jahán*, who was the chief justiciary of the Imperial dominions, and His Majesty's agent with the Prince, to his august father, charged with the most submissive apology, and referring to the Mír's own observation in testimony of his sense of duty and allegiance. He then set out towards Allahábád, and meanwhile an Imperial *farmán* was issued, investing him with the government of Bengal and Orissa, and directing him to despatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Rájá Mán Singh was, at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces, and to return to Court.

Defeat of Malik Ambar.

A splendid victory was gained by the Khán-khánán over Ambar. It had been reported by Mír Murtazá and Sher Khwája, that Ambar had been joined by Farhád with 2000 horse, and had strengthened himself in Nandeir. The Khán determined to send his own son, Mirzá Írich, with a body of brave followers, against him. As fate had ordained the day of punishment for Ambar to approach, he was sufficiently bold to draw out his forces, and prepare for battle in the vicinity of Nandeir. Mirzá Írich, chafing at his insolence, marshalled his

brave forces and attacked him. The centre and left soon bore down their opponents, and if the right had in like manner gained the same honourable title to fame, it is most probable that the whole of the enemy would have been taken, and the sedition quelled at once. Even as it was, twenty elephants, with all the enemy's equipage, were taken.

Afgháns in Bengal.

'Usmán the Afghán trod in the path of rebellion, and crossing the Brahmaputra river, was in vain opposed by Báz Bahádur, the Imperial *thánadár*, who retired to Bhowál. Rájá Mán Singh no sooner heard of Báz Bahádur's retreat, than, marching the whole night, he joined him on the following morning, and attacking the enemy put him to flight, and took many guns and much spoil. The Rájá having then again delivered the country to Báz Bahádur, returned to Dacca; but as the officer of the district now formed the idea of crossing the river and seizing upon the country of 'Ísá, and Sarípúr and Bakrampúr, the Afgháns again assumed a posture of defiance, and defended the approaches both with guns and boats. As the contest continued for some time, the Rájá sent a chosen body in advance, with orders to cross the river when they could get the opportunity. But the Afgháns opened a discharge of artillery upon them from their boats, and many of the warriors were killed. The Rájá now opportunely arrived in person, and with his men boldly crossing the river on elephants, the enemy, astonished at their daring, took to flight. The Rájá drew not his rein till he had followed them to Tíra and Mahwarí. Then Ghazní, the chief of the latter place, submitted, and the Rájá pushed on. He took Bakrampúr and Sarípúr, and stationed trusty forces throughout the country. The Afgháns then retreated to Sunárgánw, while the Rájá returned victorious to Dacca.

Death of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl.

As Shaikh Abú-l Fazl adorned the garment of the high con-

sideration in which he was held with the embroidery of hearty fidelity, he had reported to His Majesty some of the youthful indiscretions of the Prince Salím Mirzá, the heir-apparent—forgetful that the high road to honour and distinction hath its dangers, and that the branch which wildly ventures to run crookedly must ever bear bitter fruit.

To His Majesty's amiable disposition, therefore, his reports were not entirely acceptable, and, as this soon became current among all classes, Akbar summoned him to Court, and directed him to make over his retinue and command during his absence to his son 'Abdu-r Rahmán. Abú-l Fazl reached Saráí Banga,[1] two stages from Gwálior, on the 1st Shahryúr. There Bar Singh Deo Bundela, anxious to obtain the favour of the Prince Sultán Salím, planted an ambuscade in his way. Abú-l Fazl's followers apprised him of the danger, and recommended him to retire for protection to Rái Ráyán and Rájá Rái Singh, who were with 2000 horse at Antarí, a distance of only two *kos*. But the Shaikh, whose hour of death was at hand, and the gem of whose discrimination had therefore grown dull, only replied, "The fear of death is vain, for its period cannot be deferred. I have been raised by my gallantry from the position of being son of a *darwesh* to the rank of nobility, how then shall I basely seek shelter from another?" The Rájpúts soon afterwards placed their rough hands upon his collar, and slew him with his attendants. His head was sent by Bar Singh Deo to the young Prince. His Majesty was much affected on hearing of his death, and he earnestly besought pardon for his sins from the Creator. Orders were issued for bringing Bar Singh Deo to punishment.

Prince Dániyál.

Prince Dániyál, with the levity of youth, had forgotten the vow which he had made by the head of his august father to

[1] According to Asad Beg, who had personal knowledge of the matter, the place of the murder was called "Sarái-Barár," and the murderer's name was Nar Singh. See *infrá*,—*Wikáya'-i Asad Beg*.

forsake the habit of drinking, and had again addicted himself to wine. Akbar addressed to him a letter of exhortation, bidding him take warning by the fate of Prince Sultán Murád, and entreating him, if only out of regard to his earthly parent, to withdraw his hand from the impurity of this venomous and treacherous poison.

Prince Salím.

The Sultána Salíma Begam took her departure for Allahábád, in order that she might by her influence bring to the Imperial Court the Prince Sultán Salím, who had been repeatedly reported to have thrown the veil of repentance over his offences. He was therefore pressingly and graciously invited to the presence.

Bar Singh Deo.

Bar Singh Deo, the murderer of Abú-l Fazl, had first been pursued by the Rái Ráyán to Bhánder, and from thence to Írich, a strong fort on the river. When the advanced party of the Imperial troops turned their conquering face against this place, he came out and drew up his troops to dispute the bank of the stream.[1] The Rái Ráyán crossed and attacked, and drove him back again into the fort, which was then besieged by the royal forces. The distress of the enemy increased, till the benighted culprit broke from the walls by night, and fled to the jungle. His elephant was slain there; but he contrived, under the darkness of the night, to effect his escape.

FORTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Reconciliation of Prince Salím.

The Sultána Salíma Begam, having interceded between His Majesty and the young prince Salím, reconciled the monarch to the wonted exercise of paternal affection, while at the same time she also procured for Salím the pardon of Akbar's august

[1] The Betwa.

mother. When the Prince approached the capital, that venerable matron proceeded some days' journey to meet him, and brought him to her own private abode. Even His Majesty, to conciliate his illustrious son, advanced several steps to receive him. * * After a short interval, His Majesty conferred on him the royal diadem, which is the main source of ornament to the Court and Sovereignty, and the chief light of the pomp of royalty.

Defeat of the Magh Rájá.

This short-sighted Rájá, who had just now acquired the country of Bangu, and secured possession of the gold hoarded for many years, became elated with the extent of his treasures and the number of his elephants. He had succeeded by his wiles in bringing over Kaid Rái, the *zamíndár* of Bakrampúr, who had been forcibly reduced by Mán Singh. He then openly rebelled, and assembling an army at Sunárgánw, laid siege to a fort in the vicinity. Sultán Kulí Khán the governor bravely defended himself, and eventually sallying forth, dispersed the besiegers. Ahmad, another rebel, then joined the Rájá with his forces, and a second time summoned Sultán Kulí. Rájá Mán Singh, hearing of the increased numbers of the enemy, despatched a force under Ibráhím Atka, Raghu Dás, and Dalpat Rái, to his assistance. These soon brought the Magh Rájá and all his forces to action, for as victory ever attends the Imperial standards, they attacked him, regardless of the number of his boats and the strength of his artillery. A complete victory was gained. One hundred vessels, of different kinds, were taken; and the Rájá was compelled to intrench himself in front of the Imperial troops, to provide safety against their attacks.

Rájá of Bánswárra.

About the same period the Rájá of Bánswárra, who had excited a rebellion, was defeated by Mirzá Sháh Rukh, whose admirable zeal called him to the field, notwithstanding the infirm

state of his health. The Rájá was defeated after a short contest; his stronghold was taken, and himself driven to the hills. He next raised a party in Málwa, and the Mirzá, thinking it more important to repress him than to seize his territory, promptly followed him thither. On this, the rebel immediately returned, and re-occupying his own country, increased in insolence. The roads were impassable in consequence of the rains, and the Mirzá, being unable to move his troops, was compelled for the present to suspend the pursuit.

Prince Salím.

His Majesty had already once deputed Prince Salím to uproot the rebellious Ráná, and the standards of victory had already overshadowed U'dípúr. Another force had also been sent to reduce the hill-country. But the Ráná escaped to his fastnesses, and the consummation of this important affair was delayed. An order was now again issued that the Prince should a second time brace his courage to the destruction of this doomed infidel. * * But the inclinations of the young Prince were not heartily engaged in the enterprise. He reported that his troops were not prepared, and made extravagant demands, both for increased forces and treasure. Moreover, he intimated his wish, that if his exorbitant requests were not complied with, he might be allowed to return to his own *jágír*. His Majesty, accordingly, guessing the object of his conduct, directed that he might consider himself at liberty to return to Allahábád, and to present himself at Court whenever afterwards he chose to do so. The Prince accepted this permission, and marching on the 6th A'zur, crossed the Jumna, near Muttra, and turned towards Allahábád.

Bíjápúr.

Shortly after, the irrevocable commands were issued to Prince Sultán Dániyál and the Khán-khánán to march against 'A'dil Khán of Bíjápúr, who was dilatory in the transmission of his tribute, and had otherwise shown himself refractory. * * The

young Prince was ill, and unable to proceed himself; but by the advice of his counsellors, he deputed Ináyatu-lla to Bíjápúr, with a despatch calculated to excite both the hopes and fears of 'Ádil Khán.

Kaid Rái of Bengal.

Rájá Mán Singh, after defeating the Magh Rájá, turned his attention toward Kaid Rái of Bengal, who had collected nearly 500 vessels of war, and had laid siege to Kilmak, the Imperial commander in Srinagar. Kilmak held out, till a body of troops was sent to his aid by the Rájá. These finally overcame the enemy, and after a furious cannonade, took Kaid Rái prisoner, who died of his wounds soon after he was brought before the Rájá.

Almshouses and Saráis.

At this period almshouses were directed to be established throughout the Imperial dominions; also caravanserais for travellers at every stage, where food was to be prepared and held in readiness at all times for the way-worn traveller, who is usually too fatigued to be equal to the exertion of cooking his own repast.

Imprisonment of the Emperor's Nephew.

Prince Kaikubád, son of Mirzá Hakím, having contracted the pernicious habit of indulging in intoxicating drugs, was sent into confinement in the fort of Rantambhor, under the custody of Rájá Jagannáth, there to be kept until punishment and seclusion from corrupt society should work in him amendment.

Forty-ninth Year of the Reign.

Bíjápúr.

'Ádil Khán of Bíjápúr, being now wrought on by the exhortations of Mirzá Sharfu-d dín, the Imperial ambassador, to offer his allegiance to the State, Mirzá Írich was the noble honoured

with the charge of extorting both the tribute which he agreed to send, and the litter of his daughter, who was to be united to Prince Sultán Dániyál. That young prince was also prevailed on to proceed with 5000 horse to Ahmadnagar, to celebrate the rejoicings on the occasion of the nuptials.

Rájá Mán Singh's Sister.

The death of the sister of Rájá Mán Singh, who was the chief favourite in the harem of the Prince Sultán Salím, occurred at this time. This lady was ever ambitious of an ascendency over the other inmates of the harem, and grew violent at the slightest opposition to her will. Having one day had a quarrel with one of her rivals, she took the opportunity of the Prince's absence at a hunting party, to swallow a large quantity of opium; preferring, in her fury, the draught of deadly poison to the sweet waters of life. She expired before the Prince, who was recalled from his excursion by the news of her illness, could arrive, and he remained for some days absorbed in grief for her loss.

Prince Dániyál.

It now became necessary to despatch to the Court of Sultán Dániyál Shaikh Abú-l Khair, brother of Abú-l Fazl, and equally devoted with that chief to the service of the Emperor, to endeavour by any means to bring the young Prince to Court, with the view there to force him to abstain from the ruinous course of inebriety which had now reduced him to the most debilitated condition.

Prince Salím.

Reports arrived that the practice of indulgence in wine drinking, and of the excessive use of opium, had affected the health of the Prince Royal, Sultán Salím, and had made his temper so irritable and tyrannical, that the slightest offences were visited with the severest punishments, that pardon was never thought

of, and that his adherents were struck dumb with terror. His Majesty, aware that a word of counsel spoken in season, would avail more than a thousand at a distance, * * determined to proceed to Allahábád, to attempt the reformation of the Prince.

Death of the Emperor's Mother.

[The progress of the Emperor to Allahábád] was arrested by the accounts which he received of the dangerous illness of his august mother, and his affectionate heart was overwhelmed with grief at her distressing state. * * On the 20th Shahryúr she departed, leaving the world in grief. Akbar clad himself in the deepest mourning, shaved his head and beard, and avoided all ornament in his apparel. Her body was conveyed to Dehlí. His Majesty himself placed his shoulder under the bier, and helped to bear it for several paces, and the same office was performed by the chief *amírs* of the State. Her remains were interred near to those of her illustrious husband.

The Murderer of Abú-l Fazl.

The abode of Bar Singh Deo, the murderer of Abú-l Fazl, had been several times attacked and plundered, but the culprit himself had still escaped the vengeful pursuit of Shaikh 'Abdu-r Rahmán. Orders were now given for the reinforcement of that officer with as many of the Imperial troops as he might select as worthy, from their valour and conduct, to be partners in the work of retribution. Rájá Bikramájít was also associated with him.

Fiftieth Year of the Reign.

Capture of Urcha.

Shaikh 'Abdu-r Rahmán and Khwája 'Abdu-lla reported that they had succeeded in taking the fort of Urcha,[1] one of the strongest in Hindústán, and that the rebel, Bar Singh Deo, had

[1] Eight miles from Jhánsí.

been driven to hide himself like a snake among the wilds, to escape the pursuit of the Imperial warriors. Shortly afterwards another despatch was received from the same chiefs, stating that as the enemy had poisoned all the wells, and 1000 men had died of fever, they had been compelled to abandon Urcha as a place of residence.

Death of Prince Dániyál.

Shall I talk of the changeableness of this world, or shall I relate the sad tale of this young branch of tender years, or shall I rather acquaint my pen with the evil which his own obstinacy and folly wrought upon himself! The fire of the wine-cup extinguished the light of his natural abilities, and the lamp of his intellect was unable to burn through the abundance of this baneful liquid. The affectionate arguments of His Majesty were disregarded, till by degrees the fumes of wine sapped the strength and vigour of his constitution, and his trembling limbs lost their functions. The Khán-khánán and Khwája Abú-l Hasan used their utmost endeavours, both in obedience to the Imperial orders and the real affection they felt for him, to stop the supply of this deleterious liquor. They posted guards to prevent its introduction; but the base parasites who were about the Prince's person contrived to introduce the poison unperceived, sometimes concealing it in the barrels of muskets, and sometimes in their turbans. After forty days of illness, the young Prince died, at the age of thirty-three—an event which caused both friends and strangers to sit down in grief and mourning.

Bar Singh Deo.

It has been already related that Bar Singh Deo took refuge in the wilds and forests. He was, nevertheless, pursued by Rájá Jai Singh, who shot many of his followers, and at last wounded the blood-stained murderer, who, however, still contrived, though with blistered feet, to effect his escape.

Death of the Emperor.

On Monday, the 12th Á'bán, corresponding with the 20th Jumáda-l awwal, 1014 Hijra (September, 1605), an illness insinuated itself into the frame of the Emperor, and he became indisposed. Hakím 'Alí, who was the most skilful of physicians, was summoned to attend. After considering the symptoms, he refrained for eight days from administering medicine, under the hope that His Majesty's vigour of constitution would overcome the disease. On the ninth day, the debility and symptoms appeared to be aggravated, so the physician resorted to the remedies of his art; but they produced no good effect for ten days. The complaint in the bowels increased, and the limbs lost their power. It then became evident that recovery was hopeless, and that the collar of the world was in the clutches of the Fates.

On the 9th Á'zur, corresponding with the night of Wednesday, 12th Jumáda-l ákhir (13th October, 1605 A.D.), when the age of His Majesty had reached the period of sixty-five lunar years, he bade adieu to life, in the capital of Á'gra, and took his departure to the paradise of love. On the following day his sacred remains were borne by men of all ranks, in stately and becoming pomp, to the grave, and were interred in the garden of Bihishtábád.

Conclusion.

Praise be to God, that this excellent work, the *Akbar-náma*, has been brought to an admirable and approved conclusion! * * The second volume, up to the forty-seventh year of the reign, is the composition of the most learned and intelligent Abú-l Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubárak; and from the forty-eighth year, after the death of the celebrated Shaikh, Ináyatu-lla or Muhammad Sálih, after duly preparing himself for the work of history, has thus brought it to an end.

XLIV.

AKBAR-NÁMA

OF

SHAIKH ILLAHDÁD, FAIZÍ SIRHINDÍ.

[OF this writer very little is known, except what we gather from the work before us. His father was Mullá 'Alí Sher, a learned man, among whose pupils was Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, the author of the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*. Shaikh Illahdád was a native of Sirhind, and held a *madad-ma'ásh* village in that district. He was attached to the service of Shaikh Faríd Bokhárí, who held the office of *Bakhshíu-l Mulk*, and he seems to have accompanied that nobleman on his various services. He tells us that it was by the express command of Shaikh Faríd that this history was written. He began it in the thirty-sixth year of his age, having up to that time "been greatly devoted to social pleasures and delights." This same Shaikh Faríd was also patron of another historian, Shaikh Núru-l Hakk, whose work, the *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh*, will be noticed soon after this.

The *Akbar-náma* of Shaikh Illahdád is a plain unambitious work, and has no pretensions to originality. It is based on the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*; but the author sometimes prefers the narrative of Abú-l Fazl, and adapts that writer's florid and somewhat prolix descriptions to his sober and straightforward style. Thus the accounts of the murder of Atka Khán and the conquest of Garha-katanka are taken from Abú-l Fazl. On one subject only does he enter into more particular details—the services rendered by his patron, Shaikh Faríd Bokhárí. With this exception, and the addition of scraps of poetry and some wonderful stories, the work is nothing more than a compilation from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and the *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl. It ends with the latter work in 1010 H. (1602 A.D.).

The author claims to have taken part in the compilation of the "*Humáyún Sháhí*[1] of Mihtar Jauhar," and upon the Emperor Akbar being informed of this fact, he expressed his approval, and his intention of employing him to turn some Hindí work into Persian.

A few Extracts have been translated. The first one by Ensign F. Mackenzie, the remainder by the Editor.

Sir H. Elliot's copy of the *Akbar-náma* is an octavo volume of 453 pages, 15 lines to a page.]

EXTRACTS.

An Account of the manner in which the Khwája 'Abdú-l Majíd Asaf Khán conquered the country of Panna[2] *and Garha-katanka, by the eternal good fortune of His Majesty.*

It is not unknown to those who are acquainted with the events of this period, that Khwája 'Abdú-l Majíd Harawí was originally a scribe, who had, during the reign of the late blessed monarch, been constantly employed in transacting the affairs of the household. During His Majesty's fortunate reign, he had also held similar offices of trust. Step by step he obtained promotion, and received the title of Asaf Khán. A *jágír* was given him in the *sarkár* of Garha-katanka, which is a very spacious country. Katanka is a separate village near Garha. In the year 970, and the eighth year of the reign, his experience induced him to desire to gain possession of the land of Panna, which adjoined his own possessions. He sent an urgent message to Rájá Rám Chand, whose ancestors had always ruled that country, and with whom Ghází Khán Tátár had taken refuge after his flight from the Court of the Asylum of the Universe. He counselled him strongly for his own welfare to become a subject of His Majesty, and pay him tribute. He also recommended him to send Ghází Khán, who had been a rebel, and received shelter from him, to the Protector of the World.

[1] [Otherwise called *Tazkiratu-l Wáki'át*, No. XXXVIII. Vol. V. p. 136.]

[2] [In the MS. the name is written "Patta."]

Ram Chand's ill-fortune and pride prevented him from being moved by these representations, and he made preparations for war. Ásaf Khán, being free from apprehension, and trusting in the eternal success of His Majesty's arms, brought an army against him. Rájá Rám Chand, aided by Ghází Khán Tátár, and a vast multitude, like locusts and ants, also drew up in battle array. Both parties did their best, and fought valiantly; but, at last, Rám Chand was routed, and Ghází Khán and many others were put to the sword. Rájá Rám Chand fled thence to the castle of Mándhún, which is noted for being one of the strongest fortified places in Hindústán. Much plunder fell into the hands of the victorious troops. Shortly afterwards Rájá Rám Chand, repenting of what he had done, by the assistance of several of the chief Rájás who were faithful subjects of the King, was admitted into the train of the submissive and obedient. A royal *farmán* was despatched to the effect, that as Rájá Rám Chand had taken the best course for his own good, and submitted himself, his country was not to be invaded. On the receipt of this order, Ásaf Khán returned to his own *jágír*, and took measures for the reduction of Garha, which was near his own territory.

[1] The chief place of that country is Chaurágarh. The land contains 70,000 inhabited villages. It is bounded on one side by Málwa and the Dakhin, on another by Garha. It is a separate principality, governed by a Rání named Durgávatí, who was remarkable for her beauty and loveliness. Ásaf Khán, whose possessions her country bordered on, and whose people were constantly going to and fro, managed to make himself well acquainted with its general condition, and the state of its revenues. He began to ravage and plunder the villages in its districts, waiting for an opportunity of taking more extreme measures. At last, in the year 971, in the ninth year of the reign, he valiantly set out with 10,000 horse and foot, purposing to take possession of the country. His valour made him look

[1] [See *suprà*, p. 30.]

on this as a matter of easy accomplishment. The Ráni, owing to her pride and confidence in her own skill and courage, attended to her own affairs, and utterly disregarded the fact that she had a neighbour whose valour had been proved on several occasions, particularly in the case of Báz Bahádur, who had attacked him with the Afgháns of the tribe of Míyánah, and whom he had vanquished. She had always kept up a force of 20,000 horsemen, but she was suddenly told that the valiant troops of His Majesty had arrived at Damúda, one of her chief towns, at a time when her troops were dispersed. She had only 500 men with her. Adhár, who was entrusted with the management of the whole business of that country, informed her how affairs stood. The Ráni said, "This is through your stupidity. I have long ruled this country, and never acted in such a manner as to bring disgrace on myself. Now, from what you tell me, if the King were here in person, I would present myself before him; but now there is no remedy but war!" The Ráni made four marches from that place, and found herself face to face with the Imperial army.

Ásaf Khán had gone as far as Damúda with great speed, but he delayed there. The Ráni thus had time to collect some 4000 men, and her courtiers recommended her to give battle, advising her, however, to post herself in some strong position until the arrival of more troops. The Ráni agreed to this counsel, and retreated into the jungles and strong places, so that Ásaf Khán became ignorant of her whereabouts. Ásaf Khán turned back from that place, and on reaching Garha, he took possession of its villages and territories. In the mean time, 5000 men had been collected. When Ásaf Khán was informed of the Ráni's movements, he left a force in Garha, and proceeded in person against her. The Ráni was informed of this, and said to her people, "How long shall we take refuge among the trees and jungles?" She then made up her mind to fight, and mounting her elephant, she went amidst her troops, endeavouring by suitable exhortations to encourage and prepare them for war. When

both armies met, a desperate battle began. Three hundred Mughals obtained martyrdom, and the Rání pursued the fugitives.

At the close of day, the Rání consulted with her chiefs as to what was best to be done, and every one said something. The Rání was of opinion that she had better return to her camp, and thence make a night attack, or else remain where they were until daybreak and then renew the battle, because, in the event of her not doing something, Ásaf Khán would seize the hill in the morning, and post his artillery on it. Having determined on a night attack, she returned to her camp, but no one agreed with her on this matter, or showed any resolution. At daybreak, what she had predicted, happened. Ásaf Khán possessed himself of the summit of the hill, and having fortified it, he took post there with his army. The Rání again, intent on fighting, drew up her soldiers and mounted her best elephant. She caused Adhár, who has been mentioned before, to ride before her on her elephant. Such a conflict took place, that, throwing away guns and arrows, the combatants seized each other's collars, and fought hand to hand.

Rájá Bírsáh, the heir-apparent, behaved with the utmost valour. The conflict lasted until the third watch of the day, and the Rájá repulsed the royal troops three times, but at last he was wounded. When the Rání learnt what had happened to her son, she directed her confidential servants to convey him in the best way they could from the field of battle to a place of safety, which they did. Whilst this was going on, so large a body of men went away from the Rání, that not more than 300 remained with her. Notwithstanding this, she firmly maintained her ground, and encouraged her men to fight. Suddenly fate directed an arrow, which struck her on the temple. This she courageously drew out herself, but its barb remained in the wound. This arrow was followed by another, which wounded her in the neck, which she extracted in the same way, but fainted from excess of pain. When she came round, she said

to Adhár, who was in front of her, "I have always placed trust and confidence in you against a day like this; so that, in the event of my meeting with defeat, you might not suffer me to fall into the hands of the enemy. Adhár had not the power to do what she required, so she drew out her dagger, and died a manly death. Very many of her confidential adherents loyally gave up their lives. By the favour of the Almighty, and the fortune of the King of Kings, a victory, the splendour of which exceeded all other victories, was obtained. A thousand elephants, and countless booty, fell into the hands of the victorious troops, and an extensive territory was added to His Majesty's dominions.

Ásaf Khán, after the lapse of two months, proceeded towards Chaurágarh. The Ráni's son, who had gone thither from the field of battle, came out to oppose him; but after a short struggle, the army of the King gained possession of the fort. In it were found a great amount of gold, priceless jewels, gold and silver plate, and images of their divinities, together with other valuables and property, which had been collected there by the Rájás during many centuries, as is the custom of those people. All these fell into the hands of Ásaf Khán; a hundred and one cooking pots, full of large and valuable gold coins, came into his possession. The performance of this notable action caused his pomp and dignity greatly to increase, and men placed great trust in him. Nevertheless, this faithless man only sent 200 out of the 1000 elephants which he had captured as a *pesh-kash* to Court, and withheld the jewels and valuables altogether. His Majesty's magnanimity overlooked this, and he took no notice of the circumstance. Ásaf Khán remained established in the government of Garha and Karra, until His Majesty proceeded to Jaunpúr for the purpose of chastising Khán-zamán.

* * * * * * *

A most remarkable event occurred at Chaurágarh. When Rájá Bírsáh, the Ráni's son, was shut up there, a certain number of men were appointed, in the event of a defeat, for the purpose of performing the *jauhar*, an ancient custom of the Rájás of

Hind. On occasions like this, they shut their women up in the house, and after heaping up straw, wood, cotton, and ghee around it, they set fire to the pile and burn them. This they look upon as a means of saving their honour. When the fort was nearly reduced, they did this, and all the beautiful women were reduced to ashes. After the capture of the place, when the flames had ceased on the second day, they examined the place, and discovered two females underneath a large block of wood. One of them was the Rání's sister, the other the Rájá's wife, with whom he had not yet cohabited. They were taken out unhurt, and sent to the royal harem.

The Mirzás.[1]

(See Vol. V. pp. 189, 315, 325, 330.)

[The Mirzás were the sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá. He was the son of Rashíd Sultán Waís Mirzá, son of Bábakrá, son of Mansúr, son of Bábakrá, son of 'Umr Shaikh, son of Sáhib Kirán Amír Tímúr. The mother of Sultán Mirzá was a daughter of Sultán Husain Mirzá, ruler of Khurásán. This Sultán (Husain) Mirzá brought up his grandson, Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, under his own protection. When Sultán Mirzá died, dissensions arose in his country, and Muhammad Sultán Mirzá went and presented himself to the Emperor Bábar, who treated him with great kindness. After the death of Bábar, the Emperor Humáyún kept up during his reign the same favour and patronage. Muhammad Sultán Mirzá had two sons. One, Ulugh Mirzá, met his death in a fight with the Hazáras. The other was named Sháh Mirzá. Ulugh Mirzá left two sons, Sikandar Mirzá and Muhammad Sultán Mirzá. Upon the death of Ulugh Mirzá, the Emperor Humáyún charged himself with the education of his sons, and by his favour Sikandar Mirzá received the title of Ulugh Mirzá, and Muhammad Sultán

[1] [Nearly the whole of this Extract is taken from different parts of the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, but it is here given entire as being the most connected account of these Mirzás, troublesome in their own time, and perplexing to posterity.]

Mirzá that of Sháh Mirzá. When the Emperor Akbar succeeded to the throne, Muhammad Sultán Mirzá had grown up. The Emperor exempted him from military service, and assigned him the *pargana* of 'Azampúr, in the *sarkár* of Sambal, for a maintenance. He had several sons. First, Ibráhím Husain Mirzá; second, Muhammad Husain Mirzá; third, Mas'úd Husain Mirzá; fourth, 'Ákil Husain Mirzá. The Emperor conferred upon each of these a suitable *jágír*, and raised them to the rank of nobility. They attended in the train of His Majesty, and performed the duties of service. When the Emperor returned from his campaign against Jaunpúr, they were at their *jágírs* in Sambal. At the time of the Emperor's march to Lahore against Mirzá Hakím, the brothers Ulugh Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá combined with their uncles (nephews?) Ibráhím Husain Mirzá and Muhammad Husain Mirzá, and breaking out into rebellion, ravaged several *parganas*. This was an old failing in the family. Ulugh Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, rose in rebellion during the reign of Humáyún, and did great damage. But on each occasion their offences were overlooked.

When these graceless men attacked the *parganas*, the *jágírdárs* of those parts resisted them, and the Mirzás, being unable to withstand the force brought against them, made off to join Khán-zamán and Sikandar Khán. There also their intractable tempers stood in the way of anything like union, so they turned back, with the intention of making an inroad into the Doáb, and went as far as the *pargana* of Ním-kahár. Here Yár Sháhí, the sister's son of Hájí Khán Sístání, *jágírdár* of that district, gave them battle; but although he made a good fight, he was defeated, and great booty fell into the hands of the Mirzás. They continued their course, plundering as far as Dehlí. Tátár Khán, the governor of Dehlí, put the fort in a state of defence, and Mun'im Khán moved up from Ágra to oppose them. Unable to resist the forces brought against them, they hastened off to Málwa, which was in a defenceless state. At the town of

Sonpat, they fell in with Mír Mu'ízzu-l Mulk, who was proceeding to the Panjáb, and plundered his baggage. They then proceeded to Málwa, and took possession of that country. Kadam Khán, brother of Maghrib Khán Dakhiní, was in Hindia, and Muhammad Husain Mirzá laid siege to the place. After a time, he killed Kadam Khán, and got possession of Hindia. When intelligence of these doings reached the Emperor at Lahore, he gave orders for arresting Muhammad Sultán Mirzá at 'Azampúr, and for keeping him a prisoner in the fort of Bayána.

In this same year, 947 H., the Emperor having proved victorious over 'Alí Kulí Khán-zamán and Bahádur Khán, returned to Ágra, and his victorious army had hardly taken breath, when the news came of the descent of the Mirzás upon Málwa. The Emperor immediately went off thither. When he reached Gágrún, he did not deem it necessary to prosecute a design which might as well be carried out by his officers; so he appointed Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, Sháh Bidágh Khán, and some others, to act in the province of Mandú. As these nobles came near to Ujjain, they learned that the Mirzás, having heard of the approach of the Emperor, had met together and gone off to Changíz Khán, the ruler of Gujarát. So these commanders, by the grace of God, and the good fortune of the Emperor, obtained possession of the province without opposition or fighting.

In the year 975, when the Emperor had sent his forces to besiege the fort of Rantambhor, he received intelligence that the Mirzás had fled from Changíz Khán, and having come back into Málwa, had laid siege to Ujjain. So he sent against them Kalij Khán and some other *amírs* who had been named for service at Rantambhor. When these *amírs* approached Sironj, they were joined by Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, the governor of that *sarkár*, and Sháh Bidágh Khán, governor of Sárangpúr. The Mirzás hearing of this imposing force, raised the siege of Ujjain, and turned towards Mandú. The garrison being thus relieved,

came out, and having joined the army, the united forces went in pursuit of the rebels. They fled from Mandú to the Nerbadda, and lost many men in making the passage of that river. Just about this time, Jhajár Khán Habshí assassinated Changíz Khán, the ruler of Gujarát, in the *tírpauliya*. When the Mirzás were informed of this event, they thought the disturbances in Gujarát opened a favourable field for them, so they proceeded thither, and the Imperial *amírs* returned to their *jágírs* or to Court, according to orders. The Mirzás, having obtained possession of Chámpánír, marched against Broach, and laid siege to the fortress. After a time, they killed by treachery Rúmí Khán, who held the fort, and each of them brought a portion of the territories of Gujarát into his possession. Ibráhím Husain held Baroda and the surrounding territories. Muhammad Husain got Surát and its dependencies, and Sháh Mirzá held Chámpánír, with its dependent districts.[1]]

Campaign in the Siválik.

[Armaments had been several times sent under different *amírs* of distinction to effect the subjugation of Jammú, Rámgarh, and other places; but this difficult enterprise had never been satisfactorily accomplished. So, on the 10th Muharram, 1003, the Emperor sent Shaikh Farid *Bakhshiu-l Mulk*, with several other *amírs* and a considerable force, to effect the conquest. He had great confidence in the ability and resolution of the *Bakhshi*. The force marched to the Siwálik hills, and the *Bakhshi* resolved to begin by attacking Jammú, one of the strongest forts in that country, which had once been reduced after considerable resistance by Salím Khán Súr. The Rájá made signs of resistance, and it was resolved to attack him before the army proceeded to occupy the territories of the rebels in other directions. Husain Beg and some other officers were accordingly sent against him. When the Rájá and the *samíndárs* heard of the approach of the

[1] [See Vol. V. p. 343.]

Imperial forces, they were greatly alarmed, and surrendered the fort of Jammú. After placing a garrison in the place, the *Bakhshí* marched against the fort of Rámgarh, which he took by assault, and placed in the custody of the men of Nawáb Zain Khán Koka. Husain Beg now returned and joined the main force.

Another force was now sent under Páyinda Kákshál, to receive the submission of such Rájás and *zamíndárs* as were willing to pay their allegiance, and to coerce those who resisted. The army then proceeded towards Jasrúná and Lakhanpúr, and the Rájás and *zamíndárs*, who had long been independent, submitted and paid their revenue. On reaching Sámba, Bhabú, the Rájá of Jasrúná, and Balídar, the *zamíndár* of Lakhanpúr, came in. This Bhabú had been the leader of the rebels, and the great promoter of the strife. * * Next day Súraj Singh, son of Bású, the Rájá of Mú, came in, and made his allegiance, and he was placed in charge of Husain Beg Shaikh 'Umarí, until it should be determined by the Emperor how the *parganas* of Sámba and Jasrúná should be disposed of. Two *kos* from Sámba a fort was built. Muhammad Khán Turkomán was sent forward to take charge of Lakhanpúr.

The army next proceeded to the village of Aliya, where Bhabú was, and there encamped. This is a strong place, surrounded on all sides by jungle so dense, that it was difficult to pass through it. Hither the rebels and fugitives fled and hid, deeming themselves safe from all pursuit. Shaikh Faríd stayed for some days at that village, and gave orders for clearing away the jungle by the axe and by fire. The soldiers were engaged in the work for several days; but were unable to clear away more than a road of twenty or thirty *gaz* wide. Several of the old trees which were fit for building purposes were cut down and sent to Lahore for use in the government buildings. Bhabú, before mentioned, had been the chief and most active of the rebels, and he had done an immense deal of harm. A royal order had been given, that no effort should be spared to capture him. Now that he was in the hands of the

army, it was determined to send him to the Emperor in charge of 'Alí Muhammad.

When the army reached Jasrúná, the native place of Bhabú, his sons and brethren and friends gathered together, and took up a strong position at a small castle on a hill. This hill was covered with jungle from top to bottom, with only one narrow way, along which one or two horsemen might pass. On each side of this road there was a wall, with loopholes through which muskets might be fired, and arrows shot, upon strangers and foes, to prevent their approach. At the bottom of the hill, on the level ground, there was a cultivated tract, in which there was a fort, with moats. Shaikh Farid, when he perceived these hostile preparations, determined to capture the place, and punish the rebels. He first sent forward Husain Beg to attack the lower fort. By great exertion the moat was filled, the gates burst open, and the fort was taken. Several of the assailants were killed by wounds from gun-shots and arrows. Then the troops entered the jungle to attack the upper fort. The enemy hotly disputed the passage through the jungle with their muskets and bows. But the valiant soldiers returned the fire, and pressed on till they reached the gate of the fort. Then they set fire to the place, and the rebels fled for refuge into the jungle. All the buildings and crops were burnt.

Husain Beg halted here, and sent intelligence of his success to Shaikh Farid. An answer was returned, directing him to fortify the place and stay there the night, or to leave a detachment, and himself rejoin the main force. It was late in the day, the army was two *kos* distant, the way through the jungle was narrow and difficult, and the returning force might be attacked at great disadvantage; so Husain Beg resolved to rest for the night, and to make his way back in the morning. All night long the enemy harassed them from all parts of the jungle with arrows; but according to the plan agreed upon, each man sat behind his breastwork (*morchal*) with his shield over his head, never moving or making a noise. The night was thus passed

mid a constant rain of arrows; but in the morning the forces made their way through the jungle, and effected their junction safely. Husain Beg obtained great praise for his gallantry, and rewards in *in'áms*, money, and robes were bestowed upon the officers and soldiers.

Having left Husain Beg there with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpúr. The Rájá came out to meet it. The *pargana* was given to Muhammad Khán Turkomán, and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Ráví by a ford, and proceeded to the *pargana* of Pathán; next day it marched to Mú, a *pargana* under the authority of Bású. At this time Bású was at Court, but his son had at the first come forward and accompanied the army. He was now told that he ought to seize the opportunity for sending a suitable offering in acknowledgment of the country having been graciously confirmed to him. The son of Bású sent two *vakíls* to invite the *Bakhshí* to his home, a fort on the top of a hill, to receive the tribute. So the chief men of the army proceeded with an escort to Mú, which is a very strong fort. Excepting some cultivated land immediately joining the fort, the whole hill is covered with impenetrable jungle. The road through is very narrow, and in places strong gates are erected across it. At the foot of the hill there is also cultivated land, and around it there are stone walls and deep ditches. The country round is exceedingly pleasant, the gardens are full of fruit trees, and there are plenty of running streams. Bású's residence was a fine extensive building. The place was visited and examined, and after Bású's *vakíls* had discharged the duties of hospitality, the tribute was brought forth, consisting of valuable horses and fine cloths. The other territories of the neighbourhood, which had been held by rebellious Rájás and *zamíndárs*, were granted to *jágírdárs* as *tankhwáh*.

The army then proceeded to Gwálior, which is also a strong fort belonging to a different Rájá, who came out to meet the army and show his loyalty. The Rání of Nagarkot, whose son

was at the Imperial Court, sent her *vakíl* to pay her respects. On every side the rebels were compelled to submit, and show their obedience. All the country which had been in the hands of the rebels between Jammú and Nagarkot was reduced, and the Rájás and *zamíndárs* made their submission, or received merited punishment. In fact, the country was subjugated in a manner which it had never been before.

The affairs of the clan (*jamá'at*) of the Jasuwálas, who are *zamíndárs* with a (common) army, now had to be settled. But when they heard of the approach of the royal army, and of the reduction of the territories of the *zamíndárs*, all hope of successful resistance was beaten out of them, and they made humble submission.

Intelligence now arrived that Kází Hasan had been appointed to relieve Shaikh Faríd. The reason of this was, that the Emperor greatly valued the services of the Shaikh, and when he learned that the country had been reduced, and there remained but little to require his presence there, he appointed Kází Hasan, who had formerly seen service and gained experience in the hills under the son of Kalij Khán, to go and relieve the Shaikh, and to finish what yet remained to be done in concert with the other nobles in the army. Shaikh Faríd Bakhshí was to return to Court. When the Kází arrived, the *Bakhshí* represented that there still remained some work to be done, and it seemed advisable for him to remain a few days and accomplish his work, after which he would proceed to Court. It might be that things which were easy for him might become difficult after his departure. But the Kází did not assent to this, and urged immediate submission to the royal command. So, at the beginning of the month of De, the *Bakhshí* started, and travelling express by way of Desoha and Batála, he reached Lahore in three days, and having paid his respects to the Emperor, received great honours.

About this time Khwája Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshí, the author of the *Tabakát-i Akbar-sháhí*, died, being nearly forty-eight years of age, on the 22nd Safar, 1003 H., and the thirty-ninth year of the reign.

On the 22nd Rabí'u-l ákhir, Nawáb-i 'Azam Khán returned from Mecca, and was graciously received by His Majesty. His son, Mirzá 'Abdú-lla, was with him, and he also received many marks of the royal favour. * * On the 27th of the month Koka died at Lahore. On the 3rd Rabí'u-s sání Asaf Khán, who had been sent to Kashmír, having performed his mission, returned to Court. He accomplished the journey from Kashmír in three days. At the end of Jumáda-s sání, despatches arrived announcing the taking of the fort of Síwí after an arduous siege. Many of the defenders were slain, and great spoil was secured. Mír Ma'súm Bhakkarí,[1] one of the bravest men in the army, had taken a distinguished part in the siege, and was richly rewarded.

Thirty-ninth Year of the Reign.

The thirty-ninth year began on the 9th Rajab, and was celebrated as usual. * *

At this time Muzaffar Husain, ruler of Kandahár, who had submitted to the authority of the Imperial throne, wrote to say that he would surrender Kandahár to any one whom the Emperor might appoint. Sháh Beg Khán Kábulí had been ordered to proceed thither. He had not yet reached the place; but in the month of Sha'bán intelligence was brought of his arrival there, and of Muzaffar Husain having delivered the place into his hands. Muzaffar then repaired with all his family and followers to the Imperial Court, having received as a present from Sháh Beg 20,000 rupees in cash, 600 camels, several elephants, and a great supply of different kinds of tents. When he was at four *kos* distance from Lahore, the Emperor sent Bakhshí Shaikh Farid to meet him, and in the month of

[1] The author of the *Tárikh-i Ma'súmí*.—See Vol. I. p. 212.

Zí-l hijja * * he received him, and appointed a suitable place for his abode. (*Banquets given and offerings made at the Nau-roz.*)

In the month of Safar the Emperor went to pay a visit to Shaikh Faizí, who was on his death-bed. Soon after he got back to the palace word was brought that the Shaikh was dead. Shaikh Faizí was a man of great talents, and fond of the society of the learned. In his early days he and the author of this work had some connexion through using the same *takhallus* for their writings. * * *

On the 15th Zí-l ka'da the King went out on a stag hunt. A stag made a rush upon him, and wounded him in the thigh with his horns. There was no one close by to save him, so he was knocked down. Men then came and caught the stag. The Emperor had received a severe wound. It was closed up by the surgeons; but after a few days it swelled and gave him such great pain that he was obliged to keep to his couch for several days: in the end it came all well, and his recovery was celebrated with great rejoicings. * * *

Victories in the Dakhin.

(*Suprà*, p. 95.)

There are three distinct States in the Dakhin. The Nizámu-l Mulkiya, 'Ádil Khániya, and Kutbu-l Mulkiya. The settled rule among them was, that if a foreign army entered their country, they united their forces and fought, notwithstanding the dissensions and quarrels they had among themselves. It was also the rule, that when their forces were united, Nizámu-l Mulk commanded the centre, 'Ádil Khán the right, and Kutbu-l Mulk the left. This rule was now observed, and an immense force had been collected. Some severe fighting had gone on, and the enemy had lost nearly 1000 men, who fell fighting bravely. On the Imperial side, also, Rájá 'Alí Khán, ruler of Ásír and Burhánpúr, who had accompanied the army, was slain. Ram Chandar Kachhwáha was wounded, and lay a whole night among the dead, and plunderers cut off his ears, for the sake of

the pearls which he wore in them. In the first day's action, fighting went on from mid-day to the third hour of evening, when the enemy fell back to his camp. In the evening and morning of the next day Khán-khánán put his army in motion against the enemy, and when he approached, the enemy came out boldly to meet him, and the battle began. A fierce elephant rushed from the enemy's line, and charging upon the Imperial array, the elephants turned and fled before him. He then charged the line of soldiers; but they made a way for him to pass through. After he passed right through the line, Khán-khánán delivered his attack upon the enemy. In a short time he beat back a large body of them with considerable slaughter, made many prisoners, and gained a complete victory.

[*Great fire at the royal palace.—Account of the Emperor's journey to Kashmír, with description of Srinagar and other places.*]

On the 29th Rabí'u-s sání, 1006, Prince Rustam, son of Prince Sháh Murád, died in the tenth year of his age. His mother was sister of Khán-i 'Azam.

On the 5th Rajab died 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, ruler of the whole of Máwaráu-n nahr, Turkistán, Badakhshán, a great part of Khurásán, Sístán, Ghor, Ghorjistán, etc. He was a bold courageous ruler, and no other descendant of Changíz Khán had such an extensive dominion. He reigned forty-two years. * *

On the 13th Sha'bán, the new year [43] of the Iláhí began.

Death of Ma'súm Kábulí.

At this time (Zí-l hijja, 1007), intelligence arrived of the death of Ma'súm Kábulí, and only a few days afterwards the death was reported of 'Ísá Khán, a chief of Bengal, with whom he had taken refuge.

Conquest of the Dakhin.

The Emperor Akbar had subjected to his rule the whole wide expanse of Hindústán, with the exception of a portion of the

Dakhin, the rulers of which had, nevertheless, sent in former years representatives and presents to the Imperial throne. But some of these rulers had since failed in duly discharging their obligations, and had thus wounded the pride of the Emperor. Prince Sháh Murád, Khán-khánán, and other *amírs* had been sent to effect the conquest of the country. The Prince went to that country, and distinguished himself by his services. Other *amírs* were afterwards sent, who fought bravely, and subjugated a considerable portion of the country. The work of conquest was still progressing, when it entered the heart of Prince Salím[1] that he would proceed thither to support the *amírs*, and to accomplish the reduction of the remainder of the country, so that diversities of religion might be swept away, and that the whole country might repose in peace under the Imperial rule. For five or six years the conquest had been retarded by the bickerings of the *amírs*, and so he resolved to proceed from Lahore to the Imperial presence at Ágra, there to obtain information of the true state of affairs, because that place was nearer to the scene of action; and after due consultation, to proceed thither in person should it seem necessary.

When intelligence arrived of the death of Prince Sháh Murád, Prince Dániyál was sent thither; but the Emperor not feeling at ease upon the state of affairs in the Dakhin, resolved to proceed in that direction, by making a hunting excursion to Málwa. His intention was to send a strong reinforcement to Prince Dániyál, under Bahádur, son of Rájá 'Alí of Khándesh, and to rest awhile in Málwa till events took a favourable turn. The Emperor accordingly left Ágra, * * and on the 21st of the month, after showing great honour and favour to Khán-khánán, he sent him on in advance. * * On the 7th Rabí'u-s sání, the Emperor reached Dholpúr. The river Chambal was crossed by fords, and His Majesty went over on an elephant. On the 17th he reached the fort of Gwálior. * * * On the 29th Jumáda-s sání, he passed through Sironj, and on the 1st Rajab

[1] He is already called by his subsequent regal name "Sháh Jahángír."

the royal camp was pitched between Káliyáda and Ujjain. This city Ujjain is one of the most ancient in Hindústán, and contains many relics of antiquity. Káliyáda is the name of one of the most delightful places in the world. * * Here the Emperor rested for awhile, expecting that Bahádur Khán, son of Rájá 'Alí Khán of Khándesh, would come to wait upon him.

Rájá 'Alí of Khándesh had been slain fighting bravely under Khán-khánán against the Dakhinís, and it was expected that his son would now come forward to give his services to the Imperial army, in the hope of revenging his father's fall, and of gaining the Imperial favour. Even while the Emperor was encamped at Ujjain, some intimation was received about his intentions, and he now sent an envoy to the Emperor, charged with many excuses and foolish evasions. Hereupon His Majesty, in his great kindness, sent Mírán *Sadr-i Jahán*, to Khándesh, to ascertain the exact state of affairs, and to remove any doubts which might have crept into the mind of Bahádur Khán.

The ambassador proceeded to Khándesh, and ascertained that when Bahádur Khán succeeded Rájá 'Alí Khán, he was a prisoner in the fort of Asír. For it was the established custom among the rulers of Khándesh, that the reigning potentate kept his sons, brothers, and other relations in confinement, to guard against attempts upon the throne; so these unhappy persons, with their wives and families, passed all their lives in confinement. Bahádur Khán had passed nearly thirty years in prison, and knew nothing whatever of the ways of the world, and the business of government. When he came out of prison, and the title of ruler devolved upon him, he plunged recklessly into dissipation. No trace of the tact and nobility which had distinguished Rájá 'Alí Khán was to be found in him. Unmindful of his obligations and obedience to the Imperial throne, he showed no gratitude and sent no tribute; nor did his craven spirit entertain one thought of avenging his father. When this became known to the Emperor, he remembered the loyalty

and devotion of the late Rájá, and sent Mírán *Ṣadr-i Jahán* to give good counsel to the young Prince.

Mírán proceeded to Ásír. Bahádur Khán received him at first with great respect and honour, and acknowledged the allegiance and duty he owed to the Emperor. The envoy on his side gave him good counsel and advice, and endeavoured to excite in him a spirit of loyalty. But fate was against the young ruler; he paid but little heed to good counsel, and persisted in his own perverse conduct. Sometimes he said he would go to see the Emperor; at others, that suspicions had been aroused in his mind by people's talk, which would not allow him to make this visit at present; but he promised to send his son with suitable offerings, if the Emperor would graciously direct him to do so. After awhile, when all the dependents of the Imperial throne should have been confirmed in their places, and he should be able to throw off his feeling of shame, he would proceed in person to pay his respects to the Emperor. These excuses proceeded either from his wavering disposition, or from a settled design to act treacherously. When Mírán, the envoy, found that his representations had no effect upon Bahádur, he communicated the result to the Emperor. This roused great anger in the breast of the Emperor, and was the cause of his sending Shaikh Farid Bokhárí to Khándesh.

On the 14th Sha'bán, while the Imperial camp was at Dhár, Shaikh Farid *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* received orders to lead a considerable force against the fort of Ásír. His instructions were to re-assure and advise Bahádur Khán. If he proved tractable, he was to be brought to the presence of the Emperor; if not, the *Bakhshí* was to invest the fort of Ásír, and reduce it with all possible speed. The Imperial officers were eager to proceed on this service, partly out of zeal in the service of the Emperor, partly from the wish to serve under the *Bakhshí*. Among those who accompanied him were * * and a large number whose names are too numerous to recount.

With this select force, the *Bahhshí* crossed the Nerbadda, and sought to get information about the enemy. He then learned that

the forces of Bahádur Khán were under the command of Sádát Khán, son-in-law of the late Rájá 'Alí Khán, the greatest and the most trusted of all his servants. He had been sent towards Sultánpúr and Nandurbár, to make a diversion against the Imperial forces in that quarter. It was resolved to detach a force to watch this party, while the remainder marched through Khándesh. On arriving at Gharkol, a humble and submissive letter was brought from Bahádur Khán, recounting the services of his ancestors, and offering to send his son with suitable offerings to the Emperor. He also made excuses for his conduct, and solicited the kind intercession of Shaikh Faríd to avert the consequences of his faults. The Shaikh sent this letter to the Emperor, and waited for an answer. The Emperor sent a gracious reply, offering to forgive his transgressions and to receive him into favour if he would hasten to pay his allegiance.

Marching forwards, the army passed over the summit of Sabalgarh, and arrived on the confines of Khándesh. Mírán *Sadr-i Jahán* had previously advised that the force should be sent to Burhánpúr, lest its advance upon Ásír should drive Bahádur Khán to desperation. But when this opinion was represented to the Emperor, he the same day gave orders that no attention was to be paid to it; that the army was not to go to Burhánpúr, but was to march direct to Ásír, and invest the place. Accordingly, it advanced to within two or three *kos* of Ásír.

On arriving there, it was learned that Mírán *Sadr-i Jahán* and Peshrau Khán, who had also been sent by the Emperor to Bahádur, after alternately trying persuasion and menace, were unable to make any impression upon him, and had retired from Ásír to Burhánpúr. From thence they reported the failure of their mission, and left the Emperor to determine what was best to be done. On the 21st Sha'bán the Emperor proceeded to Mandú. [*Description of buildings.*] When Shaikh Fárid came near to Ásír, Bahádur Khán sent him another letter, containing the same appeals for merciful consideration, and offering the same excuses as he had made before. In reply, he was reminded how the

kings of the Dakhin had united their armies, and had made war upon the Emperor's allies, and how Rájá 'Alí had fallen fighting bravely and loyally upon the Imperial side. The Emperor was now resolved upon revenging his death, and, with God's help, would annex the territories of all the three kings to the Imperial dominions. His duty, therefore, was to join the army with his followers without delay, and to take revenge for his father's blood—not to be a thorn in the way, and to say to the Emperor, "First strike me, and then the murderers of my father." But fortune had turned her back upon the family, and the graceless fellow would listen to no reason or expostulation.

The rulers of Khándesh were of the Fárúkí tribe, and the family had held rule in the country for more than 200 years. An ancestor who had connexions with the Dakhin, and had served there as a soldier, being aggrieved, left that country and went to Khándesh, which country was then held by different *zamíndárs* and Rájás. He came to a village which pleased him, and there a dog which accompanied him set off in pursuit of a hare, but the hare turned round and attacked the dog. This unusual exhibition of courage greatly impressed him, and he thought that the land where such a sight could be seen must be fertile in courage and daring, so he resolved to take up his abode there. He expressed his wish to the *zamíndár* of the place, but it was refused. Afterwards he seized an opportunity of seeking assistance from the King of Dehlí, and having collected some of his brethren (tribesmen?), he overpowered that *zamíndár*, and took possession of the village. He extended his power over other villages around, and in the end he was master of several *parganas*, and commander of an armed force.

When he died, his authority descended to his grandson, who saw the value that a fortress would be as a place of safety for his family and dependents. Asír, which is situated on the top of a hill, was at that time an inhabited place. He contrived by various stratagems to obtain this place from the *zamíndár* who held it, and fortified it strongly. He then assumed the name of ruler, and at

length the whole country of Khándesh, about 150 *kos* in length, and 50 in breadth, more or less, came under his sway. These rulers acted so wisely and carefully that the kings of Dehlí did not interfere with them. * * Upon the Government descending to Rájá 'Alí Khán, he showed himself to be a man of great administrative powers, and it is probable that no one of the dynasty had been his equal in intelligence and ability. People of neighbouring and distant countries had been induced by his just and generous rule to take up their abode in his country. Among the best proofs of his intelligence was his loyalty to the Imperial throne, his obedience, and the magnificence of his offerings, in all which he excelled the other princes of the region.

His successor, Bahádur Khán, had none of his ability, and advice was thrown away upon him. The line was drawing to a close, and fortune had averted her face. Shaikh Farid invested the fort, and reported the fact to the Emperor, who sent him reinforcements, and himself passed over the Nerbadda on his way to superintend the siege. On the 4th Ramazán the *Nauroz-i Sultání* occurred, and His Majesty halted three days to celebrate the festival. * * The march of the Imperial force was then resumed.

Letters now arrived from *Nawáb 'Allámí* Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, who was coming from the Dakhin with the elephants and valuable effects of the late Prince, and who announced his arrival at Burhánpúr. He had received orders to join Shaikh Farid, and to concert measures with him for the punishment of the recusant Prince. On the 4th Farwardín the army marched, and encamped at two *kos* distance from the fort of Ásír, because on that side there was no ground nearer the fort which was fit for a camp. Báz Bahádur Uzbek and Karábeg were sent forward immediately to select positions for the trenches and for the encampment of the besiegers.

On their return, they reported that they had never seen in any country a fort like this; for however long an army might press the siege, nothing but the extraordinary good fortune of

the Emperor could effect its capture. Old soldiers, and men who had travelled into distant lands,—men who had seen the fortresses of Írán and Túrán, of Rúm, Europe, and of the whole habitable world, had never beheld the equal of this. It is situated on a high and strong hill, and three smaller hills, each having a fort, stand around it, like a halo round the moon. The ways of entrance and exit were difficult to discover.[1] Near it there was no other hill commanding it, and no way of approach. All around was level ground, and there were no trees or jungle to serve as cover. All the time the country had been held by the dynasty, each prince, as he succeeded, did his best to keep the place in repair, to add to its strength, or to increase its stores. It was impossible to conceive a stronger fortress, or one more amply supplied with artillery, warlike stores, and provisions. There were 500 *mans* of opium, *Akbar-sháhí* weight, in its stores. Were the fortress placed upon level ground, its reduction would be difficult; but such a hill, such a well-secured fortress, and such artillery, were not to be found in any one place on the face of the earth.

After the capture of the fortress accounts were taken of the munitions. Of pieces of artillery (*zarb-zan*), small and great, there were more than 1300, besides some which were disused. The balls varied in weight from nearly two *mans* down to a *sír* or a half *sír*. There were great numbers of mortars (*hukkadán*), and also many *manjaníks*, each of which threw stones of 1000 or 2000 *mans*. On every bastion there were large iron cauldrons, in each of which twenty or thirty *mans* of oil could be boiled and poured down upon the assailants in case of assault. No account was taken of the muskets. Of provisions of all sorts, wines, medicines, aromatic roots, and of everything required for the use of man, there was vast abundance. When, after a protracted siege of eleven months, the place fell into the hands of the Imperial army, the quantities of

[1] Abú-l Fazl also gives a description of the fortress, and descants upon its great strength.

grain, oil, etc., which remained, after some thousands of men had been fed (during the siege), seemed as if the stores had never been touched. The stores of ammunition were such, that thousands of *mans* were left, although the quantity consumed had been enormous. For throughout the siege a constant firing was kept up night and day, with object and without object; so that in the dark nights of the rainy season no man dared to raise his head, and a demon even would not move about. There were large chambers full of powder. There were no springs of water in the fortress; but there were two or three immense reservoirs, in which the (rain) water was collected and stored from year to year, and amply sufficed for the requirements of the garrison. In the dwelling of each officer of importance there was a separate reservoir, containing a sufficient supply of pure water for his household. Nor had all this preparation been made for the occasion; it had been kept up from the foundation of the fortress. The rulers of the country had incessantly cared for the strengthening and provisioning of the fort, more especially in respect of artillery. The revenues of several *parganas* were specially and separately assigned to keep up the supply of artillery, so that the officers of the department had independent sources for maintaining its efficiency. The population in the fortress was like that of a city, for it was full of men of every kind. After the surrender, the inhabitants came out, and there was a continuous throng night and day for a week.

The houses of the chiefs were fine lofty buildings, and there were open spaces, gardens and fountains. In the walls of the fort, which were of great thickness, chambers and rooms were constructed for the officers of the artillery, where, during all seasons, they could live in comfort, and keep up a fire of cannon and musketry. The fortress has one gate, and outside this gate there is another fort called Kamargarh, the walls of which are joined on both sides to the great fort. This was looked upon as an outwork, and was held by inferior ranks of men, such as musketeers and archers. Below this fort, but still on an elevated spot, is another

fort called Málgarh,[1] which also is very strong. In comparison with the fortress, it seems at the bottom of the earth; but compared with the surface of the ground, it looks half-way up to the sky. This being the most advanced of the works, great care had been taken to strengthen it with guns and other implements. Below this was an inhabited place called Takhati, as large as a city. In short, the fortress is one of the wonders of the world, and it is impossible to convey an idea of it to any one who has not seen it.

Shaikh Farid, after collecting all available information about the fortress, wrote a description to the Emperor, and devoted himself to devising a plan for its capture. As the actual strength of the place was not fully known to the Emperor, envious men represented its reduction as being an easy matter, and thus vexed him. * * A letter at length arrived from the camp, announcing the Emperor's intention to come and examine into matters with his own eyes. About the same time also Shaikh Abú-l Fazl arrived from Burhánpúr, and encamped three or four *kos* from Ásír, as he was hastening to join the Emperor. He sent to inform Shaikh Farid of his presence, and the Shaikh set off to see him. He had gone but a little way, when he remembered that Bahádur had promised to see him next day; so he stopped and returned to camp. Next day Bahádur came down from the fort to meet the Shaikh, and his spies busied themselves in observing all they could. It so happened that on that day a letter was coming from the Emperor, and the Shaikh mounted to go and meet it. But just as he was starting, his spies brought him word that the cavalcade was approaching. Although Shaikh Farid had with him a large force of horse and foot, musketeers, rocket-men, and elephants, the matter seemed to him important, and he was apprehensive that there was some design against him. So he halted where he was, and sent a messenger to

[1] Abú-l Fazl says that information was obtained from one of the garrison of a secret way into this outwork, and that it was taken on a dark rainy night by a force under his command—an achievement which got him a great name.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 837; see Blochmann's *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. xxiii.

Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, to say that he should not come to see him that day, as circumstances prevented him. * * Shaikh Farid sent messengers to re-assure Bahádur, and he came with a large escort to the Shaikh's tent, and had an interview with him. Every argument was used to induce him to make his submission to the Emperor, and as he had no answer to give, he merely shook his head. At length he returned to his old excuse of being afraid, and rejecting all advice, he returned to the fortress. Some men have maintained that the Shaikh ought to have made him prisoner at this meeting; but resort to subterfuge and want of faith and truth never prove successful. Besides this, Bahádur had with him a force sufficient to resist the weak army of the Shaikh. Next day the Shaikh went to visit Shaikh Abú-l Fazl at his camp, three or four *kos* from the fortress, and the meeting with Bahádur was discussed, and a report sent off to the Emperor.

All expectation of Bahádur's submission being now given up, Abú-l Fazl, who had waited to see the result of the interview, proceeded to join the Emperor. Having first directed his attention to the occupation of the country, the closing of the roads, the way into and out of the fortress, the forming of the trenches, and other matters connected with the siege, Shaikh Farid sent a detachment to Burhánpúr, to arrest the officers of Bahádur, and to occupy the city. But on arriving there, it was found that the governor had already made his submission to the Emperor. Some experienced officers thought it desirable that a force should be stationed there, * * and Shaikh Farid finally decided that 1000 horse should be stationed between Burhánpúr and Asír. This force took up a position about two *kos* from the fortress, and cut off all communication between it and the city. Next day Shaikh Abú-l Barakát, brother of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, joined the besieging force with the elephants and artillery which had been sent under his command. The army now removed to a more favourable position, and it was resolved to form trenches in every suitable place near the fort, and to close the roads and

entrances. Another letter was received from Bahádur Khán, * * to which Shaikh Farid replied. * * But Bahádur Khán trusted in the strength of his fort, and thought that its height and strength were such that no mortal force could take it.

One day when the commander rode towards the fort to examine it, a large gun was fired at him. It is related that some of the battlements of the tower on which it was placed fell down, and the gun itself also fell. This was received as a good omen by the Imperial army. Mír Sadr-i Jahán, who had returned to the Emperor, now came back, charged with an Imperial message. Next day Miyán Saiyid went round and looked after many things in the construction of the trenches, so that they might afford protection to the men, and enable them to stay there day and night. The Emperor's mind was intent upon this undertaking. Letters constantly arrived from him with instructions and urgent directions. Every day some one of his officers came to inspect and report upon the business of the siege. * *

Having received orders to wait upon the Emperor, Shaikh Farid proceeded on the 18th to the royal camp at Búrgánw, seven or eight *kos* from Ásír. He was received very kindly, and he related all the details of the siege. He remained there the next day, and on the following day the Imperial camp moved towards Ásír. On the 21st Farwardín, or 25th Ramazán, it reached the city of Burhánpúr, and the Emperor took up his abode in the palace of the old rulers. Intent upon the siege, he then marched on, attended by numerous *amírs*, and arrived under the fort on the 3rd Shawwál. Shaikh Farid then received orders to attend to his own duties as *Bakhshí*, and wait upon His Majesty, and to appoint the other *amírs* to the direction of the trenches, so that he might be ready, upon emergency, to lead a force in any direction.

The trenches were then allotted to the different *amírs*. The first to Khán-i 'Azam, * * another to Nawáb Ásaf Khán, another to Mirzá Jání Beg of Tatta * *. A fourth trench he placed in

charge of his brethren and adherents, and having well examined it, he gave it into their charge, while he himself proceeded with a chosen force to attend upon the Emperor. It was impossible to dig mines or construct *sábáts;* so the men in each trench endeavoured to bring the investment as close as possible. At the end of the month, 'Azam Khán and Ásaf Khán reported that the garrison kept up a fire from different kinds of guns all night and day, with object and without object, necessary and unnecessary; and that the besiegers endured it with great bravery.

In the early days of Zí-l ka'da, Bahádur sent out of the fortress sixty-four elephants, along with his mother and son, to the Emperor, and begged forgiveness of his offences. The Emperor replied, that if he desired pardon, he must come out at once to make submission, and trust to the Emperor's mercy. * * On the 16th Zí-l hijja a sortie was made, in which many of the garrison lost their lives in a desperate struggle. When they were driven back, a little hill called Koriya fell into the hands of the besiegers. This eminence is so close to the fortress as to have command over it. The besiegers then saw that by occupying this commanding position, and by getting possession of another which was strongly fortified, they might overawe the garrison. The former masters of the place had seen the importance of this position, and had scarped the rock so that no one could climb up. * * * After hard fighting, this position was carried. * * *

On the 21st Safar news arrived of the capture of Ahmadnagar on the 18th. The fortress had long been defended by Chánd Báí, the sister of Nizámu-l Mulk, and when formerly besieged, dissensions among the Imperial *amírs* averted its capture. Prince Dániyál, assisted by some of the great *amírs*, had now taken it by assault. The siege had now been carried on for nearly six months, and a constant fire had been kept up without effect. Khán-kháńán thought that mining must be resorted to, and the other *amírs* coinciding with him, a mine was formed. It was charged with 180 *mans* of gunpowder, and was exploded on the

20th Shahryúr, in the 45th year of the reign. A bastion was blown up with seventy or eighty *gaz* of the wall. Khán-khánán, Rájá Jagannáth, and the other *amírs*, exerted themselves to incite their troops, and gave orders that the troops were to rush in and finish the work directly after the explosion. This order was duly executed; and a force under Yúsuf Khán scaled the wall, by means of a mound,[1] in another place. The assailants pressed on, and after a severe fight, in which 1000 of the besiegers fell, the fortress was captured. The grandson of Nizámu-l Mulk was taken prisoner, and carried to the Emperor. * *

A few days after, Bahádur sent Sádát Khán and Shaikh Pír Muhammad Husain, two of his chief men, to the Emperor, with ten elephants and an entreaty for forgiveness. Two days afterwards Shaikh Pír Muhammad was sent back into the fortress, and Sádát Khan was kept as the guest of Shaikh Faríd. The escort which had come out with him was ordered to return with Pír Muhammad; but the men, about a hundred in number, declared that they would not return into the fortress and become prisoners (*asír*) in Ásír. Permission to remain was given to those who could give some bail that they would not run away, otherwise they were to be put in confinement. In the end some found the required bail, and some went back into the fortress.

Among the causes which brought about the surrender of the fortress was the impurity of the atmosphere, which engendered two diseases.[2] One was paralysis of the lower extremities, from the waist downwards, which deprived the sufferer of the powers of motion; the other was weakness of sight. These maladies greatly distressed and discouraged the men of the garrison, so that men of all ranks and degrees were of one mind and voice in urging Bahádur to capitulate. At their instance he wrote to the Emperor offering to surrender. The siege thus ended.

[1] [*Khák-rezí*, see *suprà*, p. 100.]

[2] [Abú-l Fazl says that the pestilence arose from the penning-up of more than 100,000 animals in the fortress; and that 25,000 human beings died from it.]

When Bahádur came out,[1] the Emperor held a grand *darbár*, at which all the great men were present, and Bahádur was amazed at the splendour and state. Mukarrib Khán, and several other of Bahádur's nobles, were sent into the fortress, in advance of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, to inform the garrison of the surrender, and to require the giving up of the keys. When they approached, Mukarrib Khán's father mounted the top of the fort, and reviled him for having thrown his master into bonds and surrendered the fort. Unable to endure his abuse, the son stabbed himself two or three times in the abdomen, and a few days afterwards he died. On the 17th Safar the royal forces were admitted, and the keys were given up. * * * Khán-khánán, who had come from Ahmadnagar, went into the fortress and placed the royal seal on the treasure and warlike stores, which were then placed in charge of responsible officers. Just at this time Mirzá Jání Beg of Tatta died.

On the 8th Sha'bán the Emperor bestowed great honours on Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, including a banner and kettle-drums; and a hundred *amírs* were placed under his orders to assist in the subjugation of the Dakhin. Khán-khánán was sent to Ahmadnagar, and the general conquest of the Dahhin was committed to him. The Emperor went in and inspected the fortress. All the treasures and effects of Bahádur Khán, which had been collected by his ancestors during two hundred years, were brought out, and the wives and women of Bahádur, two hundred in number, were presented. The Emperor stayed in the place three days, and then proceeded to Burhánpúr. * *.

On the 28th Shawwál all the country of the Dakhin, Birár, Khándesh, Málwa, and Gujarát were placed under the rule of Prince Dániyál.]

[1] [He was afterwards sent a prisoner to Gwálior, but his family was allowed to accompany him.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 846.]

XLV.

WÁKI'ÁT

OF

SHAIKH FAIZÍ.

[But for the great name of the writer, this little work would scarcely deserve notice. It consists of a series of letters written to the Emperor by Shaikh Faizí, while he was absent on his embassy to the Dakhin, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign (see Vol. V. pp. 460, 467). The letters are of a gossiping familiar character, and are embellished with plenty of verses; but they contain nothing of importance, and throw little light upon the political relations of the time.

All these letters were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Prichard, and it is to be regretted that they were not more worthy of the labour bestowed upon them.

Faizí cannot be considered an historian, so a memoir of his life would be out of place in this work. A full and satisfactory one will be found in Blochmann's *Á'in-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 490.]

EXTRACT.

After travelling a long distance, and accomplishing many stages, I arrived on the 20th of the month of December (Púr), at a place fifty *kos* from Burhánpúr, and the next day pitched my camp and arranged my tent in a manner befitting a servant of the Court. The tent was so arranged as to have two chambers; in the second or innermost of which, the royal throne was placed, with the gold-embroidered cushion on it: over which the canopy of velvet, worked with gold, was erected. The royal sword and the dresses of honour were placed on the throne, as well as Your

Majesty's letter, whilst men were standing around with folded hands. The horses also, that were to be given away, were standing in their proper place. Rájá 'Alí Khán, accompanied by his followers, and the *vakíl* and magistrate of the Dakhin, approached with that respect and reverence that betokened their obedience and good-will to Your Majesty. They dismounted some distance from the tent, and were admitted into the outer chamber. They approached respectfully, and were permitted to proceed onwards. When they entered the second chamber, and saw the royal throne at some distance from them, they saluted it, and advanced with bare feet. When they arrived at a certain distance, they were directed to stand and make three salutations, which they did most respectfully, and continued standing in the place. I then took the royal letter in both hands, and calling him a little nearer, said, "His Majesty, the vicegerent of God, has sent your highness two royal orders, with the greatest condescension and kindness,—this is one." On this, he took the letter and put it on his head respectfully, and saluted it three times. I then said, "His Majesty has bestowed on your highness a dress of honour." Upon this he bowed, kissed it, and bowed again. In the same way he did homage for the sword, and bowed every time Your Majesty's name was mentioned. He then observed, "I have for years wished to be seated in your presence," and, at the same time, he appeared anxious to do so. Whereupon I requested him to be seated, and he respectfully sat down in your humble servant's presence. When a fitting opportunity offered itself, I addressed him warily, and said I could show him how he might promote his interest; but the chief part of my discourse consisted of praises and eulogiums of Your Majesty. He replied that he was a devoted servant of Your Majesty, and considered himself highly favoured that he had seen Your Majesty's good-will and favour. I replied, "His Majesty's kindness towards you is great, he looks upon you as a most intimate friend, and reckons you among his confidential servants; the greatest proof of which is, that he has sent a man of rank to

you." At this he bowed several times, and seemed pleased. During this time I twice made signs that I wished the audience to close; but he said, "I am not yet satisfied with my interview, and wish to sit here till the evening." He sat there for four or five *ghaṙis* (an hour and a half). At last the betel-leaf and scents were brought. I asked him to give them to me with his own hands. I gave him several pieces of betel with my own hands, at which he bowed several times. I then said, "Let us repeat the prayer for the eternal life and prosperity of His Majesty," which he did most respectfully, and the audience was broken up. He then went and stood respectfully in his place at the edge of the carpet opposite the throne. The royal horses were there. He kissed the reins, placed them on his shoulder, and saluted them. He then took his departure. My attendant counted and found that he made altogether twenty-five salams. He was exceedingly happy and contented. When he first came in he said, "If you command me, I am ready to make 1000 salams in honour of His Majesty. I am ready to sacrifice my life for him." I observed, "Such conduct befits friendship and feelings such as yours, but His Majesty's orders forbid such adoration; and whenever the courtiers perform such adoration out of their feelings of devotion, His Majesty forbids them, for such acts of worship are for God alone."

XLVI.

WIKA'YA'-I ASAD BEG.

[THIS work is also called *Hálát-i Asad Beg*. It is an interesting personal memoir of the author during the latter years of Akbar's reign, containing accounts of some of the political transactions of that period, especially of the murder of Abú-l Fazl.

A Persian note at the end of Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. gives the following account of the author:—

"Asad Beg of Kazwín, the author of this work, was well known and noted for his kindness, magnanimity, benevolence, and great experience in business. When he first came to India, he spent a period of seventeen years in the service of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubárak. After the death of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, he was appointed an officer at the Court of His Majesty the Emperor Akbar, and obtained such distinguished employments and offices that he gained wealth and honour. In a short time the life and times of Akbar came to an end, and the reign of His Majesty Jahángír commenced. Although at first he was not admitted at Court, yet he continued a constant and good servant of the State. Towards the close of the reign of Jahángír he was honoured with the title of Peshrau Khán. He died at the commencement of the reign of His Majesty Sháh Jahán in the year 1041."

The whole of this work was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Mr. B. W. Chapman, of the Bengal Civil Service. Several Extracts have been taken from it, and the following is a general summary of its contents:—

The first Extract gives the author's account of the death of Abú-l Fazl. Very much against his will and earnest entreaties, Asad was left behind by Abú-l Fazl at Sironj. Four days after-

wards he heard of the murder of the Shaikh, and then he proceeded to fortify himself in Sironj. Soon he received a peremptory order to repair to Court. On reaching Kálábágh, he came up with Abú-l-Fazl's heavy baggage, which had been left behind, and had been entrenched by the officers in charge. On reaching the scene of the disaster, he recovered a valuable casket of jewels, which a servant had preserved by hiding in the jungle. The baggage was worth four or five lacs of rupees, and he conveyed it safely to Ágra.

On his arrival at Court, he found that Akbar was greatly incensed at him for supposed negligence in protecting his master, Abú-l Fazl, and he heard, with great dismay, the Emperor's command to "bring Asad into the bath-room, that I may cut him in pieces with my own hand." Upon ascertaining the facts, the Emperor was appeased, and conversed freely with him. Asad then received a dress of honour, and was soon afterwards made captain of the Emperor's body-guard. He got also "an estate from the lapsed lands of the criminal Sháh 'Alí Khán," from which he realized in the first year 17,000, the second 20,000, and the third 23,000 rupees.

Shortly afterwards he was sent as a commissioner of inquiry to the camp of the Ráy-ráyán, in consequence of Abú-l Fazl's murderer, Nar Singh, having broken out of a fort in which he was besieged and made his escape. Upon reaching the camp, the officers endeavoured to secure Asad's favour by offering presents, amounting to 18,000 rupees, which he refused to take. The Ráy-ráyán showed him great attention, and Asad came to a decision which hushed matters up, and was satisfactory to all concerned. He says he received a horse and some garments as a parting gift from the Ráy-ráyán, but refused an elephant. On his return to Court, he presented his report, which the Emperor approved, to the great joy of the inculpated officers and their friends. "This," he says, "was my first employment, and I brought it thus happily to a conclusion, so that no one got either disgrace or honour; but I obtained great praise and a handsome

gratuity. * * * I immediately returned to the confidential service of the Emperor, in whose favour I rose from day to day, till at last I was appointed treasurer of the offerings, a very agreeable office."

He had held this office only a few months when the Emperor sent him on a mission to the Dakhin. Akbar, in 1009 H., had sent Mír Jamálu-d dín Husain to Bíjápúr, to arrange a marriage between his son, Prince Dániyál, and a daughter of the King of Bíjápúr. Asad was now commissioned to bring back the Mír with the promised bride. This must have been in or just before the year 1013, for the marriage took place in that year. His instructions will be found among the Extracts. He received 20,000 rupees towards his expenses. On reaching Birár he was entertained by Prince Dániyál, and received from him and his nobles "nearly 100,000 rupees, fifty horses, and ten camels." On entering the Bíjápúr territories he was entertained by Mír Jamálu-d dín and by 'Ádil Khán's daughter.

Soon afterwards he reached Bíjápúr, and had his interview with the King, who, as he tells us, spoke Maráthí, "for although he understood Persian well, he could not speak it fluently." Akbar had directed Asád to stay only one day at Bíjápúr. This greatly annoyed the King, who was also vexed that he had not received a direct cession of a town called Gwálior. He offered Asad 200,000 pagodas to alter his plan, and although Asad on this, as on other occasions, records his superiority to a bribe, he is evidently astonished at his own moderation. "I did not," says he, "touch a coin of the 200,000 pagodas, a sum equal to 600,000 rupees." Mír Jamál blamed him for being so scrupulous, and Asad then found out why the Mír was so reluctant to leave the Dakhin:—"he got every year three to four hundred thousand pagodas from Bíjápúr and Golconda."

The question of presents to the Emperor came on between the King and Asad, and gave rise to a great deal of haggling. The King asked what the Emperor had the greatest taste for, and was answered, "rare jewels and choice elephants." An elephant

and some jewels were at length presented, and Asad prepared to leave. He was offered for himself 100,000 *láris*, equal to 35,000 rupees, an elephant, horses, etc., but refused to receive them. Asad wore a badge as a disciple of Akbar's "Divine religion." The King took this to examine it, and, professing himself a disciple, declared he would keep it, and Asad got it back with much trouble on a promise of obtaining one specially for the King. When he left, the King sent 9000 pagodas as a present after him. A short Extract descriptive of Bíjápúr has been taken from this part of the work.

The Princess and Mír Jamálu-d dín accompanied him on his return; but on reaching the boundary river (Bhíma ?), the troops and the Princess made some demur to proceeding further. In the night a great storm of wind arose, which blew down the tents. The Bíjápúr escort dispersed and the Princess ran away; but in the morning she and her guardian were brought back "in great shame" by Mír Jamálu-d dín. It seems evident that the Princess and her friends were averse to the match which had been arranged for her. After her return Asad continued his journey, and conducted the Princess to Ahmadnagar. He was favourably received by Prince Dániyál, who presented him with robes of honour and arms. The Prince also directed that 10,000 rupees should be given to him, but he got "only 2000 *muzaffaris*." He left Mír Jamálu-d dín with the Prince, and proceeded towards Ágra. He had with him the elephant which the King of Bíjápúr had sent to the Emperor. This animal had been accustomed to drink two *mans* of wine daily, and Asad, being unable to procure wine on his journey, was obliged to supply the animal's wants from some "chests of costly Portugal wine," which he had bought at Bíjápúr as a present to the Emperor.

On arriving at Court, he was very graciously received. He records how, in a fit of rage, Akbar, on the night of his arrival, ordered a wretched servant to be thrown over the battlements, and that he dismissed his chamberlain in disgrace. Asad was appointed to the vacant office, the duties of which were to intro-

duce persons to an audience of the Emperor. This office he held for a year. He was also raised to the command of 250, and he obtained a further allowance of 17,000 rupees out of the estates of Sháh 'Alí Khán. He was satisfied with his fortune, and exclaims, "What times those were, and what a blessing rested upon them!" Two Extracts have been taken from this part of the work: one giving an account of the savage execution of the servant, and the other relating to Asad's introduction of tobacco, which it appears was till then unknown at the Emperor's Court.

Asad was next appointed envoy to the four provinces of the Dakhin, with the objects stated in the Extract which follows. He was promised promotion to the rank of 1000 on his return, but this he never got. He proceeded on his mission, and, on reaching the Chandá pass, had some fighting with the men of "Rájá Bhoj," who demanded the usual tolls, but Asad made his way through by night. On reaching Ujjain, he heard of the death of the Emperor. Continuing his journey, he reached Burhánpúr, and there and elsewhere he records the debauchery and gambling which were prevalent among the nobles, and into which he entered with evident zest. Soon after Jahángír's accession he was recalled, and on his return he found the new monarch angry and very ill-disposed towards him. He was at once dismissed with the words, "I will not keep him,—let him go where he likes." His account of the death of Akbar and the accession of Jahángír will be found among the Extracts.

Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. is a 32mo. of 292 pages, thirteen lines to the page.]

EXTRACTS.

Murder of Abú-l Fazl.

This least of the servants of Allah, Asad, son of Muhammad Murád, has written the following: When the auspicious life of the most learned Nawáb, Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubárak, came to a close, and that most excellent of the men of genius of his age and most rare one of his time was killed

at Saráí Barár,[1] a dependency of Sironj, at prayer time on Friday, the 7th of Rabí'u-l awwal, in the year 1010, and when the news of that dire calamity and dreadful event reached that shadow of God, the Emperor Akbar, he was extremely grieved, disconsolate, distressed, and full of lamentation. That day and night he neither shaved, as usual, nor took opium, but spent his time in weeping and lamenting. It was then that the love of that Emperor of the world shone forth; for in the midst of his distressing grief and uneasiness, he thought of the author of these lines, and said to those around him, "What has become of Asad?" They, not knowing what had happened to this broken-winged one, could not answer. Just then Mirzá Ja'far Ásaf Khán came in, and could not refrain from weeping, on seeing his sovereign in the depths of grief and sorrow. His lord asked him what news he had of Asad? whether he was with Abú-l Fazl, or not? That noble chief, drying his tears, replied with courtesy, "Asad Beg was with him as far as Sironj, but the deceased Shaikh appointed him to govern the conquered provinces in Málwa, leaving with him the troops he had brought from the Dakhin, while he himself, taking those which Gopál Dás Nakta had enlisted in Málwa, set off for the Court. Asad was most unwilling to obey, and being much distressed, he begged permission to escort him to Gwálior; but the Shaikh would not consent, and left him with his veterans at Sironj. It is pretty certain that Asad was not with him in the fight." The Emperor immediately ordered Ásaf Khán instantly to write a *farmán* with his own hand to Asad, ordering him to leave all the followers of the deceased Shaikh with Gopál Dás at Sironj, and to come with his own people to Court as soon as possible. Ásaf Khán sat down, and did as his lord directed, then sealing it with his seal, delivered it to Miyán Gadá, with orders to send it by one of his own brothers to Asad at Sironj, and bring him away with his attendants.

It was decreed by the will of Providence, that the most learned

[1] [Two or three stages from Sironj. See note *suprà*, p. 107.]

should travel thus, and his fortune was perfidious; therefore it was that, following the advice of Gopál Dás Nakta, he went unattended and unguarded to the place of his death, as I will now explain: When that most learned one reached the city of Sironj, the wretched villain Gopál Dás had been for a long time ruler of those parts, and had raised about 300 irregular cavalry, most of them low Rájpúts, who did not receive more than twenty rupees a month. Meanwhile that learned one, and we also, had heard in the Dakhin the account of Rájá Nar[1] Singh Deo's depredations, and never a day passed but despatches on this subject reached us from Abú-l Khán and the rest of our faithful friends. Still, Fate so ordered it, that that learned one never paid the least heed to them. When we reached Sironj, Gopál Dás persuaded him that the troops which he had brought with him from the Dakhin were many of them sick and fatigued from the speed of their march, and that it would be well to provide for them there, leaving them with Asad Beg to fight against Indrajít Bundela, and taking with him as his guard the fresh troops which he had raised.

The ill-fated learned one agreed to this unwise proposition, and throwing away his life, preferred those fresh troops, who had never faced a single enemy, to his own victorious soldiers, tried in a thousand fights. In fact, many of these men did not even arrive in time to be of any use. He had taken Gadáí Khán the Afghán and his son with him, but left their troops with me; had he but had a hundred of them with him, that disastrous accident had never occurred. True, Gadáí Khán was a tried courageous man, but he fought alone; he fell, charging the enemy; his son escaped with a wound. Another Afghán, Jalál Khán by name, charged and fell; and two others, Salím Khán and Sher Khán, were taken prisoners, and put to death for refusing to betray the most learned. Mansúr Chábuk too, one of the Nawáb Khán-khánán's

[1] [In this MS. he is invariably called "Nar Sing," not "Bir Sing," as in the *Takmila-i Akbar-náma*. Mr. Blochmann also calls him "Bir Sing," but "Nar Sing" is the more likely name of the two.]

servants, who had resigned his former office and come to Sironj, under pretence of turning *fákir*, and had been employed in the kitchen, charged and fell; he was of the Turkomán race. Mirzá Muhammad Khán Beg was also among the slain, as well as Jabbár Khássa-khail, an Abyssinian, who was with them. When the Nawáb was pierced and fell, he slew the Rájpút who had wounded him, and rushed upon the enemy. He had still life in him when Nar Singh came up with the main body. He first trod Jabbár under foot, and then cut off the head of the great 'Allámí. Excepting those I have mentioned, all, whether veterans or raw troops, escaped. Had they set off, as Mirzá Muhsin, son-in-law of Fazl Khán of Badakhshán, advised, when he told them that robbers were lying in wait, they would have arrived safely; but as Fate had decreed, so it occurred; there was no help for it. The day when the deceased 'Allámí gave me a dress of honour and a horse at Sironj, and dismissed me in the presence of Gopal Dás, Mahdí 'Alí the Kashmírian, and all the attendants, with tearful eyes, I entreated to be allowed to escort him as far as Gwálior with the troops that he had left with me; but he would by no means consent, for the hour of that great man had arrived, and it was decreed that he should go. When he mounted to start, I too mounted, in order to follow him; but he peremptorily forbade me to do so, or even to come out of my house, and dismissed me from that place. * *

When 'Allámí arrived at Saráí Barár and dismounted from his horse, a religious beggar came to him, and told him all particulars about Nar Singh Bundela, how he intended to attack him the next day on his march; but he only dismissed him with a present of money, such as he used to give to others of his class. That night he passed in careless security. On Friday morning he rose, and, performing his ablutions, clothed himself in the white garments usually worn on Friday, and in the gold-embroidered robes of victory. He then courteously dismissed all who had attended him from the neighbouring provinces on the part of the *jágírdárs* and receivers of revenue, such as the ser-

vants of Mirzá Rustam, who had a *jágír* in the neighbourhood, and had sent forty or fifty horsemen, and Shaikh Mustafá, governor of Kálábágh, who had a guard with him, and several other persons of that sort, amounting in all to about 200 horsemen, who would have been of great service had he retained them. But it is in vain to lament. When Fate droops its wing from heaven, the most able men become deaf and dumb.

As the sun rose, that rising sun set off with Ya'kúb Khán, with whom he was at that time very familiar. The attendants hearing the drum beat for marching, prepared to follow. The private tent of Abú-l Fazl was yet standing, when the troops of the Bundela appeared from behind the Saráí with a shout, and fell upon the camp. All the attendants who were ready, mounted and escaped along the road, while Mirzá Muhsin of Badakhshán, who was in the act of mounting, got on his horse and advanced towards the robbers to reconnoitre. When he had gone a little way, he came upon Nar Singh's main body. After carefully surveying these forces from an eminence, he, like a courageous man, cut his way through them all, horse and foot, and reached 'Allámí. As soon as he came up with the escort, he saw at a glance that they were all quite off their guard, marching in disorder, careless, and without their arms. Going forward, he reported what he had seen of the robbers. As soon as the Shaikh heard it, he halted, and asked him what was to be done. He advised him to proceed rapidly. The Shaikh said, "You mean we are to fly?" He answered, "It is not flying; only let us go on thus," and, striking his spurs into his horse, he set forward at a rapid pace, saying, "Let us proceed in this way; as I am going, so do you go, as far as Gwálior."

While 'Allámí was halting thus long, a troop of the robbers caught the elephant which bore the standard and drum, and fell upon the escort; so the fighting commenced. The Shaikh turned back, and had just reached the drum and ensign, which was at the distance of a bow-shot, when the noise of Nar Singh's army, which consisted of about 500 horsemen clad in mail, was heard.

Gadáí Khán the Afghán, with several other armed horsemen who were on in front, charged, and seizing the bridle of the Shaikh's horse, exclaimed, "What have you to do here? Do you begone! This is our business." With these words that brave soldier attacked the enemy, with his son and others before mentioned, and fell. At that moment one of the strangers in the company said, "The robbers are armed, and your attendants are not; we had better escape to the skirts of the hills; perhaps we may save our lives." So he took the bridle of the Shaikh's horse and turned about. Just then the robbers made an onslaught, spearing every man within reach. A Rájpút came up and struck the Shaikh with a spear in the back, so that it came out through his breast. There was a small stream in the place, and the Shaikh tried to leap his horse over it, but he fell in the attempt. Jabbár Khássa-khail, who was close behind, slew that Rájpút, and then dismounting, drew the Shaikh from under his horse and carried him a little off the road; but as the wound was mortal, the Shaikh fell.

Just then Nar Singh coming up with the rest of the Rájpúts, Jabbár concealed himself behind a tree. But the horses of the Shaikh attracted the attention of Nar Singh, and he halted. The driver of the Shaikh's female elephant was with him, and pointed out his wounded lord. As soon as Nar Singh saw him, he dismounted, and taking his head upon his knees, began to wipe his mouth with his own garment. Jabbár, observing from behind the tree that Nar Singh was in a compassionate mood, came forward and saluted him. Nar Singh asked who he was. Just then the Shaikh unclosed his eyes. Nar Singh, sitting as he was, saluted him, and telling his attendants to bring the *farmáns*, said to the Shaikh with blandishment, "The all-conquering lord has sent for you courteously." The Shaikh looked bitterly at him. Nar Singh swore that he would carry him in safety to him. The Shaikh began to abuse him angrily. Nar Singh's attendants then told him he would not be able to convey him away, for the wound was mortal; upon hearing which, Jabbár

drew his sword, and, slaying several Rájpúts, had nearly reached Nar Singh, when they killed and trampled him under foot. Nar Singh then rose from the Shaikh's head, and his attendants despatched him, and, cutting off the head of that great one, started off, meddling with no one else, but even releasing those whom they had taken prisoners.

Of my deputation to the army of Ráy-ráyán to inquire into the conduct of the officers.

After two or three months, news came from the army which had been sent under Ráy-ráyán to chastise Nar Singh. A number of the most distinguished officers had accompanied him, and Zíáu-l Mulk Kásí was second in command. All at once despatches came from them to this effect: "We had completely routed Nar Singh, and driven him into the walled fort of Íraj, with a body of 400 Rájpúts; we had invested the fort and made our approaches, and it seemed inevitable that he must fall into our hands the next day. The fort is situated on the banks of a broad deep river, the other three sides being exposed to the land. The general, Ráy-ráyán, undertook himself to guard the river bank, placing the other officers on the three remaining sides. At midnight, when sleep was heavy upon all, the Rájpúts got out. Cutting through the wall on the river-side, they led their horses down the glacis, and mounting upon the river bank, crossed over at a place where there was some kind of a ford, passing through the Ráy-ráyán's elephant stable, and by the time your slaves and the other chiefs had discovered what had happened, he had advanced far on his way. By this stratagem he has escaped."

When the despatches had been read, the Emperor, who thirsted for the blood of that wretch, fell into the greatest conceivable passion, and turning to Shaikh Faríd, said he must go and investigate by whose fault this had happened; for the Ráy-ráyán reports that Nar Singh escaped through the lines of the Rájá of Gwálior, and the Rájá, in his turn, writes that he passed through the camp of the general, while the second in command declares

that treachery has been at work, as he was completely entrapped. In short, each lays the blame on the other. The Shaikh represented that Shaikh Abú-l Khair, 'Allámí's brother, was very clever in investigations. As soon as he heard that name, His Majesty exclaimed, "I have it: send for Asad." It chanced that I was on guard that night, and sitting in the guard-room with Áká Mullá.

About eight o'clock messengers arrived with orders for me to come immediately to the fort. As soon as I was announced, His Majesty called for me. I made my obeisance, and seeing marks of anger and rage in the royal countenance, I feared he was about to put me to death. When His Majesty and the courtiers saw my alarm, they smiled, and throwing me the despatches, bade me read them. I first perused that of the Ráy-ráyán, and was proceeding with the rest, when he asked me whether I had understood the contents. I replied that I had partly done so. He said, "Now this has happened, do you go to the camp and inquire whose fault it is, and investigate the whole affair, for I am very much annoyed at this accident, and therefore have determined to send you." I made my obeisance, and replied that I would use my utmost endeavours to fail in nothing. * * *

As soon as the Rájá and all the officers were assembled, I produced a sheet made of pieces of cloth sown together, upon which was drawn a plan of the fort of Íraj, with the river on one side, and the gates and towers on the other three. The encampment of each chief was marked thereon, with the number of his forces. I then called Zíáu-l Mulk, and made him write the name of each chief in the place which his forces had occupied, and made them all attach their seals to it. I also marked the place where Nar Singh had made his exit, and the spot at which he passed the river. When the chiefs had all affixed their seals to this sheet, I asked them whether they had thus represented it. After we had eaten betel and received perfumes, I took leave of all. The son of Muhammad Khán Tátár, a near connexion and relative of mine, was appointed to escort me with 1000 horse to

Gwálior. * * * I went myself with Musáhib to the Court, and reported myself to Rám Dás, who conducted me to the foremost railing, where I made my obeisance. His Majesty called me with the greatest impatience; and after presenting a gold *mohur* and nine rupees, I prostrated myself. His Majesty immediately said, "Whose fault was it?" I bowed, and replied that I would relate all particulars; but he again insisted that I should tell him what fault I thought there had been. Seeing his impatience, I replied, "I cannot say that any one has erred intentionally. There has only been great neglect, and all are alike guilty; that is my humble opinion." Shaikh Faríd said, "Neglect is also a fault." I answered, "That is a fault which is committed intentionally, and that is carelessness which happens without any ill intention." I was going to say more to the Shaikh, when His Majesty rose, and said, "Asad is right." From the way he spoke, it was evident that he was very much pleased, and I saw that my words had been agreeable to him. * *

Of my appointment to bring back Mír Jamálu-d dín from the Dakhin.

When the Emperor was at Burhánpúr, he had sent Saiyid Mír Jamálu-d dín Husain Inju on a mission to 'Ádil Khán Sawáí, in order to form an alliance with him; for since that Prince had professed himself a follower of the Emperor, it was thought right to exalt him to the highest rank, by uniting his daughter in marriage with the high and fortunate Prince Dániyál. The Saiyid had gone about that business long before, and made such unnecessary delay, that the Emperor was displeased with him. Just at the time I am speaking of, a joint report from the Khán-i khánán and the Saiyid reached the Emperor, written in such an improper spirit, to make excuses for further delay, that His Majesty became exceedingly angry, and exclaimed, "He has seduced that noble too from his allegiance. By God's will, I will send some one to bring him back with dishonour." He then cast a glance along the ranks of his servants, and when the

lightning eyes of that shadow of God fell upon me, the least of his slaves, he called me, and, caring as he did for the least, said to his great officers, "I will send Asad to bring him back without giving him time to eat or drink." Then turning to me, he said, "I have appointed you to the Dakhin, on a service that will secure you abundant wealth."

* * * In a few days I had made all ready, and the royal *farmáns* were all prepared. A very gracious *farmán* was written with all possible courtesy to 'Ádil Khán of Bíjápúr. Its contents were as follows: "We find by the despatches of the Saiyid that you desire the town of Gwálior.[1] Very good. If you are really anxious about the matter, open your mind to the faithful servant Asad, and we will issue orders according to your wish, and bestow it upon you for ever, so that you may appoint your own governor there." To Mír Jamálu-d dín I bore orders to this effect: "If thou dost not return to Court with Asad, thou shalt see what will happen to thee and to thy children."

Description of Bíjápúr.

That palace, which they called Hajjah, was so arranged, that each house in it had a double court. Where there are two courts, they call it in those parts Hajjah. All round the gate of my residence were lofty buildings with houses and porticos; the situation was very healthy and airy. It lies in an open space in the city. Its northern portico is to the east of a *bázár* of great extent, as much as thirty yards wide and about two *kos* long. Before each shop was a beautiful green tree, and the whole *bázár* was extremely clean and pure. It was filled with rare goods, such as are not seen or heard of in any other town. There were shops of cloth-sellers, jewellers, armourers, vintners, bakers, fishmongers, and cooks. To give some idea of the whole *bázár*, I will describe a small section in detail.

In the jewellers' shops were jewels of all sorts, wrought into a variety of articles, such as daggers, knives, mirrors, necklaces,

[1] [I have not been able to identify this Gwálior.—Ed.]

and also into the form of birds, such as parrots, doves and peacocks, etc., all studded with valuable jewels, and arranged upon shelves, rising one above the other. By the side of this shop will be a baker's, with rare viands, placed in the same manner, upon tiers of shelves. Further on a linendraper's, with all kinds of cloths, shelved in like manner. Then a clothier's. Then a spirit-merchant's, with various sorts of china vessels, valuable crystal bottles, and costly cups, filled with choice and rare essences, arrayed on shelves, while in front of the shop were jars of double-distilled spirits. Beside that shop will be a fruiterer's, filled with all kinds of fruit and sweetmeats, such as pistachio-nuts, and relishes, and sugar-candy, and almonds.

On another side may be a wine-merchant's shop, and an establishment of singers and dancers, beautiful women adorned with various kinds of jewels, and fair-faced choristers, all ready to perform whatever may be desired of them. In short, the whole *bázár* was filled with wine and beauty, dancers, perfumes, jewels of all sorts, palaces, and viands. In one street were a thousand bands of people drinking, and dancers, lovers, and pleasure-seekers assembled; none quarrelled or disputed with another, and this state of things was perpetual. Perhaps no place in the wide world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller.

Akbar orders a servant to be thrown off a tower.

At that time the Emperor used to retire for a long interval, after evening prayers, during which time the servants and courtiers used to disperse, assembling again when they expected His Majesty to re-appear. That evening he happened to come out sooner than usual, to hear the news from the Dakhin, and at first found none of the servants in the palace. When he came near the throne and couch, he saw a luckless lamplighter, coiled up like a snake, in a careless death-like sleep, close to the royal couch. Enraged at the sight, he ordered him to be thrown from the tower, and he was dashed into a thousand pieces. In the

midst of his anger, the unhappy Khwája Amíru-d dín, whose watch it was, came in sight. Akbar addressed him with harshness and anger, and after abusing and disgracing him, turned him out of the tower, and ordered him instantly to start off and join the Prince's camp. He severely reprehended Daulat Khán, who was also on guard at the time, and disgraced and dishonoured him. Even Rám Dás had a share in that misfortune, but he was not so severely punished. The Emperor then sat down on the royal couch, and in great fear I approached and saluted him.

As soon as his eyes fell upon me, he bestowed upon me the office which Khwája Amíru-d dín had held for some years, and in which he had enjoyed great respect and honour, and at the same time said to Rám Dás, "I have bestowed the office of that wretch on Asad: we shall see how he conducts himself. Bring him now to do homage."

Introduction of Tobacco.

In Bíjápúr I had found some tobacco. Never having seen the like in India, I brought some with me, and prepared a handsome pipe of jewel work. The stem, the finest to be procured at Achin, was three cubits in length, beautifully dried and coloured, both ends being adorned with jewels and enamel. I happened to come across a very handsome mouthpiece of Yaman cornelian, oval-shaped, which I set to the stem; the whole was very handsome. There was also a golden burner for lighting it, as a proper accompaniment. 'Ádil Khán had given me a betel bag, of very superior workmanship; this I filled with fine tobacco, such, that if one leaf be lit, the whole will continue burning. I arranged all elegantly on a silver tray. I had a silver tube made to keep the stem in, and that too was covered with purple velvet.

His Majesty was enjoying himself, after receiving my presents, and asking me how I had collected so many strange things in so short a time, when his eye fell upon the tray with the pipe and its appurtenances; he expressed great surprise, and examined the

tobacco, which was made up in pipefuls; he inquired what it was, and where I had got it. The Nawáb Khán-i 'Azam replied: "This is tobacco, which is well known in Mecca and Medína, and this doctor has brought it as a medicine for Your Majesty." His Majesty looked at it, and ordered me to prepare and take him a pipeful. He began to smoke it, when his physician approached and forbade his doing so. But His Majesty was graciously pleased to say he must smoke a little to gratify me, and taking the mouthpiece into his sacred mouth, drew two or three breaths. The physician was in great trouble, and would not let him do more. He took the pipe from his mouth, and bid the Khán-i 'Azam try it, who took two or three puffs. He then sent for his druggist, and asked what were its peculiar qualities. He replied that there was no mention of it in his books; but that it was a new invention, and the stems were imported from China, and the European doctors had written much in its praise. The first physician said, "In fact, this is an untried medicine, about which the doctors have written nothing. How can we describe to Your Majesty the qualities of such unknown things? It is not fitting that Your Majesty should try it." I said to the first physician, "The Europeans are not so foolish as not to know all about it; there are wise men among them who seldom err or commit mistakes. How can you, before you have tried a thing and found out all its qualities, pass a judgment on it that can be depended on by the physicians, kings, great men, and nobles? Things must be judged of according to their good or bad qualities, and the decision must be according to the facts of the case." The physician replied, "We do not want to follow the Europeans, and adopt a custom, which is not sanctioned by our own wise men, without trial." I said, "It is a strange thing, for every custom in the world has been new at one time or other; from the days of Adam till now, they have gradually been invented. When a new thing is introduced among a people, and becomes well known in the world, every one adopts it; wise men and physicians should

determine according to the good or bad qualities of a thing; the good qualities may not appear at once. Thus the China root, not known anciently, has been newly discovered, and is useful in many diseases." When the Emperor heard me dispute and reason with the physician, he was astonished, and being much pleased, gave me his blessing, and then said to Khán-i 'Azam, "Did you hear how wisely Asad spoke? Truly, we must not reject a thing that has been adopted by the wise men of other nations merely because we cannot find it in our books; or how shall we progress?" The physician was going to say more, when His Majesty stopped him and called for the priest. The priest ascribed many good qualities to it, but no one could persuade the physician; nevertheless, he was a good physician.

As I had brought a large supply of tobacco and pipes, I sent some to several of the nobles, while others sent to ask for some; indeed, all, without exception, wanted some, and the practice was introduced. After that the merchants began to sell it, so the custom of smoking spread rapidly. His Majesty, however, did not adopt it.

Mission to the Dakhin.

At last orders were passed, that royal *farmáns* should be addressed to the governors of the provinces of the Dakhin, namely, Bíjápúr, Golconda, Bídar, and the Carnatic. His Majesty said to me, "You went before, in great discomfort, to fetch Mír Jamálu-d dín and the daughter of 'Ádil Khán and the presents, because it was necessary. But this time you must go in state to the four provinces of the Dakhin, and remain in each place so long as may be necessary, to collect whatever they may have of fine elephants and rare jewels throughout their dominions, to bring back with you. Their money you may keep. I want nothing but their choice and rare elephants and jewels. You must secure things of this kind for the Government, the rest I give you. You must not relax your efforts as long as there is one fine elephant or rare jewel out of your grasp in the Dakhin."

In short, I was sent for these purposes. But nearly two months passed from the time of my first appointment before I received my dismissal. Again His Majesty said, "Don't trouble yourself about money; all those countries are at your disposal, and shall come to you." I made my preparations according to these gracious and kind orders. Though I was only a commander of 200, I enlisted 600 chosen horsemen of I'rák, Khurásán, and Turkistán; many among them being men of rank. To each servant I gave a fine horse and three or four months' pay in advance. Even commanders of 1000 or 2000 could not boast of so well-accoutred a train as was then assembled. I appointed Sháh 'Alí of Ispahán, a beautiful writer, as my *bakhshi*, and hired 100 musketeers, 100 guards and servants, and 100 archers. In short, I made great preparations.

Account of the Death of His Majesty, and of other matters in connexion with it.

As I, Asad, wandering in the wood of evil destiny, had started for the second time as envoy to the four southern provinces, Bíjápúr, Golconda, Bídar, and the Carnatic, I was not present when that peerless sovereign departed this life. When the question of my embassy was in agitation, the Emperor was also projecting a combat between the elephants Chanchal and Giránbár. His Majesty, now at rest, ordered me not to depart till I had seen the elephant fight; but Fate had ordained otherwise, and I was not sorry for it, for, as I shall relate, His Majesty had cause for severe anger at that elephant fight, which came off after my departure.

A few days after I left Ágra, His Majesty had been taken somewhat ill, and in a short time was very much broken down. While he was in this condition, the combat of the elephant Chanchal with the elephant Giránbár, belonging to the royal Prince, came off. While the fight was going on, an angry dispute arose between the servants of Prince Salím and Sultán Khusrú, and both overstepped the bounds of courtesy. When

His Majesty heard of it, he became exceedingly angry, vexed, and enraged, and this so much increased his illness, that the chief physician, one of the most skilful of his time in the healing art, could do nothing more. During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khán-i 'Azam, and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Rájá Mán Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultán Khusrú Emperor. They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salím), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the sun cannot be smeared with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the pen-knife of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allah upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil.

The next day that chosen one of Allah, not dreaming of the treachery of his foes, went, as was his wont, to pay his respects at Court, and entered a boat with several of his attendants. They had reached the foot of the tower, and were about to disembark, when Mír Zíáu-l Mulk of Kazwín arrived in great agitation, and jumped into the boat. He brought word of the hopeless state of the Emperor, and of the treachery and perfidy of those evil men. The boat returned, and His Royal Highness, with weeping eyes and a sore heart, re-entered his private palace. So that, through the endeavours of that faithful friend and sincere well-wisher, the arrow of those perfidious enemies missed its mark.

When the raw attempt of those wretches had thus been brought to light, and the lofty-flying phœnix had escaped their treacherous snare, and the curtain which concealed their intentions had been torn, they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation.

At that time the breath was still in the Emperor's body, and all his servants and officers were assembled in the audience-room

in great distress and agitation. The Khán-i 'Azam and Rájá Mán Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles together, began to consult with them, and went so far as to say, "The character of the high and mighty Prince Sultán Salím is well known, and the Emperor's feelings towards him are notorious; for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Sultán Khusrú upon the throne." When this was said, Saiyid Khán, who was one of the great nobles, and connected with the royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Mughal family, cried out, "Of what do you speak, that in the existence of a Prince like Salím Sháh, we should place his son upon the throne! This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghatáí Tátárs, and shall never be." He and Malik Khair, who was also a great chief and well skilled in business, with others of their opinion, rose and left the assembly. The Khán-i 'Azam, who was at the bottom of all these evil designs, concealed his rage, and could say nothing. The assembly broke up, and each went his own way. Rájá Rám Dás Kachhwáha, with all his followers, immediately went to guard the treasury, and Murtazá Khán left the fort, and retiring to his own residence, took steps to assemble the Saiyids of Bárah and his own followers. Meanwhile Mirzá Sharíf and Mu'tamad Khán came and asked him what he intended to do. Knowing them to be his friends, he said, "I intend to go to the Prince." Mu'tamad Khán expressed his readiness to do the same, and Murtazá Khán bade him go first to the Prince, and say that he would be there immediately with his followers. So he went to His Royal Highness.

As soon as the Prince, following the advice of Mír Zíá, had retired to his own palace, all the foolish people round him began to alarm him, saying, "Why does Your Highness sit careless here? Your enemies have completed their work, and placed Sultán Khusrú on the throne, and declare that they will point the guns of the fort against this house." Their evil counsels were nearly taking effect upon the Prince, and he was about to

order his private boats, to save himself by flight, when Shaikh Ruknu-d dín Rohilla, one of his best servants, who had a large body of followers, and was a man of known courage, came and besought him to compose himself, and wait for two hours to see what would happen. The Prince was still occupied in listening to this brave advice, when all at once Mirzá Sharíf came in, and told him how the assembly of his enemies had broken up, and that Murtazá Khán was coming to join him. His Royal Highness was much delighted, and began to encourage his people, when Farú Beg came and made salutations, and Mír Murtazá Khán arrived with a large body of attendants and many of the noble Saiyids of Bárah, and saluting him, began to beat the drums to celebrate the day. The Prince forbad the music, on account of the sad state of the Emperor, but honoured Mír Murtazá Khán with a special dress of honour and a jewelled scimitar. People began to flock in, each striving to be the first to arrive, till at last, in the evening, the Khán-i 'Azam came in great shame and paid his respects. The Prince took not the least notice of his ill-conduct, and bestowed all royal kindness upon him.

When Rájá Mán Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, he took Sultán Khusrú with him to his own palace, and prepared boats, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles, and Mír Murtazá Khán at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one. As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes, and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage; at the same moment that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed himself also and closed

his life. A loud lamentation rose on all sides, and groans and cries ascended from the world and race of men, and the voices of the angelic cherubims were heard saying, "God created him, and to God he has returned."

When the Emperor Akbar died,
Groans arose from Earth to Heaven.

After that sad occurrence, that gracious Emperor Jahángír bade all his confidential servants and faithful friends perform the obsequies of the deceased sovereign, with all the ceremonies due to his rank. When they had gone through the funeral rites prescribed by religion and tradition, and had arrayed the royal corpse in all state, the Emperor, in great pomp, with weeping eyes and a sad heart, took the foot of the bier of the deceased King upon his shoulder, and carried it as far as the door of the public reception room; from thence, the great nobles, each anxious for the honour, relieving one another in quick succession, carried His Majesty as far as the gate of the fort. Thence the nobles and ministers, and courtiers and *imáms*, and all his servants and troops, followed the bier with heads and feet uncovered. * * *

When His Majesty had concluded this necessary business, he entrusted the fort and treasury to Rájá Rám Dás, and praised and consoled him much. Leaving the fort, he then went to his own palace, where intelligence reached him that Rájá Mán Singh, taking with him Sultán Khusrú, was embarking on board boats for Bengal, with all his servants and troops. Although the royal heart was vexed at hearing this, yet he sent Mádhav Singh, his brother, who was present, to re-assure and bring him back. Mádhav Singh went to the Rájá, and reproving him strongly, asked what he meant by acting thus towards such a sovereign, and of what use it was? He replied, "What can I do? The Prince is young, and knew nothing of all these matters. I was obliged to act as I have done, to satisfy him." Do you go and say, 'Let a promise be given that he may be relieved from all fear, and that I may be satisfied that no harm will befall him, and I will bring him to Your Majesty's feet.'"

Mádhav Singh returned and reported Rájá Man Singh's wishes and petition to His Majesty, who gave his promise, with the utmost grace and kindness, that no harm should happen to him from any one, and sent him back confirming his word with solemn oaths. The next day Rájá Mán Singh came to Court, and brought Sultán Khusrú to the feet of his royal father. His Majesty treated him with the greatest kindness, and clasping him to his bosom, kissed his face. After a moment he dismissed him to his own house. When His Majesty had concluded that business, he passed some days in mourning and distributing alms, till at last the day arrived for him to ascend the throne.

Of the ascension of His Majesty the Emperor Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír to the throne of his fathers and ancestors.

On that day he held a Court, and after going through all the usual ordinances, left his own palace in great pomp and state, with all show and grandeur, and embarking in a boat, went to the fort, where he disembarked, and mounting the stately litter, entered the fort scattering gold and silver. There all the nobles of rank and powerful ministers were in attendance. When he arrived, he ascended the throne of the Empire, and after adopting the title of Jahángír, began to win the hearts of all the people, and to re-arrange the withered world. He honoured many of the greatest nobles and powerful ministers and brave youths with honourable titles and acceptable dignities; for the consolation of the hearts of his people, he suspended the chain of justice with golden bells, and removed the rust of oppression from the hearts of his people. * * *

Some days after his ascension, intelligence arrived that Muhábat Khán and Sharíf Khán, who were of the highest rank in the Empire, had come to offer their congratulations. Muhábat Khán was made commander-in-chief, and Sharíf Khán was honoured with the title of *Amíru-l 'Umará*. Day by day the Empire of that just and liberal sovereign increased in splendour and efficiency. In the first few days he repealed and

gave up all transit duties and fees, the poll-tax on Hindus and tax on orphans' property, and remitted them throughout the whole of the hereditary dominions. He also remitted and removed, root and branch, the whole of the duties and imposts levied on the produce of the sea or of mines, so that throughout the whole of Hindústán, and wherever the jurisdiction of the Emperor extended, no one could so much as name them.

XLVII.

TA'RÍ'KH-I HAKKÍ[1]

OF

SHAIKH 'ABDU-L HAKK.

THIS work contains a brief general history of Muhammadan India, from the time of the slave-kings of Dehlí to that of Akbar, in the forty-second year of whose reign it was composed, *i.e.* A.H. 1005 (A.D. 1596–7). The name of the author is Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk bin Saifu-d dín of Dehlí. From a quatrain in the preface of his history, it would appear that Hakkí, "the true," while it contains a play upon his own name, is a mere literary appellation, assumed according to a practice common in the east, and by which name he seems to wish that his history should be known, though it is most frequently styled *Tárikh-i 'Abdu-l Hakk.*

The ancestors of 'Abdu-l Hakk came into India from Bokhárá, and settled in Dehlí, but the authorities vary in the details they give in respect of him. According to the *Bádsháh-náma*, 'Abdu-l Hakk was a descendant of one of Tímúr's followers, who remained behind, together with some other foreign chiefs, at Dehlí, after the return of that conqueror to his native land. But the writer himself, in his *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, says that his great ancestor, Ágha Turk, came to Dehlí in 'Aláu-d dín's reign, and that this Ágha's grandson, Malik Músá, returned to Máwaráu-n nahr, and came back from thence to Dehlí in Tímúr's time. In Sir T. Metcalfe's MS. History of Dehlí it is stated that his ancestor was a native of Bokhárá, who, on visiting Dehlí, was ennobled and attached to the Royal Court. There can be no

[1] See *Asáru-s Sanádíd*, p. 80; *Tabakát-i Shah-jahání*; *Mirát-i Jahán-numá*; *Ma-asiru-l Kirám*, p. 256; *Zubdatu-l Gharáib* (extract, post); Beale, 364.

doubt that Bokhárá was the place from which they sprang, as 'Abdu-l Hakk's son was known as "al Dehlawí al Bokhárí." 'Abdu-l Hakk's father obtained a reputation for sanctity, and the son praises him in his Literary History of Dehlí.

Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk early applied himself to the cultivation of knowledge. At twenty years of age he had mastered most of the customary branches of education, and had learnt the whole of the *Kurán* by heart.[1] At the time he was prosecuting his studies, the author[2] tells us that he used to go twice a day to college, morning and evening, during the heat of one season and the cold of another, returning for a short time for a meal to his own house. As he informs us that his dwelling was two miles from the college, this statement, if true, shows that he travelled eight miles a day, which, it must be confessed, exhibited unusual ardour in the acquisition of knowledge. His father observed that he did not enjoy pastimes like other boys, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his intense application.

Upon leaving Dehlí, he associated for a long time with 'Abdu-l Kádir, Shaikh Faizí, and Nizámu-d dín, at Fathpúr,[3] but left them upon some slight misunderstanding. Nevertheless, through the interest of the latter, he obtained a passage on a vessel proceeding to Arabia, whither he went on a pilgrimage.[4] He dwelt for a long time in the holy cities of Mecca and Medína, and derived much instruction from the learned men of those cities. He wrote works upon many subjects, of which he himself gives a list,—commentaries, travels, *Súfí* doctrines, religion and history, and his different treatises amount altogether to more than one hundred. The best known are the *Madína Sakína*, the *Madáriju-n Nubúwat*, the *Jazbu-l Kulúb*,[5] and the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*. He was born in the year 958 H., and in the year

[1] *Bádsháh-náma* of 'Abdu-l Hamíd Láhorí (MS. fol. 451 v.).

[2] *Akhbáru-l Akhyár* (MS. fol. 354 v.).

[3] *Tárikh-i Badáúní* of 'Abdu-l Kádir (MS. fol. 228 r.).

[4] Sir T. Metcalfe's *Memoir of Dehlí* says that he made the pilgrimage twice.

[5] This is a history of Medína, which was commenced in that city in A.H. 998, and has been very well printed in Calcutta.

1047 H., although he was then ninety years old, he is said[1] to have been in full possession of his faculties, and to have employed himself in religious duties, in instruction, and composition, as vigorously as if he had still been a young man. He died in 1052 H. (1642 A.D.), and was buried in the sepulchre built by himself in Dehlí on the margin of the Hauz-i Shamshí. The building still exists in good preservation, and is a handsome solid structure.

The author, who now holds a high rank among the saints of Hindústán, informs us that his desire to write history arose from a perusal of the *Tárikh-i Firoz-sháhí*, by which he alludes to that of Zíáu-d dín Barní, as he mentions that the lives of several kings are contained in it, which is not the case with the other histories of that name. But as that work concludes with the beginning of Fíroz Sháh's reign, he sought to obtain information respecting the kings who succeeded him, and lighted upon the *Tárikh-i Bahádur-sháhí*, written by Sám Sultán Bahádur Gujarátí, from which he has extracted down to the reign of Bahlol Lodí. He then thought it would be advisable to complete the reigns previous to those noticed in the *Tárikh-i Firoz-sháhí*, and therefore abstracted from the *Tabakát-i Násirí* the reigns from Mu'izzú-d dín Sám (Muhammad Ghorí) to Násiru-d dín Mahmúḍ bin Sultán Shamsu-d dín. He has been judicious in his small selection, as these three are the best authorities for their respective periods.[2] From Bahlol Lodí to his own time he has depended on verbal information, and upon what came under his own observation, all the rest of his work being taken, as he candidly confesses, verbatim from the three authors above quoted.

After carrying, in the first chapter, the general history of Dehlí down to Akbar's time, he gives, in the second, a compendious account of the rulers of Bengal, Jaunpúr, Máṇḍú, Dakhin, Multán, Sind and Kashmír, but the narrative is much too brief to be of any use.

[1] *Bádshdh-náma*, ut suprà.

[2] Briggs, vol. iv. pp. 131, 392.

As this time-serving saint was prepared to speak of his reforming patron in the preposterous strain of adulation adopted in the following Extract, we have little reason to regret that he never fulfilled the purpose of writing an account of his reign.

The best copy of this little history which I have seen belongs to Nawáb Násiru-d dín Ahmad of Pánipat, in whose collection it is improperly called *Tárikh-i Salátin Ghori*. Nizámu-d dín, a physician resident at Banda, also possesses a good copy. There are two copies (Addit. MSS. 6596 and 16701) in the British Museum, and one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which Morley has described in his Catalogue (No. xlvii.).

In a Manuscript belonging to a native gentleman at Dehlí, the first chapter closes with these words, "Thus ends the first chapter of the *Tazkiratu-s Salátin*," which would imply that this work is known by that name; but, if so, it cannot be the work generally[1] known as the *Tazkiratu-s Salátin*, for that is devoted to an account of the Hindú dynasties, and upon that compilation Colonel Wilford, in his essay on Vikramáditya and Śáliváhana, makes the following just observations: "This treatise is a most perfect specimen of the manner of writing history in India; for, excepting the above list, almost everything else is the production of the fertile genius of the compiler. In all these lists the compilers and revisers seem to have had no other object in view, but to adjust a certain number of remarkable epochs. This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with names of kings not to be found anywhere else, and most probably fanciful. Otherwise they leave out the names of those kings of whom nothing is recorded, and attribute the years of their reign to some among them better known, and of greater fame. They often do not scruple to transpose some of those kings, and even whole dynasties; either in consequence of some preconceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking a famous king for another of the same name. It was not un-

[1] See Reinaud's *Memoire*, p. 6.

common with ancient writers, to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant; or from a remote predecessor to a remote successor, by leaving out the intermediate generations or successions, and sometimes ascribing the years of their reigns to a remote successor or predecessor. In this manner the lists of the ancient kings of Persia, both by Oriental writers, and others in the west, have been compiled: and some instances of this nature might be produced from Scripture. I was acquainted lately, at Benares, with a chronicler of that sort, and in the several conversations I had with him, he candidly acknowledged that he filled up the intermediate spaces between the reigns of famous kings with names at a venture; that he shortened or lengthened their reigns at pleasure; and that it was understood that his predecessors had taken the same liberties. Through their emendations and corrections, you see plainly a total want of historical knowledge and criticism; and sometimes some disingenuity is but too obvious. This is, however, the case with the sections on futurity in the Bhágavat, Váyu, Vishńu, and Brahmánda Puránas; which with the above lists constitute the whole stock of historical knowledge among the Hindús; and the whole might be comprised in a few quarto pages of print."[1]

The *Tárikh-i Hakkí* opens with a passage from the Kurán.

The conclusion varies. The most perfect closes with a chronogram, which would seem to show that the author wished his work to be styled *Zikr-i Mulúk*, and from another passage this appears to be the true name, though the preface, as before observed, authorizes the name of *Tárikh-i Hakkí*.

The copy used is a small 8vo., containing 142 pages, of 18 lines each.

EXTRACT.

Shortly after ascending the throne, Fíroz Sháh was murdered by his maternal uncle Mubáriz Khán. Salím Sháh had anticipated this, and had therefore asked his wife's consent to kill her brother Mubáriz, saying that if she did not accede to his pro-

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. pp. 132, 133.

posal, she would not long see her son alive. The senseless woman did not believe his words, and would not give her consent; but it turned out as Salím Sháh had predicted.[1] Fíroz Sháh reigned not more than three days and five hours. After his murder, all his Afghán relations claimed the throne. One assumed the title of Sikandar, another of Sultán Ibráhím, and a third of Sultán Muhammad 'Ádil. The rivals contested the point amongst themselves most pertinaciously for three or four years, when, at length, in the month of Shawwál, in the year 963, the Humá of Humáyún again spread the wings of its prosperity and good luck over the kingdom of Hindústán. The dust of distress which had long obscured the beautiful face of the kingdom was washed away by the water of peace and union, and the heart of the country was invigorated by a new infusion of life. Joy and gladness, gratitude and boundless hope, were diffused among all people, both high and low, rich and poor.

Within six months of his second reign Humáyún, while standing one evening enjoying the fresh air on the top of the red palace in the fort of Dehlí, heard the *azán* called, and sitting down out of respect to the summons to evening prayer, his foot slipped by accident, and he fell to the ground. He died on the spot, or at least a few days afterwards, and the bird of his victorious soul fled to its nest in Paradise. From God we proceed, to God shall we return!

He was succeeded by his son Sultán Abú-l Fath Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar Bádsháh Ghází, of super-eminent dignity, etc. He ascended the throne in his youth, and though more than forty years have elapsed since his reign began, he is still in the very bloom of his dominion, and in the commencement of his power, for every day brings accounts of new victories and new conquests, so that by the blessing of God his kingdom extends over the whole of Hindústán (which is called "Chahárdáng," that is, a quarter of the world), east and west, north and south, including all its forts and territories, without any one

[1] [See *suprà*, Vol. V. p. 41.]

being associated with him in power, and without any one daring to offer opposition. This country is bounded on three sides by the sea, and all the kings and princes, chiefs, nobles, and Rájás, and all people, of every degree, throughout the whole country, pay allegiance to him, willingly acknowledge him as their sovereign, and place the head of abject submission on the ground in his presence. Territories, treasures, elephants, horses, armies, and all other things, suitable to the state and dignity of Emperors, came into his possession in such abundance, that they are beyond all calculation, and are of a value far exceeding anything which has ever yet been in the possession of other Emperors.

"This monarch, at the very commencement of his reign, effected that which kings who have reigned many years have not been able to accomplish." "God can place the whole world in the hands of one person!"

The kings and Sultáns, who have been spoken of in this book, are not worthy of those titles in the presence of the exalted Majesty of Akbar, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two individuals; but to call even them kings, in comparison, requires no small degree of courage and resolution.

In short, it is difficult to describe the victories and conquests of the Emperor Akbar, his rules and regulations, his principles of government, his extraordinary orders, his courteous manners, and the many innovations which he introduced. Entire volumes and registers would not contain them. If I be blessed with a long life, and if I receive the aid of God, I shall attempt to the utmost of my power to write, free from error, the history of the Emperor. May it be the will of God that, through the aid of this omnipotent Emperor of Emperors, the Muhammadan law and religion may be established for ever and ever! "O God of the worlds, accept this prayer!"

XLVIII.

ZUBDATU-T TAWÁRÍKH[1]

OF

SHAIKH NÚRU-L HAKK.

This is a general history, composed by Shaikh Núru-l Hakk, al-Mashrikí, al-Dehliví, al-Bokhárí, the son of 'Abdu-l Hakk, noticed in the preceding article. The addition of *al-Mashrikí* would imply that his family had changed their abode from Dehlí to some district of Jaunpúr.

Núru-l Hakk's work is an enlarged edition of his father's history, and was composed, as the author informs us, in order that, by improving the style, and supplying omissions, he might render it worthy the acceptance of his patron, Shaik Farídu-d dín Bokhárí, with whom he was connected by marriage, and who suggested the undertaking. It is for this reason that a large space is devoted to an account of Shaikh Farídu-d dín's expeditions during the time of Akbar, and an interesting detail is given of his proceedings in Kashmír, the Khyber hills, Jammú, Jasrauta, Rámgarh, and other places in the Siwálik hills.[2] The same officer was subsequently appointed to the pursuit of Khusrú in the early part of Jahángír's reign, in which expedition he acquired credit for considerable gallantry, and under the title of Murtazá Khán, managed for some time the affairs of the empire.

The work commences with the reign of Kutbu-d dín, and ends with the close of Akbar's reign. [Much of the early part is copied verbatim or in abstract from the *Tabakát-i Násirí*, the

[1] See *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, p. 660; *Tabakát-i Sháh-jahání*, fol. 310; *Ma-ásiru-l Kirán*, p. 258; *Subhatu-l Marján*.

[2] [No doubt copied from the *Akbar-náma* of Faizí Sirhindí.—See *suprà*, p. 127.]

Tárikh of Zíá Barní, the *Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhí*, and other works, as will be seen from the Extracts which follow.] The reign of Akbar is copiously abstracted from the *Akbar-náma*. This is by far the most valuable part of the work, for besides what he copies from Abú-l Fazl, the author writes much from his own knowledge of contemporary events. A hope is held out that the author may be able to continue the work, and detail some of the events of Jahángír's reign, of whom he was a contemporary. The author's father, 'Abdu-l Hakk, highly lauds the work in his *Literary History*, p. 43.

The Dakhin history is much more meagre than the rest. The history of the Bahmaní, Nizám-sháhí, 'Ádil-sháhí, Kutb-sháhí dynasties is promised, but is not given. Berár, Bidr, Khándesh, are also omitted from this work, as they are from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, which fact would of itself raise a suspicion that Núru-l Hakk copied more than he acknowledged.

CONTENTS.

History of the kings of Dehlí, from pp. 13 to 369.
History of the kings of Málwa, from pp. 369 to 418.
History of the kings of Gujarát, from pp. 418 to 458.
History of the kings of the Dakhin, from pp. 458 to 482.
History of the kings of Kashmír, from pp. 482 to 506.
History of the kings of Sind and Thatta, from pp. 507 to 514.
History of the kings of Multán, from pp. 514 to 516.
History of the kings of Bengal, from pp. 517 to 532.
History of the kings of Jaunpúr, from pp. 532 to 542.

SIZE—Large 8vo. comprising 542 pages, of 16 lines to a page.

By Muhammad Háshim, the author of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, this history is styled the *Tárikh-i Zubda*. The name of *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh* is very common, and besides the history of this name, which will be noticed in another part of this work, there are two which have a classical reputation both in the east and west; one by Háfiz Abrú, noticed before (Art. XX. Vol. IV.), the other by Jamálu-d dín Abú-l kásim Káshí. There is

one also of a later date by Kamál Khán bin Jalál Munajjim. It is a general history, but chiefly devoted to Persia, the history of which it brings down to the close of the sixteenth century.[1] Juwainí, in his *Jahán-Kushá*, notices another written by Saiyid Sadru-d dín.

The *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh* of Núru-l Hakk is not uncommon in India. One of the best manuscripts belongs to Nawáb Siráju-l Mulk, Minister of Haidarábád, and 'Alí Muhammad Khán has a good copy. There is a copy in the British Museum, Addit. 10580, and one in the Bibliothèque Impériale, No. 38 Supp. Persan. This professes to have been completed on Tuesday, 27 Rabí'u-l awwal, 1067 H., so that it must be an early copy, unless this date be that of the composition.

EXTRACTS.

[*Several which appeared in Sir H. M. Elliot's original volume have been here omitted, as they have already been printed in the notices of the original works from which Núru-l Hakk copied them.*]

Sultán Raziya.

[Abstracted from the *Tabakát-i Násirí*. See Vol. II. p. 333.]

Sultáns Mu'izzu-d dín Kaikubád, 'Aláú-d dín and Kutbu-d dín.

[Abstracted from the *Tárikh-i Firoz-sháhí* of Zíá Barní, Vol. III. p. 125.]

Sultán Muhammad, son of Tughlik Sháh.

It was about this time that the whole of the Doáb became unable any longer to bear up against the grievous rack-renting and oppressive taxes. The people in despair set fire to their barns and stacks, and carrying away their cattle, became wanderers in the wide world. Upon this, the Sultán gave orders that every such peasant who might be seized should be put to death, and that the whole country should be ravaged and given

[1] See Morley's Catalogue, No. xliii.

up to indiscriminate plunder. He even himself marched out of the city for that purpose, as if he had been going on a hunting expedition, put to the sword all the remaining population, and ordered their heads to be displayed from the battlements of the fort. In this way he utterly depopulated whole tracts of his kingdom, and inflicted such rigorous punishment, that the whole world stood aghast. In short, the cruelties of this tyrant, whom some men call the Just, surpass all belief.

Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh.[1]

Upon the death of King Fíroz, Tughlik Sháh, the son of Prince Fath Khán, was raised to the throne in the palace of Fírozábád. Having distributed among his nobles the high offices of the empire, he despatched a large army against Sultán Muhammad Sháh, who, after a slight resistance, proceeded from Sirmúr to Suket, whence he fled to Nagarkot, being pursued by the army of Tughlik Sháh.

Under the influence of his youthful passions, Tughlik Sháh gave himself up to debauchery and frivolity, and having but little experience in the concerns of government, thought it incumbent on him to imprison his own brother, Khurram Arslán Sháh; upon which Abú Bakr, son of Zafar Khán, the son of Sultán Fíroz, actuated by the fear and suspicion arising from the fate of the Prince, took to flight. Malik Ruknu-d dín, the deputy *wazír*, and a number of other nobles, joined Abú Bakr, marched out and put Malik Mubárak Kabír to death, before the entrance of Tughlik Sháh's palace at Fírozábád, and the King, alarmed at the superior power of the rebels, fled with Khán Jahán through the gate facing the Jumna. Malik Ruknu-d dín pursued and seized him, and putting him and his followers to death, suspended their heads from that gate. "What pleasures are there under the sky? The kid frolics before the butcher's shambles."

This event occurred on the 21st Safar, 791 A.H. Tughlik Sháh reigned six months and eighteen days.

[1] [From the *Tárikh-i Mubárak-sháhí*.—See Vol. IV. p. 18.]

Abú Bakr, son of Zafar Khán, son of Sultán Fíroz.[1]

Abú Bakr was placed on the throne with the title of Abú Bakr Sháh. After subjugating his enemies, and possessing himself of the treasure and retinue of Fíroz Sháh, he became all-powerful.

Sultán Muhammad, proceeding from Nagarkot to Sámána, proclaimed himself king, and commenced collecting an army. Hundreds of the nobles of Sámána and the owners of lands situated at the foot of the hills, acknowledged his supreme authority. Some of the nobles, deserting Abú Bakr Sháh, did Sultán Muhammad homage. The Sultán marched well equipped on Dehlí from Sámána, and by the time he reached the environs of that city, he had collected a body of cavalry to the amount of 50,000 men. On the 25th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 791 A.H., he reached the palace of Jahán-numái.

On the 2nd of Jumáda-l awwal a battle was fought between the Sultán Muhammad Jang and Abú Bakr Sháh, in which the former sustained a total defeat. Crossing the Jumna with 2000 horse, he entered the Doáb, and sent back his son, named Humáyún Khán, to Sámána, with orders to collect an army and join him. He himself continued at Jalesar, near the banks of the Jumna.

A fresh army of 50,000 horse and foot was accordingly raised. In the month of Sha'bán of the same year, Sultán Muhammad marched on Dehlí a second time, and again encountered Abú Bakr Sháh. But Sultán Muhammad's fortune being still unpropitious, he was defeated in this battle likewise. "Though you make the dust of battle rise like columns of smoke, yet will your bravery be unavailing, if fortune does not favour you. If the key is not in your hand, no force will enable you to wrench open the door of victory."

Sultán Muhammad Sháh, still continuing at Jalesar, issued orders to the people of Multán, Láhore, and several other places,

[1] [See Vol. IV. p. 21.]

directing them to kill the dependents of Fíroz Sháh, wherever they might find them. Accordingly a general massacre and great devastation ensued, roads were closed, travelling ceased, and houses were desolated.

In the month of Muharram, 792 A H., Prince Humáyún Khán marched out, accompanied by several of the nobles, and laid waste the environs of Dehlí, but Abú Bakr Sháh, despatching a force to oppose him, put him to flight.

Sultán Sikandar Sháh Lodí.[1]

About this time [900 A.H.] the scarcity of corn was so great that the people were relieved of the established *zakát.*

It is said that one day a Bráhman declared in the presence of several Muhammadans that the religion of Islám was true, but that his own religion was also true. When this declaration reached the ear of the Doctors, they reported it to the Sultán, and as he was remarkably fond of religious and legal questions and theological controversies, he summoned the learned from various quarters, and invited their opinion on what the Bráhman had asserted. The learned gave it unanimously as their opinion that he should be imprisoned, and that he should then be desired to embrace Islám, and if he should reject it, that he should be slain. Accordingly, when the Bráhman was desired to embrace the Muhammadan religion, he refused to do so, and he was put to death. Many other similar instances of his zeal for religion occurred during his reign. * * *

In his time, Hindú temples were razed to the ground, and neither name nor vestige of them was allowed to remain. In the city of Mathura, if a Hindú wished to have his head or beard shaved, there was not a barber that dared to comply. He prohibited the procession of the spear of Sálár Mas'ud Ghází, which went every year to Bahráich, and women were not allowed to go on pilgrimages to shrines.

[1] [See Vol. IV. p. 438.]

Sultán Ibráhím, son of Sikandar Lodí.

[Same as the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*, Vol. IV. p. 475.]

Sher Khán.

In the year 950 H. Púran-mal, son of Salhdí, held occupation of the fort of Ráísín, and brought several of the neighbouring *parganas* under subjection. He had 1000 women in his *harem*, from the east and from Sind, and amongst them several Musulmánís, whom he made to dance before him. Sher Khán, with Musulmán indignation, resolved to conquer the fort. After he had been some time engaged in investing it, an accommodation was proposed, and it was finally agreed that Púran-mal, with his family and children, and 4000 Rájpúts of note, should be allowed to leave the fort unmolested. Several men learned in the law gave it as their opinion that they should all be slain, notwithstanding the solemn engagement which had been entered into. Consequently, the whole army, with the elephants, surrounded Púran-mal's encampment. The Rájpúts fought with desperate bravery, and after killing their women and children, and then burning them, they rushed to battle, and were annihilated to a man.[1]

After that, Sher Khán retired to Ágra, and after remaining there some time, set out on an expedition to Márwár, and at every stage he dug an entrenchment and raised a temporary fortress, advancing with the greatest care and circumspection. Whenever he met with a sandy soil and could not raise a fortress, he had sacks filled with sand, and heaping them up he constructed a defensible position out of them.[2] * * *

Sher Khán made the road which now runs from Dehlí to Ágra, by cutting through jungles, removing obstacles, and building *saráís*. Before that time, people had to travel through the Doáb between those two places. There was so much security in travelling during his reign, that if a lone woman were to sleep in

[1] [See Vol. IV. p. 401.] [2] [*Ib.* p. 405.]

a desert with silver and gold about her person, no one would dare to commit theft upon her; and if it ever did so happen that any one lost any property, the *mukaddams* of the village which was the scene of the robbery were subject to fine, and for fear of its infliction, the *zamíndárs* used to patrol the roads at night.[1]

Sher Khán founded many cities after his own name, as Shergarh, Sher-kot; and since old Dehlí was far from the river Jumna, he demolished it, and founded a new city on the banks of the river, which exists to this day. He founded also for its defence a broad wall, which, through the absence of rebellion and the length of his reign, was brought to completion.

It is said that once, when looking in a glass, he exclaimed, "Alas! that I have attained the empire only when I have reached old age, and when the time for evening prayer has arrived. Had it been otherwise, the world would have seen what I would have accomplished." Sometimes he would say, by way of showing what difficult and even impossible objects he contemplated; "I would have made a bridge to span the ocean, and have so contrived that even a widowed and helpless woman might without difficulty perform the pilgrimage to Mecca." To this day there exists a caravanserai of his building at Mecca, in which Afghán *fakírs* reside.

The Reign of Akbar.

Religious Matters.

Up to this time [986 H., 1578 A.D.], the King used to attend public worship at the five stated times, whether he was in the capital or in camp, and the reciters of the Kurán, who were on the royal establishment, used to read that sacred book both at prayer and at other times. Indeed, the King himself used to take the lead in worship.

One of the strange incidents of this year (986 H.) was the King's abandonment of the national religion, which became a stumbling-block to many people weak in the faith. The cause of

[1] [See Vol. IV. p. 417.]

this dereliction was, that the court had become the centre of attraction to all sects, persuasions, and people, to the learned of Khurásán, 'Irák, Máwaráu-n nahr, and Hindústán, to doctors and theologians, to Shías and Sunnís, to Christians and philosophers, to Bráhmans and professors of every existing religion. These all upon hearing not only of the King's affability and condescension, but his superiority to all others in regal dignity and power, as well as in humility, flocked to his presence, and occupying themselves with relations of history and travels, and dissertations about revelations, prophecies, and religions, were perpetually engaged in angry controversies, and, as generally happens with confirmed disputants, all were eager to draw others to their own views and persuasions, and passed day and night in "yeaing and naying." As this was the first time that the King had heard these discussions upon past history, customs, and religions of other nations, he was much struck with the novelty. He endeavoured to extract what was good from the contrary opinions which were expressed, giving the most deliberate attention to all that he heard, for his mind was solely bent upon ascertaining the truth. If some of his companions had their dispositions and sentiments affected by the inherent sin of their nature during these controversies, and became unable to withstand the temptations to apostacy, that is another matter;—love of the world may have actuated them. The King used openly to say in the presence of his officers, doctors, and chiefs, —"My sole object, oh wise Mullas, is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to its divine origin. Take care, therefore, that through the influence of your human passions, you are not induced to conceal the truth: and say nothing contrary to the almighty decrees. If you do, you are responsible before God for the consequences of your impiety."

Previous to the time that this address was made, several doctors and theologians of Hindústán, such as Maulánà 'Abdú-lla Sultánpúrí, commonly known as Makhdúmu-l Mulk, and Shaikh

'Abdu-n Nabí, the *sadar* and others, were constantly present at Court, and received great favours from the King. The two learned men first mentioned were considered the best authorities on all questions pertaining to religion and law, but they frequently held opposite opinions to one another, and expressed themselves in tones of anger and recrimination, so that at last their credit and reputation declined in the King's estimation, and he became indifferent to the religion which they professed. The common people learning day after day something about the nature of the subjects discussed in these assemblages, could so little comprehend the real purpose for which they were held, that they misrepresented the King's object in encouraging them, and entertained suspicions of his motives which were derogatory to his character, and but little deserved.

Death of Bírbal.[1]

In this year (994 A.H.), the victorious armies were sent, under the command of Rájá Bírbal, to put down the insurgent Yúsufzáis. A person came to the Rájá, and told him that the Afgháns intended to make a night attack upon his force, that the mountain pass did not extend beyond three or four *kos*, and that if he could traverse that distance he would be in safety. Bírbal, without communicating with Zain Khán, resolved to go through the pass, and setting his forces in motion, he arrived at the gorge about sunset. The Afgháns assembled from all sides upon the summits of the pass with arrows and stones, and the royal forces, losing their way amid the darkness in the narrow defile, fell into the deep holes and abysses, and there perished. The royal army thus experienced a severe defeat, and nearly 8000 men were slain. Rájá Bírbal, who fled to save his life, was killed, and no trace of him was found. Zain Khán and Abú-l Fath were also defeated on the 5th Rabí'u-l awwal of the same year, and with

[1] [The account which Elphinstone gives of this disaster is in exact accordance with that here given. The authority he gives is "*Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh.*—Elphinstone, book ii. chap ix.]

great difficulty made their way to Átak. This defeat had great effect upon the mind of the Emperor, and several times he refused to see (these commanders). Rájá Todar Mál was chosen to head a well-appointed force, and repair this disaster. The Rájá advanced into the mountains with great skill, where he erected several forts, and he conducted the campaign with such consummate judgment, that the Afgháns were soon driven back, and kept within narrow bounds.

Curious work of Art.

One of the wonders of art which was exhibited during this year (A.H. 1003) was the work of Saiyid Husain Shírází. He used to stand with a box in his hand, and when any one gave him a rupee he threw it into the box, and it kept on rolling until it fell to the bottom. Upon this, a parrot which was chained to it began to speak, and two fowls began also to cackle at one another. Then a small window opened, at which a panther put out its head, and let a shell fall from its mouth into a dish which was placed on a lion's head, and the shell then came out of the lion's mouth. A short time elapsed, when another window opened, and another lion came forth, took the shell in its mouth and retired, and the windows again closed. Two elephants then appeared with perfect trunks, and there were also two figures of men, who sounded drums. A rope then thrust itself forward, and again retreated, of its own accord. Two other men then advanced, and made obeisance. Shortly after, another window opened, and a puppet came forth with an ode of Háfiz in its hand, and when the ode was taken away from the puppet, it retired, and the window was closed. In short, whenever a piece of money was placed in the hands of Husain Shírází, all these marvels were exhibited. The King first gave a gold *mohur* with his own hand, and witnessed the sight. He then ordered his attendants to give a rupee each. The odes which were presented were given by the King to Nakíb Khán, by whom they were read out. This exhibition lasted for several nights.

Famine.

During the year 1004 H. there was a scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindústán, and a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years. The King ordered that alms should be distributed in all the cities, and Nawáb Shaikh Farid Bokhárí, being ordered to superintend and control their distribution, did all in his power to relieve the general distress of the people. Public tables were spread, and the army was increased, in order to afford maintenance to the poor people. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal.

The Emperor wounded.

In this year also the King, while witnessing an antelope-fight, was wounded in the thigh by one of their horns, which penetrated very deep. Great alarm was felt throughout the country, but after retiring for a few days to the inner apartments, and seating himself on the carpet of affliction, he recovered, by the blessing of God, and restored comfort to the hearts of all the world.

Curious apartment.

One of the curiosities exhibited this year was manufactured by the most celebrated physician of the time, Hakím 'Alí. It filled every beholder with wonderment, however wise he might be. He built a room of about the ordinary breadth and length, to which the only entrance was at the top, by a sort of trap-door. Over the roof of the room he constructed a reservoir, which remained full of water, and no one could enter the room except by plunging into the bath. Upon reaching this single entrance, he gained access to the room, which he found furnished with

carpets, books, and all the conveniences of a sitting room,—yet no water by any chance ever got into it. It is said that the King one day with some of his private companions got into the room in the way above indicated, and after remaining there some time enjoying their conversation, left it again by the passage through that single trap-door.

XLIX.

RAUZATU-T TA'HIRÍN

OF

TÁHIR MUHAMMAD.

THE "Garden of the Immaculate," a general history by Táhir Muhammad bin Imádu-d dín Hasan bin Sultán 'Alí bin Hájí Muhammad Husain Sabzwárí. It was commenced A.H. 1011, A.D. 1602-3, three years before the death of Akbar, and concluded A.H. 1015, A.D. 1606-7, after the accession of Jahángír; and as the year of the Hijra 1011 is numerically represented by *Rauzat*, the author, as he tells us in his preface, has combined that word with his own name, *Táhir*, to form the fanciful title he has given to his history.

The contents of the work are much the same as those of other general Asiatic histories. It begins with a copious Index, which it is to be regretted other authors have not imitated. It extends to the 45th page, and serves as a chronological table, as it shows how long each sovereign reigned.

The *Rauzatu-t Táhirín* is divided into five Books (*kism*), subdivided into Chapters (*báb*), and Sections (*fasl*). Some of these Sections are more minutely subdivided, not for the mere purpose of showing the author's ingenuity, but because the different dynasties treated of really required the distinction.

CONTENTS.

Book I.—Comprises an account of the creation, forty prophets, twenty-two ancient sages, Persian and Arabic Dynasties before Muhammad, including the Peshdádians, Kaiánians, Ashkánians, Sassánians, and Ghassánians. In three chapters:—from p. 45 to p. 641.

Book II.—The Khalífas, and the Dynasties which rose under the 'Abbásides, such as the Táhirides, Sámánians, Buwaihides

or Dailamites, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Karâ-khatâyans, Saljúkians, Atábaks, etc. In four chapters:—from p. 641 to p. 826.

Book III.—The Dynasties of Tátárs, Mughals, and Turks, Osmanlís of Constantinople, Chángiz Khán, Tímúr, and their predecessors and descendants, with several other Dynasties, including the Karâ-kúínlú and Ak-kúínlú[1] rulers, and the Safaví Kings of Persia. In seven chapters:—from p. 826 to p. 981.

Book IV.—"On the Rulers of India, previous to the introduction of Muhammadanism, called the Brâhmans of Hind; who, when troubles and disorganization prevailed, made their appearance, as persons endowed with every excellence, for the regeneration of the country. Their appearance is called *Avatár*, of which there have been nine from the beginning of the creation until now, *i.e.* from the Fish *Avatár* down to Krishna *Avatár*."

Abstract of the *Mahâ-bhárata* and *Harbans Purán* (*Harivansa*); the history of the Súrajbans and Chandarbans Rájás, and those who succeeded them. In two chapters and a conclusion.

Book V.—The Sultáns of India, beginning with the Slave Kings, and ending with Akbar, and an account of his contemporaries, comprising fourteen nobles, fifty-seven poets, twenty-four doctors and philosophers; the rulers of Sind, Multán, Kashmír, Gujarát, Málwa, Dakhin, Jaunpúr, and Bengal; the wonders of the islands and ports near Bengal, including an account of Ceylon, Pegu, Arrakan, Kúch Bihár and Portugal. In four chapters:—from p. 981 to p. 1200. The last chapter contains something about the author himself.

Size—Folio, 1200 pages, containing 23 lines in a page.

It will appear, therefore, that Book V., or about one-sixth of the entire work, is devoted to India; but as it contains in that portion little that is not equally well told elsewhere, it is not of much value, except as a useful compendium. It is unfortunate that the only useful portion of this Book, namely, the third

[1] Respecting the orthography of these names, see above, Vol. IV. p. 299. It might have been added that Briggs gives it as Koovinloo (*Firishta*, iii. 341), which Hammer-Purgstall characterizes as being "in accordance with his usual perverse method of spelling." (*Jahrbücher*, No. li. p. 56.)

chapter on Indian Biographies, is not included in the volume. A more serious hiatus occurs in the exclusion of the whole of Book IV., though there is no break in the paging. This, as well as the biographical portion, may form separate volumes, for they are not included in two copies which I have consulted, though I have found them in a Lucknow copy.

The work is most copious in the legendary history of Persia, which is contained in Book I., comprising more than half the entire volume.

The chief authorities quoted in the work, are the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh, Rauzatu-s Safá, Tárikh-i Guzida, Lubbu-t Tawárikh, Tárikh-i Nizámi*, the *Zafar-náma*, Ghaffárí's *Nigáristán*, and the *Bahman-náma;* and from these, several chapters are copied verbatim.

Of the few copies which I know of this history, one is in the possession of Sháhzáda Mirzá Ghulám Fakhru-d dín Bahádur, son of the King of Dehlí; the second is in the Asiatic Society's Library, containing only the first three Books; the third is in the Library of Nawáb Siráju-l Mulk, minister of Haidarábád, labelled with the name of *Tárikh-i Táhirí*, under which it is often quoted by those authors who have consulted the work. There is also one at Mírat and one in the Motí Mahall Library at Lucknow. There is an imperfect copy labelled *Shigarf-náma* at the latter place. Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán Jhajjarí's copy contains 1193 pp. of 23 lines, and is probably the copy above noticed as belonging to the Sháhzáda. A personal examination shows that this imperfect copy is thus divided:

Book I. to p. 628.
Book II. to p. 860.
Book III. to p. 960.
Book IV.
Book V. p. 960 to p. 1193.
It does not contain the biographies.

Major Stewart mentions it in his Catalogue,[1] but though he

[1] Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library, p. 6.

divides it into five Books, it is evident from his table of contents that his volume comprises only the first three Books.

M. Fraehn classes the *Rauzatu-t Táhirín* among his desiderata.[1]

EXTRACTS.

Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám Ghorí led his army into Gujarát, and in the first action overthrew Ráí Bhoj Deo. In a second engagement between them, the Ráí succeeded in defeating the Sultán; but in a third which ensued, Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín completely routed his antagonist, and captured from him numerous elephants, together with all his regal equipage and property. On his return from Gujarát, he besieged Khusrú Malik, the Ghaznivide, in Lahore, and took from him some elephants and treasure.

Next year he marched his troops in the same direction, and entirely subdued Lahore, and appointing his own deputies to govern it, returned to Ghazní.

In India he captured several forts, such as those of Siálkot and Sirhind, and garrisoned them with his own men. Next season Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín made another expedition into India, and killed Rájá Pithaura in a single action. He left Sultán Kutbu-d dín Aibak, one of his favourite slaves, in the fort of Kuhrám, and returned to Ghazní.

The following year the Sultán came again to India, and proceeded to Kanauj, the Rájá of which place he reduced, took possession of three hundred elephants, and appointed Sultán Kutbu-d dín viceroy at Dehlí. * * *

Sultán Mu'izzu-dín soon after turned his attention towards reducing some disaffected Khokar chiefs, who had revolted on the confines of Lahore, during the Sultán's absence. Thence he advanced to Lahore, and recaptured the hills of Siwálik from the *zamíndárs*, and having ordered his army to Dehlí under the command of Kutbu-d dín Aibak, he left Lahore to return to Ghazní, but was assassinated at Damek on his way, in the

[1] *Indications Bibliographiques*, no. 216.

month of Sha'bán, 602 A.H., by some Khokars who had vowed to accomplish this object. Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín's reign lasted four years.

Sultán Muhammad 'Adil.[1]

On the death of Sháh Muhammad [Farmúlí] and his sons, Daulat Khán Lohání became so wealthy that, in imitation of Sultán Muhammad Tughlik Sháh, he used to fill little vessels with pieces of gold and silver, and throw them in different parts of the city, and whoever was fortunate enough to secure one of these vessels received the sum of 500 *tankas* from the royal treasury on presenting it.[2]

The nobles and officers of the army, finding Sultán Muhammad neglectful of the administration of the country, each assumed independence in his own country. Hímún, by caste a Bania, inhabitant of Rewárí, having ingratiated himself with the monarch, was appointed commander-in-chief of his army, and Shamshír Khán, a slave of Shír Khán, was invested with the title of Daulat Khán. Táj Khán Kiráni, with 'Imád and Sulaimán his brothers, revolted against the Sultán, and fled from Gwálior towards Bihár and Bengal. Sultán Muhammad 'Adalí being informed of their proceedings, detached some forces to pursue them closely. They came to action near Kanauj, where Táj Khán was defeated, and fled towards Chunár, and shut himself up in that exceedingly strong fortress. Hímún, accompanied by a large army, and well supplied with elephants, crossed the river Ganges, defeated these nobles, and captured the fort of Chunár, and fully established the Sultán's power by these repeated successes.

About this time Ibráhím Khán, son of Ghází Khán Súr, who was cousin of 'Adalí, and had married his sister, took

[1] [The Extract which appeared in the old volume has been reduced to the following short passage, retained as a specimen. The whole of it is borrowed from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, see Vol. V. p. 241.]

[2] Other authors say that arrows tipped with precious metal were dispersed and paid for at the above value, and with much more probability they ascribe the extravagant folly to Muhammad 'Adil, whose ignorance and absurdity obtained for him the nickname of 'Adalí (the foolish).

alarm and fled to Bayána. Sultán Muhammad despatched 'Ísá Khán Niází to chastise him. An action ensued in the vicinity of Kálpí, in which 'Ísá Khán Niází was defeated. Ibráhím Khán then repaired to Dehlí, where he assumed the title of Sultán Ibráhím Sháh, caused the *khutba* to be read and money to be coined in his own name, and extended his authority over several towns and districts.

In consequence of this rebellion, Sultán Muhammad 'Adalí was compelled to suspend his expedition against the Kiránís, and marched, without intermission, to the banks of the Jumna, where he encamped.

L.

MUNTAKHABU-T TAWÁRÍKH,
OR
AHSANU-L TAWÁRÍKH
OF
HASAN BIN MUHAMMAD.

THIS common title of *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* has been bestowed upon his General History by Hasan bin Muhammad al-Khákí al-Shírází, who came to India in the time of Akbar, and obtained different offices under the government. He tells us that from his early youth he imbibed a great taste for historical literature, which was so much increased on his arrival in India, "the abode of security," that he determined to write a work, which should embrace in one volume an account of the Prophets, Saints, Sultáns, Philosophers, Poets, and Wazírs. He has certainly fulfilled his intention as far as comprehensiveness goes, for he includes in it all the known Dynasties of Asia; but the separate biographies, except of the Prophets and Sultáns, seem to have been overlooked. The compilation is of little use to the Indian historian.

His authorities are many and good; some of them not to be found without difficulty in these days. He mentions the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, *Habíbu-s Siyar*, *Mujmal Fasihí*, Ibn Khallikán, *Jahán-kushái*, *Tárikh-i Rashídí* of Mirzá Haidar Kashmírí, *Akbar-náma*, *Tárikh-i Nizámí*, *Tárikh-i Firoz-sháhí* of Zíá Barní, *Tabakát-i Násirí*, *Tárikh-i Binákití*, *Jahán-árá*, and *Tárikh-i Abú-l Fazl Baihakí*. He states that he commenced the work before the close of Akbar's reign, and completed it in the fifth year of Jahángír's, A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610–11), in which year, as he tells us at the close of his history, he was appointed *díwán* of Patna.

Elphinstone quotes a book bearing this title, which he says was written in 1004 H., and is probably the same work as this. Briggs also quotes it in some of his notes to the subordinate dynasties. [The account which Elphinstone gives of the death of Bírbal, and for which he refers to this work, is in exact accordance with that translated from Núru-l Hakk at page 191. They were probably derived from a common source.][1]

The work consists of various detached histories, not divided, with the usual display of minute accuracy, into Books, Chapters, and Sections.

CONTENTS.

The Prophets.—Ancient Persian Kings.—Kings of Bábil and Assyria.—Israelites.—Yúnán.—Himyarites.—Yemen.—Ghassán.—Hirah.—Turkish Kings from Japhet.—Tátárs.—Mughals.—Muhammad and the first Khalífas.—Imáms.—Ummayides.—'Abbásides.—Táhirites.—Aghlabites.—Túlúnites.—Ikhshídites.[2]—Hamadánites.—Saffárians.—Sámánians.—Ghaznivides.—Atábaks.—Obaydites.—Khwárazm-sháhís.—Ghorians and Kings of Dehlí.—Aiyúbites.—Kings of the Arabs.—Rulers of Turkistán before Changíz Khán.—Changíz Khán and his descendants.—Various Rulers of Persia, Ilkhánians, etc., etc.—Various Rulers of India, viz. Dakhin, Gujarát, Málwá, Khándesh, Bengal, Jaunpúr, Kashmír, Sind, Multán, Osmanlis of Constantinople, Gúrgánians, Bábar, Humáyún, Akbar, Jahángír, and Safí Kings of Persia.

SIZE.—Small folio, containing 884 pages of 17 lines each; but the codex is here and there defective, and the history of the *Safí*, *Súfí*, or *Safaví* kings of Persia, mentioned in the copious table of contents, occupying nearly six pages of the preface, is not bound up with this volume. A note in the beginning of the volume states that it contains 522 folios, which was probably the correct number before the abstractions.

[1] Elphinstone, vol. ii. pp. 151, 292. The work is also quoted in the *Jínánu-l Firdans*.

[2] For an account of these Dynasties, see M. de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. pp. 124–154.

Of the portions relating to India, the history of the Ghaznivides occupies from fol. 86*v.* to fol. 90*v.*;—the ancient history of the Ghorians, and the Kings of Dehlí, from Shahábu-d dín to Ibráhím bin Sikandar Lodí, from fol. 141*r.* to fol. 157*v.*;—the minor Dynasties of India, from fol. 262*v.* to fol. 344*r.*; of which Gujarát occupies 18 folios, and Kashmír 20 folios. The account of Bábar begins at fol. 372*r.*, Humáyún 373*r.*, Akbar 385*v.*, and Jahángír 437*v.*

In these latter portions he has been very particular with regard to his dates, his official duties having probably taught him the value of correctness in such matters; for in the two short Extracts which follow, we find him at one time a paymaster, and at another a revenue accountant.

This work is rare. There is a copy of some antiquity in the Motí Mahall Library at Lucknow. The Tonk Nawáb has one, and so has Muhammad Hasan of Cawnpore, and Fakír Núru-d dín of Lahore. Other copies have been heard of. Muhammad Hasan's copy contains the whole of the Safaví dynasty.

EXTRACTS.

On the 5th Shahryúr, 1003 A.H., Muzaffar Husain Mirzá, son of Sultán Husain Mirzá, son of Baḥrám Mirzá Safaví, arrived from his *jágír* of Kandahár at the Court of the Emperor Akbar, and was appointed an *amír* of 5000. He had four sons, Bahrám, Sadar, Alfás, and Tahmásp Mirzá. The *sarkár* of Sambhal was assigned to him in *jágír*, and Kandahár to Sháh Beg Khán Kábulí.

On Saturday, the 9th Safar, 1004 A.H., Shaikh Faizí, "the chief of poets," died. He was born on the 1st Sha'bán, 954 A.H. The year 1004 A.H. was marked also by the death of Hakím (Humám), brother of Hakím Abú-l Fath, and by Prince Sháh Murád's conquest of Berár, a province of the Dakhin within the government of Nizámu-l Mulk. On the 18th Murdád of this year, a deer gored the Emperor, and hurt one of his testicles. The pain was very excruciating for twenty-nine days,

and his danger created a sensation throughout Hindústán, until he was cured. Rájá 'Alí Khán, ruler of Khándesh, was slain in battle this year in the Dakhin, where he was present with the royal army.

In the year 1005 A.H. a tent, which was pitched in the palace on the occasion of the festival of *Nauroz*, caught fire, and the articles collected there, according to custom on this festival, were consumed by the flames. On the 21st Farwardín, the Emperor proceeded on an excursion to Kashmír, where he sojourned for three months and twenty days. His Majesty afterwards came back to Lahore, and sent Prince Dániyál to Allahábád, to assume charge of the government of that *súba*. He was honoured with a *mansab* of 7000, and Kalíj Khán was appointed his private tutor. In this year Mirzá Rustam, son of Prince Sháh Murád, died at Lahore after a severe illness of six years and three months.

On the 17th of Shahryúr, 1006 A.H., the Emperor appointed Rái Hardás to act as minister conjointly with Khwája Shamsu-d dín.

On the 23rd Á'bán of this year, Minúchihr Beg, with five hundred Kazilbásh horse, waited upon the Emperor at Lahore, as an ambassador from Sháh 'Abbás, accompanied by Mír Zíáu-l Mulk, who had been sent to Sháh 'Abbás by the Emperor on a mission, in company with Yádgár Sultán.

On the 26th of this month the Emperor left Lahore for Á'gra, with the view of expediting the conquest of the Dakhin.

On the 22nd of Urdíbihisht Prince Sháh Murád died in the Dakhin. On the 2nd of the month Tír, Prince Dániyál was sent to subdue the Dakhin. In the latter part of this year Á'saf Khán was honoured with the post of general *díwán*.

On the 6th of Mihr, 1007 A.H., the Emperor, having placed Á'gra under the protection of Kalíj Khán, marched towards the Dakhin. Sultán Salím was sent to Ajmír, accompanied by Rájá Mán Singh and Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram, to chastise the *amírs* under the Ráná of Ú'dípúr. In this year the Emperor

granted Gujarát in *jágír* to the Khán-i 'Azam, and deputed Mirzá Shamshí, the eldest son of the Khán-i 'Azam, to settle the affairs of that province. The writer of this history was sent from the neighbourhood of Dahapúr, to take charge of the office of paymaster at Gujarát.

In 1008 A.H. Khwája Shamsu-d dín, who, after the march of the Emperor to Ágra, had been appointed to the office of the *diwán* of the Panjáb, expired. In the same year Prince Salím, who had been directed to chastise the Ráná of Udípúr, assumed the title of King when he reached the neighbourhood of Allahábád, plundered the treasury of Bihár, which contained three *lacs* of rupees, and resumed all the *jágírs* which had been bestowed upon the servants of the Court.

On the 6th of the month Shahryúr of this year Ahmadnagar in the Dakhin was taken by Prince Dániyál, Mirzá Sháh-rukh, the Khán-i Khánán, Mirzá Yúsaf Khán, and others.

[1] On Sunday, the 14th of Safar, 1019 A.H., an individual of the name of Kutb, born in Ujjah[2] of Multán, and who, by styling himself Sultán Khusrú, had gained over a considerable number of lawless Ujjainí Rájpúts to make common cause with him, entered the city of Patna, and made himself master of it, as well as of its fort, in consequence of the absence in Gorakhpúr of the Governor of Bihár, named Afzal Khán, son of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl. The treasure which was in the fort was distributed among his troops. Afzal Khán, on learning these circumstances, made forced marches, and on Friday, the 19th Safar, reached the banks of the Punpun, eight miles from Patna. Kutb, with the design of forcing him to an engagement, came out of the city, and a bloody battle ensued, in which Kutb was defeated. He then fled and sought safety within the fort, which at length fell into the hands of the governor, when Kutb was taken prisoner and put to death, on Sunday, the 21st of Safar.

[1] This account occurs in the fifth year of the *Memoirs*, p. 182, where it is said the imposition was made more perfect by showing the marks on his eyes where they had been burnt. [2] Uch.

After a month, orders were issued by the Emperor, directing that Ilyás Bahádur, 'Ináyat Beg Díwán, Shaikh Hasám of Benares, and several others who had dastardly fled from Patna, although the protection of that city had been committed to their charge by Afzal Khán, should be paraded on asses all the way to Ágra, with their heads and beards entirely shorn off, and dressed in female apparel.[1]

The writer of this history was at this time sent to Patna, the *díwání* of that place having been conferred on him.

[1] A similar punishment occurs in the *Jahán-kushá*, when Jalálu-d dín punished those who deserted him in the action at Baghdád.—Price, vol. ii. p. 415; Briggs, vol. iii. p. 459; *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*, p. 173.

LI.

TA'RĪ'KH-I FIRISHTA

OF

MUHAMMAD KA'SIM HINDU' SHA'H, FIRISHTA.

THIS work is by common consent, and not undeservedly, considered superior to all the other General Histories of India. The author, Muhammad Kásim Hindú Sháh, surnamed Firishta, was born at Astarábád, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, about A.D. 1570.[1] His father, a learned man, by name Ghulám 'Alí Hindú Sháh, left his native country, when our author was very young, and travelled into India. He eventually reached Ahmadnagar in the Dakhin, during the reign of Murtazá Nizám Sháh, and was appointed to instruct Mírán Husain, the son of Murtazá, in the Persian language; but he died soon after this selection, and Firishta was left an orphan in early youth.

The introduction which his father's acquirements had procured for him at Court, secured for the son the favour and patronage of Murtazá Nizám Sháh, so that we find him the confidential counsellor of his sovereign, and holding the office of Captain of the Guard, on the day that the King was deposed by Prince Mírán Husain, although he was then only sixteen or seventeen years of age.[2] He would have met the same fate as all the rest of the King's attendants, had not the Prince recognized him, and personally interposed to save his life.

When Mírán Husain was himself deposed and murdered, in less than a year after this event, Firishta appears to have taken

[1] This is according to the opinion of his translator, General Briggs; but M. Jules Mohl adduces a good reason for the probability of his having been born twenty years earlier, or A.D. 1550.—*Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 213.

[2] The importance of the post he occupied would seem to show that A.D. 1550 is a more probable date than 1570 for his birth.

no active part in the troubles and revolutions which ensued. As he was a Shí'a, his religious persuasions were an obstacle to his acquiring any influence at a Court where the Sunní was the predominant doctrine; and he not long after quitted Ahmadnagar, and proceeded to Bíjápúr, where he arrived, according to his own statement, in the year 1589, and was kindly received by the regent and minister, Diláwar Khán, by whom he was presented to Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh, the reigning monarch. It was not apparently till after the flight of the regent that he was again introduced at the Court of Bíjápúr, by 'Ináyat Khán of Shíráz. This occurred about the year 1593. The King, who had up to this period shown him no particular favour, received him graciously, and presented to him a copy of the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, remarking that no competent person had hitherto written a general history of the Muhammadans in India, except Nizámu-d dín Bakhshí, and that his work was too brief and imperfect, especially as concerned the Dakhin. The King at the same time enjoined him to supply the deficiency, and to avoid the falsehoods and flatteries which had always disfigured works of that nature. Previous to his introduction by 'Ináyat Khán, he seems to have been engaged in a military capacity, for he speaks of his being wounded and taken a prisoner by Jamál Khán, the usurper of Ahmadnagar,—but into the details of this there is no occasion to enter.

He shortly after effected his escape, and spent nearly the whole of the remainder of his life in high honour at the Court of Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh, devoting his leisure to the composition of his history. He speaks little of himself after this occurrence, but in A.D. 1594 he escorted the Princess Begam Sultána from Bíjápúr to Ahmadnagar, was present at her nuptials with Prince Dániyál Mirzá at Mungí Paitan, and attended her as far as Búrhánpúr in Khándesh, the capital of her husband's government.

After his return to Bíjápúr, he was deputed on a mission to the Emperor Jahángír, for the purpose, as General Briggs, with great probability, supposes, of conveying his sovereign's condolence on the death of Akbar, and his congratulations on

Jahángír's accession to the throne of the most potent empire in the East. Firishta overtook the Court of Jahángír near Lahore, on its route to Kashmír, in the year 1606. He probably took a circuitous route on his return, for we find him speaking of Rohtás in Bihár as being the strongest fortress he had seen in India. During his travels, which at one time reached even to Badakhshán, he must, of course, have extended his observation, and amassed the materials which were made use of in his history.

The date of his death is altogether unknown. Briggs supposes that it occurred in 1612, making him only forty-one years of age. M. J. Mohl supposes him to have revised his work up to at least 1623, making his age not less than seventy-three.

The work is divided into an Introduction, twelve Chapters, and a Conclusion.

CONTENTS.[1]

Introduction.—Upon the Hindús, and the progress of early Múhammadanism in India, pp. 5–30.

Book I.—The Kings of Ghazní and Lahore, pp. 31–91.

II.—The Kings of Dehlí, pp. 92–517.

III.—The Kings of the Dakhin, in six Chapters.—(1) Kulbarga, (2) Bíjápúr, (3) Ahmadnagar, (4) Tilanga, (5) Birár, (6) Bídar, pp. 518–730; and vol. ii. pp. 1–349.

IV.—The Kings of Gujarát, pp. 350–460.

V.—The Kings of Málwa, pp. 460–541.

VI.—The Kings of Khándesh, pp. 541—568.

VII.—The Kings of Bengal and Bihár, pp. 568–603.

IX.—The Rulers of Sind, pp. 625–639.

X.—The Kings of Kashmír, pp. 640–700.

XI.—An account of Malabár, pp. 700–710.

XII.—An account of the Saints of India, pp. 710–786.

Conclusion.—An account of the climate and geography of India, pp. 786–892.

[1] [Sir H. Elliot has omitted one Book, "The Kings of Multán;" No. VIII. according to his enumeration, No. IX. according to Morley. See Morley's Summary of the Contents, which is more detailed.—*Cat. of MSS. of Roy. As. Society.*]

SIZE.—Folio, in two volumes;—vol. i. comprising 730 pages, and vol. ii. 892 pages, each containing 20 lines.

The introduction gives a very imperfect view of Indian History previous to the Muhammadan invasion, and may be considered of equal value and authenticity with the first ten Books of Livy, or Dr. Henry's first volume of the History of Great Britain, based on the poems of Ossian.[1] Most of the other Indian historians have followed in his wake, and not one of them has yet attempted anything like a critical account of this dark period. Dynasties and races are confounded, in order to form an unbroken series of kings; but it is possible that some of the synchronisms between Persian and Indian heroes may be derived from traditionary poems or some ancient records, now unknown.

The value of the work commences from the Muhammadan period, the history of which he has compiled from the best sources available. It is also very full upon the minor dynasties, as might be expected from the circumstances under which it was written.

The author states in his preface that he is indebted for his materials to thirty-five different histories, but he has quoted in the body of his work several more, besides those he has enumerated, and such conscientious and excellent use has he made of his predecessors, so entirely has he exhausted all the prominent facts mentioned by them, that they have been rendered almost useless to any but the most anxious and attentive student of Indian History, who may hope here and there to glean something of interest which Firishta may have overlooked. Hence it is with great difficulty that any MSS. of those authorities are now procurable. He is also free from prejudice and partiality; he does not even flatter the prince in whose reign he lived; and though not entirely without sectarian bitterness when noticing Saiyids, and though not exempt from Muhammadan bigotry, when speaking of the wholesale massacres of the defenceless Hindús, he is more divested of that feeling

[1] See Sir J. Stoddart's Introduction, p. 51.

than any other author of his own religious creed who recounts similar atrocities.[1]

Dow, indeed, has observed of him, that "he seems as much divested of religious prejudices, as he is of political flattery or fear. He never passes a good action without conferring upon it its own reward of praise, nor a bad one, let the villanous actor be never so high, without stigmatizing it with infamy."[2] But some of the few Extracts which follow will show that this indiscriminate praise requires to be received with some qualification.

This history is styled by the author himself *Gulshan-i Ibráhímí* and *Nauras-náma*. The former name is derived from the king to whom it was dedicated, and hence it is frequently quoted under the name of *Tárikh-i Ibráhímí*. The latter name was given to it in commemoration of the new capital, Nauras, which his patron, Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh, commenced building in the year 1599.

Firishta presented the first draught of his history to Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh in A.D. 1606, but it is evident that during the rest of his life he was engaged in revising it, and even adding whole chapters, where it was deficient. It is supposed by General Briggs that, as the existence of Portuguese factories at Surát in A.D. 1611 is one of the last things mentioned, he completed the work about that period, and shortly after died; but he enters into a detailed description of Asír in A.D. 1614–15,[3] and there seems even reason to suppose that he mentions an event of a date even ten years subsequent to that.[4]

The first and second Books, giving an account of the Dehlí Emperors down to Akbar, were translated by Colonel A. Dow in 1768, in such a manner as to make Gibbon, with his usual critical sagacity, suspect, that "through some odd fatality the style of Firishta had been improved by that of Ossian," and complain of its not being "easy in his florid text to distinguish

[1] The work is praised in the *Inshá-i Nigár-náma*.—See Fleischer's Cat. no. 376. Briggs, vol. iii. pp. 165, 167, 188.

[2] *History of Hindostan*, Preface, p. vii.

[3] Firishta, Lith. Text, vol. ii. p. 567.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 568.

the version and the original."[1] Of his own work, Dow says: "The translator, being sensible of the impropriety of poetical diction in the grave narration of historical facts, has in many places clipped the wings of Firishta's turgid expressions, and reduced his metaphors into common language, without, however, swerving in the least from the original meaning of the author."[2] But he has, nevertheless, made some of the diction more poetical, and some of the expressions more turgid, than the original warrants, and has so interwoven his own remarks with those of the author, that it is sometimes difficult to separate them;[3] in such a manner too as sometimes to convey an entirely different meaning from that which Firishta intended, and some of the commonest sentences are misunderstood. His orthography is exceedingly loose and inaccurate, and has unfortunately been the model of later compilers.

The florid diction was occasionally used to gloss and embellish an imperfect comprehension of the original; but in favour of Dow, it is to be remembered, that this was one of the first works translated by an Englishman from Persian, that its publication gave an impulse to the study of that language, and that the means of acquiring a full knowledge of it were difficult. In his third volume he leaves Firishta, and abstracts several histories of a later period.[4]

In 1786 Mr. Anderson published in the *Asiatic Miscellany* the text and translation of the eleventh Book. The History of the Dakhin has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott, but not with such exactness as to merit the reputation he has acquired. His work was published at Shrewsbury in two volumes, 4to., in 1794, and has been republished in London in 4to. and 8vo. The first is devoted to Firishta. The second contains the annals of Aurangzeb's reign, and an account of the decline of the monarchy, which will be more particularly noticed hereafter, in a later volume. The names of Firishta and his

[1] *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. pp. 319, 339.
[2] *History of Hindostan*, Preface, p. ix.
[3] See *Mod. Trav. India*, vol. i. p. 216.
[4] See *Biog. Univer.* s.v.

translator have been most amusingly combined by M. de la Richarderie into *Jonathan Schof Heristal.*[1] Stewart also translated a short portion of the tenth Book as a specimen in the Appendix to his Catalogue.[2]

But the translation of the entire work by General Briggs, in four vols. 8vo., 1829, has thrown others into the shade, and is by far the most valuable store-house of facts connected with the Muhammadan Dynasties of India which is accessible to the English reader. He has added also some valuable Appendices, and filled up some of the histories deficient in the original. As the author says that he had failed in procuring any written accounts of the Kutb-sháhí, 'Imád-sháhí, and Baríd-sháhí Dynasties, the translator has supplied an Appendix to the history of the Kings of Golconda, which extends to 147 pages. He has given also a chronological epitome of the wars of the Portuguese in India, as connected with the history of the Dakhin, tables of comparative chronology, an alphabetical list of the proper names, titles and Oriental words, with explanations attached, an alphabetical list of names of countries, mountains, rivers, and towns, and interspersed several valuable notes throughout the work.

He has, however, omitted the history of the Saints of Hindústán, forming the twelfth book of the original, which, though containing little historical information, gives a good idea of the general sentiments, legends, and superstitions current in India, respecting the doctrines, studies, penances, miracles, and follies of the Saints of the Indian Calendar. Some of them indeed have played no inconsiderable part in the history of their respective periods by their counsels and by the spiritual influence they exercised over the princes, who were their obedient disciples or devoted admirers. There are, also, other omissions of a more important character. A few passages have been taken from the single reign of Fíroz Sháh, to illustrate the difference which is found to prevail between the translation and the original.[3] It

[1] *Biblioth. des Voyages*, tom. v. p. 76. [2] Tippoo Sultan's Library, p 259.

[3] These omissions are rare in the first part. There are very few in the Ghaznivides.

arises, partly, from the translator having sometimes followed Scott and Dow without alteration, but, chiefly, from his having used one of the early editions of A.H. 1020 for translation, and not having availed himself of the many additions which were made by the author up to the latest period of his life. If a new edition of the first translation would be too arduous a task for the accomplished translator, a supplementary volume of additions and corrections, derived from the lithographed text, would be very desirable; for though they may be of no importance to the general reader, they are essential to be known to the scholar, for the purpose of critical inquiry, and to enable him to dispense altogether with the original, which, with the present translation, admirable as it is in other respects, he cannot do. Some of the additional passages in these few Extracts contain relations of facts, and names of men, titles, and places, which are of no inconsiderable importance to the correct understanding of Indian history.

The translation of General Briggs has been reviewed in the Vienna *Jahrbücher*, by J. Von Hammer.[1] The review is somewhat uncandid, for it takes little notice of the merits of the work, and confines itself principally to censures upon its "monstrous orthography and erroneous calculation of dates." Of the latter, he adduces several which certainly evince a want of care, or, what is more probable, the use of a set of incorrect tables; but of the former the system is not by any means so faulty as to deserve the epithet of "monstrous." The translator explains his own system in the preface, and he has adhered to it closely. It is far superior to any which had hitherto been used for a work of equal extent. Every name is so written as to show that the translator knew how the original was spelt, which certainly cannot be said for Dow, or for most Oriental translators,—so written, as to enable any scholar to write the original word correctly,—and so written, moreover, as not to mislead the ignorant reader as to the correct pronunciation. It is to be remembered, also,

[1] *Jahrbücher*, no. li. pp. 36-53; see also no. liii.

that the translation was meant for Englishmen, and that any Englishman not versed in Oriental literature would run less chance of error in pronouncing the words written in this translation, than he would if they were written according to the most systematic method, adapted to please the eyes of critics and scholars.

If we take some of the words selected by the reviewer, many of them marked as monstrous with notes of admiration, we shall be able to judge of the propriety of his strictures. For *Kutbeddin*, says the reviewer, the translator writes Kootb-ood-deen! For *Alaeddin*, Alla-ood-deen! For *Ghaiaseddin*, Gheias-ood-deen! For *Mesud*, Masaood. For *Ibek*, Eibuk. For *Dikhen*, Deccan. For *Gudschurat*, Guzerat. For *Dschihangir*, Jehangir. For *Abunassr*, Aboo-nusr. For *Terdschumet Jemini*, Turjooma Yemni.

These are taken from two pages[1] only, the italics representing the reviewer's system; and, really, to people who have ears and eyes, setting aside whether they are Englishmen or not, the reviewer's corrections show to little advantage. Where foreigners have *dsch* to represent *j*, no one can complain if we have *oo* to represent *u* or *e*,—as the reviewer writes it, with decided incorrectness; or *ma* for *met*, which, though perhaps correct in writing, is most certainly incorrect in pronunciation. On what principle of spelling can *Dikhen* be justified? These petty cavillings are unworthy of one of the most distinguished Orientalists of the Continent, but they are not confined to our translator—the profoundest scholars of the world have not escaped his critical reprehensions, which he sometimes lavishes with a most unsparing hand, and very often on the most trifling lapses of spelling, version, or punctuation. If any one wishes to see more on this subject, let him consult the "many hundred proofs of the reviewer's own gross ignorance" by Diez,[2] and read the

[1] *Jahrbücher*, no. li. pp. 38, 39.

[2] *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Literatur nebst vielen hundert Proben von der groben Unwissenheit*, etc., etc. Halle und Berlin, 1815. There is a disparaging remark upon Diez in the *Gemäldesaal*, vol. iv. p. 48.

two-and-twenty illustrious names, adduced by Fallermayer, which our critic has "handled with remarkable severity."[1]

I have occasion myself to point out a few deficiencies in Briggs' version, but I will endeavour to so without captiousness, for I feel under great obligations to one who has saved me so much trouble by the labour he has imposed upon himself.

The translation has also been reviewed by M. Jules Mohl, but in an impartial and critical spirit, in a series of articles replete with information on the subjects discussed in them. His biography of Firishta is the fullest and most correct which we have, being derived not from the translation, but the original, subsequently lithographed at Bombay, to which he has devoted the chief portion of his able review. While he gives their due meed of credit to all the translators, he very fairly exposes the defects in each of them, and shows how worthy he himself is to undertake a faithful translation of the whole work.[2]

The history of Firishta is universally known in India,—at least by name, and there are few large towns without a copy. If we add to these the works labelled "*Nauras-náma*" and "*Tárikh-i Ibráhimi*," which few of the present ignorant generation know to be the same as Firishta's history, we shall find that it is probably more common than any secular work of equal size in this country. There are several manuscripts also of correctness and elegance, but all must yield the palm to the lithographed edition of 1831, which, like so many other Persian works printed at the Bombay Presidency, shames the lithographic press of this side of India.

We have no critical account of the Manuscripts used in collating this edition. To General Briggs, however, is due the merit of having prepared it for the press, though his absence prevented his superintending its execution. All we learn of it from him is, that he "procured a copy of Firishta in Persian,

[1] *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, vol. ix. coll. 531, 532. Hammer is also attacked in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. iv. p. 129 (or 139).

[2] *Journal des Savants*, 1840, pp. 212–226, 354–372, 392–403.

which contained several valuable annotations and corrections. This copy has since been carefully collated with several others, and a new and correct edition was left by me at Bombay in 1827 in order to be printed."[1] He confesses himself indebted to Mír Khairát 'Alí Khán, commonly called Mushták, who assisted him in his labours, who had devoted his whole life to historical inquiries, and who travelled for several years successively through the Dakhin, making copies of every Persian inscription on stone to be found in all the towns of note in that country.

It is strange that, notwithstanding the care bestowed by General Briggs on this work, his name nowhere appears as having any concern in it. It is without preface, and without title-page, but there is a fly-leaf at the end of the second volume, informing us that the work was undertaken by order of Mr. Elphinstone, and executed by the care, and according to the arrangement, of Captain George Jervis; that the first volume was written by Mirzá Hasan of Shíráz, the second by Mirzá Hamzah of Mázenderán. M. Jules Mohl[2] exonerates Captain Jervis from the charge of taking credit to himself for the labours of others, inasmuch as that officer was at the Cape of Good Hope at the time that the last sheets were passing through the press, but attributes blame to the Persian lithographer, who no doubt wished to ingratiate himself with his immediate master by this insinuating flattery.

On the arrival of the impressions in London, the General took care to add a fitting title-page, which states that the work was "edited and collated from various Manuscript copies by Major-General John Briggs, assisted by Munshí Mír Khairát 'Alí Khán Mushták, of Akbarábád."

There are other omissions which give us cause to regret that this edition was not more carefully lithographed under European superintendence. To be sure, the names of people and places

[1] [General Briggs presented four distinct MSS. of Firishta to the Royal Asiatic Society, and they are now in the Library—one of these at least was used in the collation.]

[2] *Journal des Savants*, tom. ix. p. 402.

are written with unusual, though not entire, accuracy; the addition of marginal dates is a great convenience, and the handwriting of the lithographers is clear and elegant; but we have no list of variants to enable us to judge of the propriety of the selected reading; we have not a single stop, or super-lineation, throughout the whole work; the rubrics, or large letters, are not properly contrasted; the stones have been corrected before impression, and not always with care; several dates in the text had been omitted from the margin; and the dates of the page-headings are carelessly noted—the year 854, for instance, is preserved throughout the first 462 pages of the second volume, although several ages and dynasties are embraced within that space.

The Vocabulary of difficult and obsolete words, which was promised, has not been included in the work. It would be worth while to supply the omission even now, by making a separate impression of this Appendix; for though the style of Firishta is very pure and easy, he takes from other authors words which are not always to be found in our dictionaries, and which require explanation, only to be obtained by referring to the original passages where they occur.

EXTRACTS.[1]

Mahmúd of Ghazní.[2]

Mahmud having thus settled his affairs in India, returned in the autumn to Ghizny, where he remained during the winter. In the spring of the year A.H. 399 (A.D. 1008) he determined again to attack Anundpal, Raja of Lahore, for having lent his aid to Dawood, during the late defection in Multan. Anundpal, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rajas of Ujein, Gwaliar,

[1] These Extracts are taken from Briggs's translation, and his spelling is retained.
[2] Briggs, vol. i. p. 46.

Kalunjar, Canauj, Dehli, and Ajmir, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and Mahomedans arrived in sight of each other on a plain, on the confines of the province of Peshawur, where they remained encamped forty days without coming to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindu females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war; and the Gukkurs, and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Mahomedans, who were obliged to entrench their camp.

Mahmud, having thus secured himself, ordered 6000 archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gukkurs, who, in spite of the King's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Mahomedan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Mahomedans in a few minutes were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter, till, on a sudden, the elephant upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls,[1] and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindus, who, seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also. Abdulla Taee, with 6000 Arabian horse, and Arslan Jazib, with 10,000 Turks, Afghans, and Khiljis, pursued the enemy day and night, so that 20,000 Hindus were killed in the retreat. Of the spoil, thirty elephants (besides other booty) were brought to the King. . . .

[2] When Param Deo, and the Raja of Ajmir, and others, had

[1] See Note in Appendix.

[2] [This is a new translation.—See Briggs, vol. i. p. 78.]

assembled a large army and taken possession of the roads, in order to oppose the Sultan, the latter found it impracticable to face them, and therefore marched to Multan by way of Sind. On his journey thither, owing to the scarcity of forage at some places, and of water at others, his army experienced great trouble and distress. It was with considerable difficulty he at length reached Ghizny in the year 417 A.H. It is said that when the Sultan was proceeding to Multan through the deserts of Sind, he gave orders to procure a guide to conduct him on his journey. A Hindu offered his services, but treacherously led the army through a path, which brought them to a place where no water could be procured. When the army had passed on for a whole day and night, and found no water at any place, they were sore set, and everything wore the appearance of the horrors of the day of judgment. The Sultan then asked his guide the reason why he had brought them to such a fearful pass: the Hindu replied that he was a worshipper of Somnath, and had conducted the King and his army to the desert, with a view to their destruction. The Sultan being exceeding wroth, ordered his men to put the Hindu to death.

On that very night the Sultan retired from his camp to a neighbouring spot, and prostrating himself on the earth, offered up prayers, mingled with lamentations, to Almighty God, imploring deliverance from the danger in which he was placed. After the first watch of the night had elapsed, a light was seen towards the north. The army, according to the Sultan's command, directed their march towards the light, and by the morning found themselves in safety on the borders of a lake. Thus the piety of the Sultan rescued him from the brink of destruction.[1] * *

It is mentioned in the *Jama-ool-Hikaiat*, that when the Sultan on one occasion saw an idol in a Hindu temple poised in the air without any support, he was much surprised at the sight, and inquired of the philosophers of the times the cause of the pheno-

[1] [This story, rather differently told, is given in the *Jámiu-l Hikáyát*, *suprà*, Vol. II. p. 192.]

menon. They answered that the roof and walls of the building were entirely made of magnet, and that the idol, which was made of iron, being equally attracted from the different points of the magnetic edifice, was thus naturally suspended in the middle of it. On one of the walls being destroyed by the orders of the Sultan, the idol fell to the ground.

Firoz Sháh Tughlik.[1]

At[2] the time of the death of Mahomed Toghluk, his cousin, *Malik* Feroze *Bárbek*, nephew of Gheiasu-ood-deen Toghluk, was in the camp. Mahomed Toghluk having a great affection for him, *inasmuch as he had paid the most devoted attention to the King during his illness*, proposed making him his successor, and accordingly recommended him as such on his death-bed to his nobles. On the King's demise, the army fell into the utmost disorder; to remedy which, Feroze gained over the majority of the Indian chiefs to his party, and prevailed on the Mogul mercenaries to remove to some distance from the camp, till he should be able to compose the differences which existed in the army. *Malik Firoz Bárbek thought it expedient, with reference to Altún Bahádur and the nobles who had come from Amír Kazghan as auxiliaries, to bestow dignities and honorary dresses upon them, according to their respective ranks, and to give them their dismissal, remarking that it was not improbable, that dissen-*

[1] Briggs, vol. i. p. 444.

[2] In the five passages which follow from the reign of Firoz Tughlik, the italics represent the additions which are to be found in the lithographed edition. [These additions and emendations are evidently the work of a competent hand, and are therefore re-printed just as they stood in the original edition. It is but fair, however, to General Briggs to observe, that the passages omitted would seem to have been designedly condensed or left out in order to shorten a lengthy work. Thus in this paragraph the words "(Feroze) prevailed on the Mogul mercenaries, etc. etc.," are not in the original, but are employed to convey the sense of the passage which here follows in italics. Again, lower down, the passage, "the time was favourable for them," is the translator's compression of the words which precede and follow it; so likewise, the subsequent phrase, "which was still in disorder," conveys briefly the sense of the words here added. It will be seen from these examples that the translation conveys an accurate representation of the author's meaning, though his words are not always fully and literally rendered.—Ed.]

sions might arise between them and the soldiers of Hindústán, which would lead to disturbances, and therefore that it was better, before he marched, that they should break up their camp and depart. Altún Bahádur concurred in the propriety of this recommendation, and immediately striking his camp, pitched it at a distance of ten miles. Amír Nowroze *Kurkin*, the Mogul chief who commanded the troops of his nation in the army, *son-in-law of Turmesharín Khán, who in the time of Muhammad Tughlak Sháh had come to India, and been enrolled among the chief nobles of the land, now acting a most ungrateful part,* quitted the camp on the same night, and joined Altoon Tash, the leader of the auxiliary troops, to whom he suggested that *the King of Hindustan was dead, that the army was without a leader and totally disorganized,* that the time was favourable for them, *and that it was their business as soldiers,* to plunder the late King's treasure *on its march the next day,* and then to retreat to their native country *with all the money and jewels they could possess themselves of.* Altoon Tash being persuaded to enter into this scheme, the Moguls returned next morning to the camp, which was still in disorder, *to the army which was moving on like a caravan, without a guide, and without system or arrangement,* and after a sharp shirmish, loaded several camels with treasure, *plundering several treasure-chests which were laden upon camels, took captive many children of both sexes, and were not sparing in their pillage.* In order to secure himself from further depredation, Feroze (*the Umrás of Sultán Muhammad, oppressed with a thousand fears and alarms*) led the army to Sevustan, commonly called Sehwan, and *during the night* took every possible precaution to defend himself (*themselves,*) against the Moguls, *and thought rest and sleep a forbidden indulgence.* Meanwhile the officers of his army, *Makhdúm-záda 'Abbási Sheikh-u-Sheiyúk Násira-u-dín Mahmúd, and U'dhí, better known as Chirágh Dehli, and other wise and holy men, grandees and chiefs, all with one accord* having waited on *Malik* Feroze *Bárbek, represented that the late King had constituted him his successor,*

and that no other nobleman was more worthy of the honour, and entreated him *not to reject the cares of state, but* to ascend the throne, to which, after some hesitation, *and declaring that he would proceed on a pilgrimage to the two holy cities and Hijáz, when he could no longer resist their importunities*, he gave his assent, and was accordingly proclaimed King *on the twenty-third of Muharram, after he had passed through more than fifty stages of his illustrious life.* On the same day he gave orders to ransom the prisoners, who during the late disorders had fallen into the hands of the turbulent people of Tutta *and the Moghuls*, and on the third day he marched against the *rebellious people of Tutta* (*Thatta*), *and the* Mogul auxiliaries, whom he defeated, *that he might take any of them prisoners wherever they might be found, or that he might slay them*, and took many of their chiefs prisoners, *in short, many of the Moghul chiefs were seized and put to death. Amír Nauroz Kurkín and Altún Bahádur, seeing no further advantage in delay, hastened to their own country with the utmost precipitation, and even the people of Tutta (Thatta), who had proceeded to the greatest extremities in their insubordination and rebellion, placed their feet within the boundary of allegiance. The accession of Sultán Fíroz Sháh was hailed as a blessing by the people, and they prayed for his health and wealth with all earnestness. Shortly after, he marched by uninterrupted stages from Sewastán to the fort of Bakar.*[1] * * *

[1] The following is Dow's translation:—"When the death of Mahommed happened, his cousin Feroze was in the imperial camp. He was nephew to the emperor Tughlick; and Mahommed having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and, for that purpose, recommended him upon his death-bed to the Omrahs. Upon Mahommed's demise, the army fell into the utmost confusion. Feroze, having gained over the majority of the Omrahs to the party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries to move to some distance from the camp to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience. Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that now was the time to plunder the late Emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in very great confusion, and after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Feroze, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took

In the year A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353) the King, having hunted at Kallanore, *at the foot of the hills,* caused, *on his return,* a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty. In the month of Shuwal of the same year, he appointed Khan Jehan to the charge of Dehli, *with unlimited powers,* and himself marched *with a large army* towards Luknowty, to subdue Haji Elias. This chief had assumed royal honours and the title of Shums-ood-deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares. On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the Zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. *Udí Sing, Mukaddam of that place, came to pay his respects, and presented a suitable offering in money, together with two elephants, and was received with distinguished favour; and the Rái of Gorakhpúr also paid up the arrears of tribute which had accumulated for several years, and both of them accompanied the King on his march.*

The King then penetrated as far as Bundwa, one of the stations of Haji Elias, *the established residence of the ruler of Bengal,* and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, *which is a place of exceeding strength, with the river on one side, and jungle on the other.* The King *left Bandwa without molesting the inhabitants,* and pursuing him *to Yekdulla,* arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul. An action ensued on the same day; but Haji Elias having entrenched his position very strongly, reduced the King to the necessity of surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir, Feroze, intending to change his ground, *as the camp had become offensive,* and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to

every possible means to defend himself against the avarice of the mercenaries. The Omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Feroze, and entreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favoured the Omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed Emperor. He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who during the late confusion had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta; and upon the third day he marched against the Mogul mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country."

reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the King's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that forty-four elephants and many standards, *as well as the royal canopy, and state equipages,* fell into the King's hands. *Many of the foot-soldiers were slain, and many taken prisoners. The next day the Sultán encamped on the field of battle, and gave orders that the captives of Lakhnauti should be released.* The rainy season soon after came on with great violence, *as it always does in the province of Bengál, and the Sultán observed, that as he had gained a victory, and captured the emblems of royalty, he would depart, and return in the following year.* Shortly after peace was concluded; and the King returned to Dehli *without effecting his object.*

In the year 755 Feroze built the city of Ferozabad, *on the banks of the river Jún* (Jumna), adjoining that of Dehli, and on the 12th of Shaban he marched *on a hunting expedition* to Depalpoor, and constructed a *large* canal forty-eight coss in length, from the Sutlej to the Kugur. In the year 757 he constructed another canal, between (*from*) the hills of Mundir and Surmore from the Jumna, into which he led seven other minor streams, which all uniting, ran in one channel through Hansy, and from thence to Raiseen (*Absin*), where he built a strong fort, which he called Hissar Feroze. *Below the fort, near the palace, he excavated a lake, which he filled from the waters of the canal.* He also conveyed an aqueduct (*a canal*) from the Kugur, over the river (*which passing by the fort of*) Sursutty, to the village of Perí Kehra, (*entered the stream of Sirkhatra*), where he founded a city, named after him, Ferozabad. At the same time he introduced another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake he caused to be constructed at Hissar Feroze.[1] In the month of Zeehuj an honorary dress and a letter of congratula-

[1] [There is another independent and somewhat different version of this passage in a note, *suprà*, Vol. IV. p. 8.]

tion on his accession, (*diploma*) were presented from Abool Futteh Aboo-Bukr Aby-Rubeea Sooliman *'Abbási* Caliph of Egypt, *signifying that he had conferred on him the countries of Hindústán, and conveying a recommendation in behalf of the Bahmania Kings of the Dekhan.*) In the same month also, he received an embassy, *which brought many splendid and rare presents,* with fresh proposals of peace, *from Háji Ilyás, entitled Shamsu-d-dín Sháh,* from *Lakhnauti and* Bengal, which Feroze accepted, and soon after ratified, *and then dismissed the ambassadors with honours and distinction.*[1] * * *

From thence the King marched towards the mountains of Nagrakote, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow;

[1] "In the year 754 the Emperor hunted at Callanore. He ordered upon his return, a palace to be built upon the banks of the Sursuti; and towards the end of the year appointed one Jehan to the viceroyship of Dehli. He himself in the mean time marched towards Bengal to subdue Elias, who had assumed the imperial title, and possessed himself of all Bengal and Behar, even to Benares. When he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the Zemindars of that place, having brought proper presents, were admitted to his presence. Feroze having penetrated as far as Pundna, one of the residences of the princes of Bengal, Elias retreated to a strong post, whither the Emperor pursued him. An action ensued, but Elias secured himself in his post, which obliged the Emperor to surround him, the place being almost inaccessible. Things having continued in this situation for twenty days, Feroze, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, advanced out of their post, and drew up in order of battle. But when they saw that the Emperor was preparing to attack them, they again retreated within their works, but with such precipitation and confusion, that forty-four elephants and many standards fell into the Emperor's hands. The rainy season coming on with great violence, a kind of peace was patched up between them, and the Emperor returned disappointed to Dehli.

"In the year 755, Feroze built the city of Ferozeabad adjoining to that of Dehli: and in the following year marched to Debalpoor, where he made a canal one hundred miles in length, from the Suttuluz to the Jidger. In the year 757, between the hills of Mendouli and Sirmore, he cut a channel from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams; one of which he brought to Hassi, and from thence to Beraisen, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew soon after a canal from the Cagar, passing by the walls of Sursutti, and joined it to the rivulet of Kera, upon which he built a city named after him, Ferozeabad. This city he watered with another canal from the Jumna. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a commodious water-carriage from place to place.

"An embassy about this time arrived with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal, which Feroze accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty."—*Dow.*

they brought him some ice. The King said, "At the time my late liege-lord Sultán Muhammad Tughlak Sháh arrived here, and they brought him iced sherbet for his beverage, he refused to take it, because I was not with him to partake of it." He then gave orders that some elephant and camel-loads of sugar, which were in camp, should be converted into sherbet and iced, and distributed throughout the whole army, in memory of Sultán Muhammad Tughlak Sháh. The Raja of Nagrakote, after sustaining some loss, submitted, but was restored to his dominions. The name of Nagrakote was, on this occasion, changed to that of Mahomedabad, in honour of the late King. The people of Nagrakote told Feroze, that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them, *which the Brahmins had made at the time that conqueror was in these parts, and placed within their temple, and that now that image was the idol of the people of this country.* The name by which it was then known was Jwalamooky. In this temple was a fine library of Hindee books, consisting of 1300 volumes. Feroze ordered *sent for some of the wise men of that religion, and ordered some of the books to be translated, and especially directed* one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into prose (*verse*) in the Persian language, by *one of the celebrated poets of that period*, Eiz-ood-Deen, Khalid Khany, and called it Dulayil Feroze Shahee. *It is in truth a book replete with various kinds of knowledge, both practical and theoretical.* Some historians state, that *Sultán* Feroze *Sháh Bárbek* on this occasion broke the idols of Nagrakote, and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh, filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmins, who were then paraded through the camp.[1] * * *

[1] "The Emperor, having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called Ferozepoor. He, from that place, marched towards the mountains of Nagracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. He, however,

In the year 774, the Wizier Mullik Mokbil (*Makbúl*), entitled Khan Jehan, died, and his *eldest* son, Joona Shah, succeeded to his office and titles. The following year was marked by the death of Zuffur Khan, Governor of Guzerat, who was succeeded *in his office and titles* by his *eldest* son, Duria Khan. During the next year, *on the 12th of Safar*, the King was plunged into affliction by the death of his favourite son, Futteh Khan, a prince of great promise, *and the back of his strength was bent by the burden of grief. Finding no remedy, except in patience and resignation, he buried him in his own garden, and performed the customary ceremonies upon the occasion. On account of the excess of his grief, the shadow of his regard was withdrawn from the cares of state, and he abandoned himself entirely to his sorrows. His nobles and counsellors placed their heads on the ground, and represented that there was no course left but to submit to the divine will, and that he should not show further repugnance to administer the affairs of his kingdom. The wise king acceded to the supplications of his friends and well-wishers, and, in order to dispel his sorrows, devoted himself to sport, and in the vicinity of new Dehli he built a wall of two or three parasangs in circumference, planted within the enclosure shady trees, and converted it into a hunting park. The ruins of it remain to this day.*[1] * * *

[2] As he could gain no information of Kurgoo himself, *who remained concealed amongst the ravines and precipices of the hill-*

reduced the Raja of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions, changing the name of Nagracut to that of the city of Mahommed, in honour of the former Emperor. Feroze was told here that the goddess whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagracut was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Sekundur, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamucki. In the temple there was also at that time a fine library of the books of the Brahmins, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes. Feroze ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into the Persian language, and called it the Arguments of Feroze."—*Dow.*

[1] "In the year 774, Jehan the vizier died, and his son was honoured with his titles. Nothing remarkable happened till two years after, when the Emperor was plunged into affliction, by the death of his favourite son Fatte, a prince of great expectations."—*Dow.*

[2] Briggs, vol. i. p. 457.

country of Kamáún, eluding pursuit like so much quicksilver, and no one knew whether he was dead or alive, and as the rainy season was approaching, the standards resplendent with victories returnèd to the camp whence they set out. The King appointed one Mulfik Dawood, an Affghan, *whom he exalted to a very high rank*, with a body of troops, to remain at Sumbhul, with orders to invade the country of Kutehr every yeár, *to commit every kind of ravage and devastation*, and not to allow it to be inhabited until the murderer was given up. The King himself also, under pretence of hunting, marched annually in that direction *until the year* 787, to see that his orders were fulfilled, *and to do what Malik Dáúd had left undone;* and for six years not an inhabitant was to be seen in that district, nor was *a single jarib of* the land cultivated. *Not a soul slept at night in his hut, and several thousands of Hindús were slaughtered to avenge the death of those three Saiyids. In the above-mentioned year he built an exceedingly strong fortress in Bisauli, seven coss from Badáún, and called it Firozpúr; but the common people, jocose amid all the oppression they had suffered, called it A'khirínpúr (the last city); and, in truth, it happened as they predicted, for the grace of God did not suffer him to construct any more forts, or to lay the foundations of new cities and towns, and consequently the fortress continued to be called A'khirínpúr.*[1]

Mahomed Shah Báhmaní.[2]

The Raja of Beejanuggur, notwithstanding his vast army,

[1] "The Emperor, enraged at this villany, marched immediately that way, and took severe vengeance upon the associates and kindred of the assassin, putting them without distinction to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Cumaoon, and was protected by the Indian princes of those parts. Feroze ordered a detachment of his army against them. They brought back near thirty thousand of those unhappy mountaineers, who were all condemned to slavery. The Emperor's justice in this case degenerated into extreme severity. Neither did the misfortunes brought upon those miserable captives satisfy his thirst for revenge. He returned every year, under pretence of hunting, to that unhappy country; but the people, and not the beasts of the forest, were his prey. He by degrees cut off all the inhabitants, and converted whole provinces into a wilderness."—*Dow.* [2] Briggs, vol. ii. p. 311.

consisting of thirty thousand cavalry, besides infantry, was so alarmed, that he sent off his treasure and elephants towards his capital the next morning, preparatory to engaging or retreating, as he might deem most advisable. The night being stormy and heavy rain falling, the elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently in the mud, and were unable to advance above four miles from the camp. Mahomed Shah, hearing of the movement of the Hindoos, immediately marched against them, leaving his tents standing. Towards the dawn he arrived at the Raja's camp; and the alarm being given, so great was the consternation, that the infidels fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Adony, leaving everything behind them. Mahomed Shah fell in with that part of the camp composing their market and baggage, and put to death, without distinction, men, women, and children, free and slave, to the number of seventy thousand souls. According to the *Tohfut-oos-Sulateen*, two thousand elephants, three hundred gun-carriages and battering rams, seven hundred Arabian horses and a *sing'hasun* set with jewels, were included in the booty of the King; all other articles were left to the officers and soldiers. Mahomed Shah, regarding this victory as the omen of others, after passing the rainy season near Moodkul, and being reinforced by Khan Mahomed from Dowlutabad, marched against the infidels in Adony, on the plains of which place, near the Toongbudra, the Raja of Beejanuggur had taken up his station, having given the command of Adony to his sister's son. Here he had collected a great army of soldiers, together with many elephants, and all the munitions of war which he possessed. * * *

At this time, a favourite remarked to the King, "that he had only sworn to slaughter one hundred thousand Hindoos, and not to destroy their race altogether." The King replied, "that though twice the number required by his vow might have been slain, yet till the Ray satisfied the musicians, he would neither make peace nor spare the lives of his subjects." To this the ambassadors, who had full powers, immediately agreed, and the money was paid on the instant. Mahomed Shah then said,

"Praise be to God, that what I ordered has been performed! I would not let a light word be recorded of me in the pages of history."

The ambassadors, seeing the King pleased, bowed their foreheads to the ground, and besought him to hear from them a few words. Being permitted to speak, they observed, that no religion required the innocent to be punished for the crimes of the guilty, more especially helpless women and children; if Krishn Ray had been in fault, the poor and feeble inhabitants had not been accessary to his errors. Mahomed Shah replied, that the decrees of Providence had ordered what had been done, and that he had no power to alter them. The ambassadors observed, that as the bestower of kingdoms had conferred on him the government of the Deccan, it was probable that his successors and the princes of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, which made it advisable to avoid cruelty in war; and they proposed, therefore, that a treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless and unarmed inhabitants in future battles. Mahomed Shah, struck with the good sense of this proposal, took an oath, that he would not, hereafter, put to death a single enemy after a victory, and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct. From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects. Mahomed Shah, after he had thus received satisfaction, returned to Koolburga, visiting on his way Sheikh Siraj-ood-deen, to whose prayers as well as to the charities sent to Meeca with his mother, he ascribed his successes over the Hindoos. * * *

Mahomed Shah was buried by the side of his father,—and the words "All is vanity" were engraved by his orders on his tomb. Happy the king who passes a reign like his, and of whom such memorials remain! He was respected in his life, and after his death remembered on account of his virtues.

According to the *Siraj-ool-Towareekh*, so much treasure and such numbers of elephants, as were collected in the household of

Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, were never possessed by any other prince of that dynasty. He had three thousand male and female elephants; and in the reign of any other king we only read of two thousand. The sums of gold accumulated by him, according to the same author, exceeded those acquired by other princes a full half. No prince before him ever so far reduced the Rajas and Zemindars of the Carnatic, from whom he wrested much of the accumulated riches of seven hundred years; and it is computed that in his reign nearly five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the swords of the warriors of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced, that it did not recover for several ages. Mahomed Shah reigned seventeen years.

Ahmad Sháh Báhmaní.[1]

Ahmud Shah, without waiting to besiege the Hindoo capital, overran the open country, and wherever he went, put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah, and the Rays of Beejanuggur. Wherever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the Brahmins. During these operations, a body of five thousand Hindoos, urged by desperation at the destruction of their religious buildings, and at the insults offered to their deities, united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the King as the author of all their sufferings. * * *

[2] In the year 829 Ahmud Shah marched to reduce a rebellious Zemindar of Mahoor, who still retained several strong places which held out against his troops. The rebel soon submitted; but Ahmud Shah, though he had assured him of pardon, put him to death in violation of his promise, as soon as he fell into his hands, together with five or six thousand of his followers, compelling, at the same time, all the captive women and children

[1] Briggs, vol. ii. p. 402. [2] Ib. vol. ii. p. 406.

to embrace the true faith. During this campaign, the King obtained possession of a diamond mine at Kullum, a place dependent on Gondwana, in which territory he razed many idolatrous temples, and, erecting mosques on their sites, appropriated to each some tracts of land to maintain holy men and to supply lamps and oil for religious purposes. * * *

'Aláu-d din Sháh Báhmani.[1]

Alla-ood-Deen Shah, upon this, wrote to him, that he valued the lives of the two chiefs equal to that of two hundred thousand common men. Therefore, as it was a rule with the princes of his family to slay a hundred thousand Hindoos in revenge for the death of a single Mussulman, he swore, should Dew Raj take away the lives of the two captive officers, he would revenge the death of each by the slaughter of a hundred thousand Hindoos. * * *

To every part of his dominions he sent censors of morals and just judges; and though he drank wine himself, he forbade the use of it to others, as also the practice of gaming. He put chains on the necks of Kullendurs, and idle, dissipated vagabonds, whom he punished by employing them in removing filth from the streets, in dragging heavy stones, and in the performance of all manner of laborious work, in order that they might reform, and either earn their livelihood by industry, or quit the country altogether. If any person, after admonition and moderate correction, was convicted of drinking wine, it was enacted, that melted lead should be poured down his throat, whatever might be the rank of the offender. * * *

[2] On the fourth day, however, they prevailed on the chiefs to come to an entertainment in the fort, at which all the principal foreigners, in number about three hundred, attended, with the exception of Kasim Beg (Suff Shikun) Kurra Khan Khoord and Ahmud Beg of Mecca. While in the act of eating, a number of armed men, on a signal given by Sher-ool-moolk, rushed upon

[1] Briggs, p. 433. [2] Ib. p. 444.

them, and put every soul to the sword. At the same instant four thousand Deccanies outside the fort attacked the camp of the foreigners and put every male to death, even the very infants at the breast. After this tragedy, they plundered the tents, and treated the women with all the insult that lust or brutality could provoke. Since the time of Hoossein, the Syuds were never so maltreated; but is it not astonishing, that men who called themselves servants of the Prophet should so basely misuse his descendants? * * *

Humáyún Sháh Báhmaní.[1]

Hoomayoon Shah, now abandoning himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities, and mad with rage, directed stakes to be set up on both sides of the King's chouk, or market-place, and caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to be placed in different parts of the square, in other places cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also prepared as instruments of torture. The King, ascending a balcony in order to glut his eyes on the spectacle, first cast his brother, Hussun Khan, before a ferocious tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces, and devoured him on the spot. Yoosoof Toork, and his seven associates, were then beheaded in the King's presence, and the females of their innocent and helpless families, being dragged from their houses, were violated and ill-treated in the palace-square, by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak and the tyrant Hijaj. About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions, and others, were put to death; some being stabbed with daggers, others hewn in pieces with hatchets, and the rest flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. This tragedy happened in the month of Shaban, in the same year as the rebellion.

[1] Briggs, p. 462.

The author of the *Towareekh Mahmood Shahy* states, he learned from the royal attendants, that upon the King's first hearing of the escape of the Prince Hussun Khan, rage and passion so overcame him, he tore his robes, bit his pillows, and often his own lips, in such a manner that they dropped with blood. Alarmed at the example of Hussun Khan, he put to death several innocent persons of the royal family who were confined in different fortresses. Nor did his suspicions rest here; many other persons of his own court fell the innocent victims of his indiscriminate cruelty. From this moment Hoomayoon threw off all restraint, and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents to gratify his passions. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences; and when any of the nobility were obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death.

Miran Husain Nizám Sháh.[1]

About sunset, the gates were burned; but the quantity of hot ashes yet glowing prevented any one passing in or out till midnight, when Mirza Khan and his friends rushed from the citadel, and tried to make their escape. Numbers of others were slain in the attempt by the populace, but Mirza Khan having effected his retreat, fled towards the fort of Joonere. The Deccany troops, the Abyssinians, and the mob, having entered the fort, put to death every foreigner they found within, amounting to nearly 300, among whom were several persons of high rank and eminent character. Their bodies were dragged out on the open plain, and orders given that they should lie unburied. Not content with the past slaughter, Jumal Khan commanded his adherents to murder the foreigners of every rank and occupation in the city, and to plunder and burn their dwellings. The soldiers and

[1] Briggs, vol. iii. p. 274.

their followers, being once let loose, put to death indiscriminately the noble, the master, the servant, the merchant, the pilgrim, and the travelling stranger. Their houses were set on fire, and the heads of those lately exalted to the skies were brought low, and trampled in the dust; while the very females, who from modesty concealed their faces from the sun and moon, were dragged by the hair into the assemblages of the drunken. On the fourth day, Mirza Khan, who had been seized near Joonere, was brought to Jumal Khan, and being first carried through the city on an ass, his body was hewn in pieces, which were affixed on different buildings. Several of his friends taken with him were also put to death, and their bodies being rammed into cannon, were blown into the air. In the space of seven days, nearly a thousand foreigners were murdered; some few only escaping under the protection of Deccany or Abyssinian officers. The reign of Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah lasted only ten months and three days. Among those princes recorded in history as murderers of their fathers, we find none whose reigns extended beyond one year; and a poet observes, "Royalty befitteth not the destroyer of a parent, nor will the reign of such a wretch be long." * * *

Mahmúd Sháh, Gujaráti.[1]

Beny Ray having recovered from his wounds, the King used every effort to persuade both him and his minister to embrace the Mahomedan faith. They, however, persisted in refusing, swearing that they preferred death to abjuring their religion. Mahmood Shah was in hopes of shaking their constancy by confining them separately, and treating them harshly. This conduct only tended to support their resolution, till at length the King, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death.

[1] Briggs, vol. iv. p. 70.

LII.

MA-Á'SIR-I RAHÍ'MÍ'

OF

MUHAMMAD 'ABDU-L BÁ'KÍ'.

Dr. Lee observes of this work, that "it is a valuable and elaborate history of the Emperors and other eminent men of Tartary, Hindústán, etc., by Muhammad 'Abdu-l Bákíu-l Rahímíu-l Nahavandí. In large folio, containing about 4000 pages."[1] Major Stewart describes it as "Memoirs of 'Abdu-l Rahím Khán, Khán-khánán, *wazír*, and of all the illustrious nobles, authors, and poets, who resided at the Court of Akbar. Author, 'Abdu-l Bákí, A.D. 1613."[2]

These authors differ much in their account of the work: both are partly right and partly wrong. There is no account of the Emperors and other eminent men of Tartary, if we except the account of 'Abdu-r Rahím's ancestors, and the biographical details do not concern the Court of Akbar, but belong almost entirely to the Dakhin. A great portion of the work is devoted to an ample detail of the transactions of his patron, the Khán-khánán, his sons and progenitors, who though he certainly was of sufficient eminence to deserve a full biography, it is here written, as usual under such circumstances, in so fulsome a strain of eulogy, that it is difficult to know what faith to put in it. The first Book contains Indian History, not sufficiently comprehensive to be of any essential service; but it is so far valuable that it does not literally copy Firishta, which can rarely be said of any other author who has followed in the same line. Nizámu-d dín is his great guide, and his alarm at attempting any period of

[1] *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. xiv.

[2] *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library*, p. 14.

history not already occupied by another is shown by the Extract taken from the close of his account of Akbar. The work also contains a *Tazkira*, or notices of poets, with long extracts from their writings, and it will be seen from the following Table of Contents that nearly one-third of the volume is devoted to that object;—the accounts of the poets extending from p. 990 to p. 1454.

CONTENTS.

Preface, pp. 1–7.

Introduction, respecting the ancestors of 'Abdu-r Rahím, Khán-khánán, pp. 7–36.

Book I.—An account of Muhammad Bairam Beg, father of 'Abdu-r Rahím, preceded by the history of the Kings of Hindústán from the time of the Ghaznivides to the accession of Jahángír, including the Kings of Bengal, p. 46,—the Kings of Jaunpúr, p. 52,—Kings of Málwa, p. 56,—Kings of Kashmír, p. 113,—Kings of Multán, p. 148,—Kings of Dehlí, p. 160,—Bábar, p. 272,—Humáyún, p. 290, Akbar, p. 381,—Jahángír, p. 552;—pp. 37–606.

Book II.—The virtues and victories of 'Abdu-r Rahím, with copies of *farmáns* addressed to him, and of some of his compositions, including also an account of the rulers of Gujarát, p. 621,—of Sind, p. 696,—of Dakhin, p. 776,—of Khándesh, p. 808;—pp. 606–922.

Book III.—On the palaces, baths, mosques, and other buildings erected by the Khán-khánán, the gardens planted by him, and the ships built by him;—pp. 923–932.

Book IV.—An account of the sons of the Khán-khánán, pp. 933–968.

Conclusion—in a Preface and three[1] Chapters, (1) on contemporary philosophers, physicians, and other celebrated men, 31 persons, p. 962; (2) poets, including the author, 92 persons,

[1] In the body of the work the Chapters are said to amount to four; but the Preface states that the Conclusion is divided into three Chapters, and the detail shows that there are only three.

p. 990; (3) on the military officers under command of the Khán-khánán, 44 persons, p. 1454; pp. 969–1513.

SIZE.—Folio, 1513 pages, each containing 25 lines. There are a few blank pages, which are about equal to the marginal additions.

The author, 'Abdu-l Bákí, Nahávandí, composed his work under the encouragement he received from Abú-l-Faiz Faizí, brother of Abú-l Fazl, and 'Abdu-r Rahím, Khán-khánán, son of Bairam Khán. He gives a little information respecting himself and his ancestry, referring for more copious particulars to Takíu-d dín's *Tazkira*, entitled *Ma-ásiru-l Khizría*, which was dedicated and named after his brother, Ágha Khizr, and to 'Abdu-l Ma'álí's *Tazkira*, which is dedicated to Sháh 'Abbás; and as "self-praise is a great fault," he refers to them, rather than repeat in this work what they have said respecting him. In them also will be found a full account of his family and connexions, as well of his patron, the Khán-khánán. His family was originally from Júlak,[1] "which contains more than 30,000 houses," but in consequence of the contentions which arose during the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl Safaví, his family left Júlak, and went to reside at Nahávand.

The author states that his ancestors were Generals under Afrásiyáb, and that they held the lands of Júlak in rent-free tenure from Sháh Ismá'íl. His most noted ancestor was Áká Bábá, who resided at Hamadán. His brother was made Deputy Governor of Hamadán in the time of Sháh 'Abbás. Amír Takí Muhammad has noticed the excellence of his administration in the *Tazkira* which he has written, and many memorials of his munificence exist in the neighbourhood, especially the embankment at Káshán and the avenue of trees, of which our author for a long time enjoyed the proceeds.

He appears, for some reason or other, to have given dissatisfaction to the reigning monarch, Sháh 'Abbás; on account of

[1] For the correct mode of writing this word, see Ouseley's *Persian Travels*, vol. ii. p. 3.

which he determined upon quitting his native country, and, at the invitation of Abú-l Faiz Faizí and 'Abdu-r Rahím Khán, was induced to visit Hindústán, and arrived at Burhánpúr in Khándesh in A.H. 1023, where he was received with kindness, and presented with a *jágír*. He completed his work in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616), calling it *Ma-ásir-i Rahímí*, after his patron, in whose praise he has inserted many pieces of poetry in the body of the work, and declares his intention of continuing these laudatory effusions till the day of his death.

This work is not common in India. There is one copy at Lahore, in two volumes, which is an abridgment, rather than the entire work. The copy which the Asiatic Society possesses constitutes one of the most valuable manuscripts of its collection. It was transcribed in a legible *nasta'lík* hand under the author's own superintendence, and contains revisions and marginal additions in his own handwriting. It purports to have been sent as a present to his friend, Khwája Sultán Muhammad Isfahání, in the year 1026 H., and afterwards to have been received from him again, and presented in 1041 H. to Kází 'Abdu-l 'Azíz. The author states that this MS. has not undergone the careful revision he could wish, and that a complete history of the Kings of the Dakhin is wanting, which he hopes to supply some future day.

EXTRACT.[1]

The King went out for the purpose of hunting, and arrived at Sultánpúr, on the bank of the river, thirty *kos* from Lahore, and the Khán-khánán, who had gone to Sirhind to pay his respects to Prince Dániyál, was sent for by the King to be consulted. He had an interview with His Majesty near Shaikhpúr, and had frequent conferences on the subject of the Dakhin, when the King inquired whether that province could not be conquered

[1] [The Extracts which appeared in the old volume relating to Kai-Kubád and to Mubárak Kutbu-d dín were abstracts of Zíá Barní (*suprà*, Vol. III. pp. 125 and 211). That relating to "the building of a private chapel," and that containing the record of the events of the "38th Ilahi year after the accession," were copied from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* (Vol. V. pp. 390, 460).]

without troubling the Prince to go there. The Khán-kháńán undertook to subdue it, and instructions were therefore issued, that the army, which had been directed to accompany the Prince, should be placed under the orders of the Khán-khánán. The Prince was then summoned to Court, which he reached in two days. The Khán-kháńán, loaded with honours by the King, set out on his expedition, and His Majesty, having broken up his hunting camp, returned to Lahore. The Khán-kháńán set out with all haste, and arrived at Ágra. The rainy season was approaching, and he had received orders to draw what he could from the Ágra treasury, to pay the soldiers, and provide for the conquest of the Dakhin. He remained at Ágra during the rains, and having supplied himself with every necessary, he set out for Málwa, which was the *jágír* of Mirzá Sháh Rukh, with whom he had an interview in Ujjain. From Málwa he went to Khándesh, and by peaceful means induced Rájá 'Alí Khán to declare his allegiance to the King. Khándesh thus became included in the subject states, and the coin was struck and the *khutba* read in the name of His Majesty in the country where Ásír had baffled every attempt to subdue it. Khándesh was given in *jágír* to Rájá 'Alí Khán, and he was enrolled among the nobles of 5000. The Khán-khánán sent a petition from Rájá 'Alí Khán, accompanied by a suitable offering, to His Majesty, that this grant might be confirmed, and that Rájá 'Alí Khán might be reckoned among the royal adherents, and be allowed to accompany the army to the Dakhin. The King acceded to these proposals, and the Khán-khánán was rewarded with fresh marks of favour.

After the annexation of Khándesh, the Khán-khánán set out on his expedition to the Dakhin. His first step was to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. Chánd Bíbí, who was at that time ruler of that province, made peace, under which the territory of Birár was surrendered to Akbar.

On the second occasion, when he attacked Ahmadnagar, Suhail, the Abyssinian, was appointed by 'Ádil Sháh to the command of the army, and the armies of Nizámu-l Mulk, 'Ádil Khán,

Kutbu-l Mulk, and the Baríd-Sháhí chief being placed under his command, he came out in considerable strength and confidence. The Khán-khánán, with the little force at his command, fought like Rustam and Isfandiyár, and obtained a complete victory over Suhail. He then proceeded to the siege of Ahmadnagar, which he reduced, and brought the whole province of the Dakhin under the rule of the Emperor. As the conquests of the Dakhin, Khándesh, and Birár have already been fully detailed among the great achievements of the Khán-khánán in this book, I beg to refer thereto. If I were here to commence an account of this commander's proceedings in the Dakhin, it would extend to too great a length.

To be brief, the King reigned for fifty-two years over the whole of Hindústán, from Bengal to the extreme borders of Sind and Kandahár, and Zamíndáwar, and even to the shores of the sea. All the stubborn chiefs, *rájás, ráis,* and *zamíndárs* in Hindústán, including the Kings of Gujarát, Sind, Dakḥin, Kashmír, Bengal, Málwa, and other countries, were made subject to his rule. Some, after defeat in action, some, under treaties of peace, were all in the end deprived of the exercise of independent sovereignty.

The author has extracted this account of the first thirty-eight years of the reign, viz. from A.H. 963 to 1002, from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí,* by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshí, who was not spared to complete it. Of the remaining fourteen years the author has never seen any account; nor has he been able to procure information of the various events of that period. He has therefore omitted it from his history, and must refer to other authorities who may have written concerning this period.

Akbar was a powerful, world-subduing monarch, the very emblem of justice, to whose Court people from all sides resorted for protection, and to partake of a benevolence so universally diffused. He extended toleration to all religions and creeds, and would recognize no difference between them, his object being to unite all men in a common bond of peace. The names of the

Sultáns, nobles, ministers, poets, and philosophers who adorned his reign, can be ascertained from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and the *Akbar-náma;* and in the same comprehensive works will be found an account of his greatness, and the inventions of his bright intellect and ready genius.

During his entire reign of fifty-two years, no neighbouring Prince of Hindústán made an incursion into his territories, and notwithstanding that the Afghán kings are notorious for their malignity and turbulence, they were not able to move from their homes during his supremacy, so that all quarters were subject to his victorious sword. Whoever dared to lift his head from loyalty and subjection never escaped with life.

Akbar died at Ágra on the 23rd Jamádu-l awwal, A.H. 1014, after a reign of fifty-two years. The date of his death is found to be represented by the letters in the words "*faut-i Akbar Shah*," "the death of Akbar Sháh."

LIII.

ANFA'U-L AKHBÁR

OF

MUHAMMAD AMÍN.

This work is of much the same historic character as the last. It is in a more abridged form, but is devoted to the eulogies of a patron, and their publication appears to have been one of the chief objects contemplated in the undertaking.

The author, Muhammad Amín, son of Daulat Muhammad-al Husainí-al Balikí, was in the service of Nawáb Sipahdár Khán, who receives an enlarged and laudatory notice at the close of the work. He concluded it in A.H. 1036, and styled it *Anfa'u-l Akhbár*, "The most useful chronicle," because the year is represented by the letters composing those words. He resided chiefly at Ahmadnagar, on which account he often notices this city; and its buildings, gardens, and history, receive a large share of notice.

This history is divided into a Preface, ten Books, and a Conclusion.

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Preface.—Containing the usual lauds, pp. 1–6.
Book I.—The early prophets, pp. 7–100.
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VI.—The Ummayide Khalifs, pp. 144–146.
VII.—The 'Abbáside Khalifs, pp. 146–150.

VIII.—The dynasties contemporary with, and subsequent to, the 'Abbáside Khalifs, viz. Táhirides,—Sámánians, Buwaihides or Dailamites,—Ismá'ílians,—Saljúkians, —Ghorians,—and others, pp. 150-190.

IX.—The sons of Japhet, pp. 191-218.

X.—The dynasty of Tímúr.

The following are the rubrics of the tenth Book.

Accession of Khákán Sa'íd Sháh Rukh, Sultán, to the throne of Khurásán.—Mirzá 'Aláu-d daula ascends the throne, and the death of Mirzá 'Abdu-l Latíf in the year 857 H.—Mirzá Mughísu-d dín Ulugh Beg Gúrgán crosses the river.—March of Mirzá Abu-l Kásim Bábar to Khurásán.—Disagreement between Mirzá 'Aláu-d daula and Mirzá 'Abdu-l Latíf.—Enmity between Mirzá Ulugh Beg and Mirzá 'Abdu-l Latíf; and the death of the King.—A brief account of Mirzá Sultán Muhammad.—March of Mirzá Bállá.—Mirzá 'Abdu-l Latíf killed, and the accession of Mirzá 'Abdu-lla to the throne of Samarkand.—Mirzá 'Abdu-lla Shírází killed—and Sultán Sa'íd ascends the throne.—March of Mirzá Bábar towards Balkh.—Mirzá 'Aláu-d Daula seized.—Mirzá Sultán Muhammad.—Mirzá Bábar proceeds towards Astarábád.—Mirzá Bábar departs for Mashhad.—Mirzá Sháh Mahmúd, and certain events of his time.—Arrival of Sultán Sa'íd at Khurásán.—March of Mirzá Ibráhím to Mázandarán, and his defeat by Mirzá Jahán Sháh Turkomán.—Visit of Mirzá Jahán Sháh to the capital of Khákán Sa'íd, and his peace with him.—Fight of Sultán Sa'íd with Mirzás Ibráhím, 'Aláu-d Daula and Sanjar.—Arrival of Amír Khalíl to besiege Hirát.—March of Sultán Sa'íd towards Turkistán.—A brief account of Mirzá Jahán Sháh Turkomán.—March of Sultán Sa'íd from Astarábád.—The Khurásání troops defeated, and Sultán Sa'íd Gúrgán killed.—Accession of Sultán Husain Bahádur Khán to the throne.—Several events related in a concise manner.—March of Mirzá Yádgár Muhammad with the design of conquest, and his defeat by the royal army.—The King marches against Mirzá

Yádgár Muhammad.—Accession of Mirzá Yádgár Muhammad to the throne of Khurásán.—The King proceeds in the direction of the garden Zághán, and Mirzá Yádgár is killed.—Re-accession of the King to the throne of Khurásán.—The events which occurred after his accession to the throne of Khurásán.—Death of Mirzá Sultán Husain, and the joint succession of Badí'u-z Zamán Mirzá and Mirzá Muzaffar Husain to the throne of Khurásán, and several other events.—A summary account of the tribe of Ak-Kúinlú who ruled in Azarbaiján, Fárs, the two 'Iráks, and Kirmán.—A brief account of the Uzbek Kings who ruled in Máwaráu-n Nahr and Khurásán subsequent to 900 A.H. —Safaví Kings.—Conquests of 'Irák, Persia, and Kirmán.—Fall of Baghdád, and flight of Sultán Murád.—Conquest of Khúzistán.—The territories of Khurásán conquered, and Sháhí Beg Khán killed.—A brief account of Amír Yár Muhammad Isfahání.—Arrival of Sultán Salím, King of Rúm, in Írán.—Death of the King.—Accession of Sháh Tahmásp, son of Sháh Isma'íl.—Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar.—Accession of Humáyún.—Capture of the fort of Champánír.—Sultán Bahádur.—The events which befell the King after his arrival at Ágra.—Retreat of the King towards Írán, and several events which occurred at that time.—Return of the King from Írán towards Hindústán.—March of the King from Kábul in the direction of India, with the design of conquest.—Death of the King in Rabí'u-l awwal, 963 A.H.—Account of certain excellent men.—Biography of Muhammad Akbar, from the beginning of the first up to the fifty-first year of his reign.—An account of Jahángír. —Account of the King and certain events which occurred at that time.—Sultán Khusrú fights, is defeated, and seized.—Return of Sultán Parwez from the Dakhin, and arrival of Sultán Khurram according to the summons of the King.—Rupture of engagements, and recurrence of the insurrection of Malik Ambar in the Dakhin.—Disaffection of Sultán Khurram.—An account of Sultán Khurram after his arrival in Bengal.—Settlement of the affairs of the Dakhin and march of the army to Bengal.—Mis-

fortunes which occurred after the departure of Prince Sultán Parwez.—Fight of Sultán Parwez and Mahábat Khán with Sultán Khurram.—Submission of Malik Ambar.—Certain transactions related in a succinct manner.—Pp. 218-446.

Conclusion.—Account of Sipahdár Khán.—The peace of God rest on him, and may his life be prolonged!—Pp. 446-482.

SIZE.—Small quarto, containing 482 pages, and 17 lines in each page.

This work is probably unique. I know of only one copy, and that is an autograph of the author, transcribed in Muharram, 1037, only a few months after the composition of the original. This MS. belongs to Nawáb Shamshír Kadr of Lucknow.

EXTRACTS.

Reign of Akbar.

In the year 1003 H. Prince Sultán Murád marched towards the Dakhin by order of the King, where Khwája Beg Mirzá and Mirzá Muhammad Sálih paid their respects to him. Upon the death of Prince Sultán Murád in the Dakhin, Prince Dániyál, as has already been mentioned in its proper place, went to that province, and captured the fort of Ahmadnagar, which was the capital of Nizámu-l Mulk. The government of that country was conferred upon Khwája Beg Mirzá and Mirzá Muhammad Sálih. These two great men have resided in this country for a long period, during which they have conferred many kindnesses, obligations, and comforts upon the people, as will shortly appear in the sequel.

The forty-ninth, fiftieth, and fifty-first years of the reign of Akbar, or the years 1012, 1013, and 1014 of the Hijra, were marked by the following events, viz. :—

In the year 1012 A.H. Prince Sultán Salím was imprisoned in a bath, on the very day on which His Royal Highness, repenting of his evil actions, presented himself to the King, availing himself of the opportunity which the death of his grandmother, Mariam Makání, afforded him of offering his condolences to His

Majesty. He was, however, after a space of twelve days, released. This year is also marked by the arrival from the Dakhin of the news of the death of Sultán Dániyál. In the year 1013 A.H. the King (Akbar) was taken ill. On Wednesday, the 12th of Jumáda-s sání, 1014 A.H., he died at Ágra, and was interred in Sikandra. "It is God alone who will exist for ever."

This King never sustained a defeat at any place. His army was victorious in every engagement. He subjugated all adversaries, some by means of arms, and some by peaceful means. The whole length and breadth of the land was firmly and righteously governed. All people of every description and station came to his Court, and universal peace being established among all classes, men of every sect dwelt secure under his protection. Be it not concealed that this account of his happy reign does not comprise even one-tenth part of the transactions which actually occurred in it. The detailed particulars of his reign are recorded in the *Akbar-náma* and the *Tárikh-i Nizámí*. God be praised that the distress which the people experienced at the loss of their sovereign Akbar, was removed by the accession of his excellent and powerful son Jahángír. May this exalted dynasty maintain its power till the day of judgment!

Reign of Jahángír.

A brief account follows of the events which occurred in the year 1036 H., viz.:—When Mahábat Khán returned from the Dakhin by command of the King, His Majesty was in Kashmír. On the way a dispute arose between Mahábat Khán and Ásaf Khán, son of I'timádu-d Daula, and brother of Núr Jahán Begam. It took so serious a turn, that they at last came to action, drawing up their troops in battle array. Mahábat Khán gained the victory, and Ásaf Khán fled to the fort of Attak Benáres, where he fortified himself. The victorious party besieged him, and after a few days succeeded in obtaining possession of his person, when they took him to their master, who threw him into prison. These circumstances gained Mahábat

Khán such influence at Court, that no one without his authority could go near the King, and His Majesty's food and drink were subject to his inspection. Mahábat Khán also appointed his own obedient Rájpúts to remain in constant attendance day and night on the King, thereby cutting off every one from direct communication with His Majesty. The matter stood upon this footing for about six months, when a party of Mughals, collected through the judicious counsels of the wise Núr Jahán Begam, marched against Mahábat Khán, put nearly 3000 of his Rájpúts to death, and effected the release of Ásaf Khán. Mahábat Khán being thus defeated, took to flight. The Khán-khánán was sent by the King with a large force to pursue and exterminate him; but while engaged in the expedition, the Khán-khánán died, and Mahábat Khán is in consequence still (*i.e.* the close of the year 1036 H.) wandering about with a small body of adherents.

Sultán Khurram remains in the Dakhin under the same circumstances as have been already mentioned. We must wait to see what may happen to him, and what course he may hereafter pursue.

This year is also marked by the death of Prince Parwez in the city of Burhánpúr. The date of the death of that excellent Prince is found in the following chronogram, composed by Maulánà Samadí Búánátí, viz. *Sháh-i Sháhán bi-shud az jahán.* "The king of kings has departed from this world."

In this year Nizámu-l Mulk created a disturbance in the Dakhin, which, however, was put down by the exertions of Khán Jahán. A detail of this transaction will be found in the concluding part of this work.

At the present time, *i.e.* the latter part of the year 1036 H., the people of this country, whether rich or poor, high or low, are in the enjoyment of all the blessings of comfort and content, and slumbering secure from all danger, are in return offering up their prayers to the Almighty God for the continued prosperity of the King, who is the safeguard of the empire and the shadow of God.

The Conclusion.

The concluding part of this book contains an account of Sipah-dár Khán; may the peace of God be on him! The object of giving an account of him in this work is that his memory may descend to posterity. Be it not concealed that his birthplace is Tabríz, and his ancestors were reckoned among the nobles of that country. His name is Mirzá Muhammad Sálih. In the year 1000 H. he left Írán for Hindústán, in company with the late Khwája Beg Mirzá, son of Ma'súm Beg Safaví, who requires no eulogy, and whose excellent qualities cannot be adequately described. The relations of friendship and amity which subsisted between them were exceedingly strong.

Mirzá Muhammad Sálih, after his arrival in India, obtained the honour of an interview with His Majesty. *Mansabs* suitable to his dignity, as well as the government of the *súba* of Gujarát, were conferred on him. While in Gujarát, he saw in a dream a white flag so lofty that it penetrated the very heavens; at one time it went towards his right hand, at another towards the left; then it retreated a short distance from him, and again approaching him, began to bend down towards him, when he seized hold of it with his hand, and placed it in an erect posture; upon which he woke from his dream. Since the time he had this auspicious dream, he has prospered day by day, and has attained his present exalted position. But the height of the flag presages to him, according to the interpretation of the dream, even a higher dignity than that which he has yet attained. He is constantly in the habit of relating this dream to intelligent persons. "There is a dignity yet greater than thine, and thy dignity at every period is not always the same. Wait till the dawn of fortune cometh to thee, as these are the mere harbingers of that dawn. The dignity which thou hast attained is very low, when compared with that which Fate yet ordains for thee in its full accomplishment."

MEMOIRS OF JAHÁNGÍR.

Preliminary Note by the Editor.

[There are several works which profess to be the Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jahángír, and there is such confusion in their titles that a preliminary notice seems necessary for a proper apprehension of what Sir H. Elliot has written on the subject. There is also some additional information respecting them, which was not published when Sir H. Elliot wrote, but which requires to be noticed. This further knowledge might possibly have led Sir H. M. Elliot to have modified his opinions, so, instead of introducing it into his articles, it is here given with the conclusions which it suggests. The original articles are thus left as they were written, with the addition only of a few lines not affecting the general question. By this arrangement Sir H. M. Elliot's arguments will have their full force, and the reader must draw his own conclusions as to the effect of what is here written.

It is certain that there are two distinct editions of the Memoirs which differ entirely from each other. Major Price translated the one, Anderson wrote upon the other in 1786; so to obviate any prejudice as to their respective priority or authority which might arise from numbering them, one will be called Price's, the other Anderson's. It will be seen also that there are varieties of each edition.

The Autobiography translated by Major Price comes first in this work (No. LIV.). Price's Manuscript bore no title, but Sir H. Elliot calls it "*Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhi.*" According to Mr. Morley, the best copy of it, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, is called "*Tárikh-i Jahángír-náma Salimi.*" Another copy is called simply "*Jahángír-náma.*" A MS. in the Library of the India Office (No. 546), is called in different places "*Túzak-i Jahángíri*" and "*Jahángír-náma,*" and another in the British Museum is entitled "*Túzak-i Jahángíri.*"

Sir H. Elliot notices three different issues of this edition. One, to which he gives no name, is brief and written with great simplicity (page 257). The *Tárikh-i Salim-Sháhí* translated by Price extends to the fifteenth year of the reign, 1029 A.H., and there is another version called "*Túzak-i Jahángírí*," which does not come down so late (page 260).

Of the other, or Anderson's edition, there are two distinct issues. One extends only to the twelfth year of the reign, when, as the work itself records, it was copied and distributed by the Emperor's orders; this bears the title *Dwázda Sála Jahángírí*. The other carries on the work to the nineteenth year, when it is said, that Jahángír, in consequence of failing health, gave up writing. Sir H. M. Elliot prefers calling this work "*Wáki'át-i Jahángírí*," but all the MSS. I have seen are labelled "*Túzak-i Jahángírí*," and, as will be seen in Sir H. Elliot's remarks, it has no distinctly recognized title. Jahángír himself at one time called it *Jahángír-náma* (page 331); afterwards he seems to have been inclined to *Ikbál-náma* (page 281). The Royal Asiatic Society has a good copy of this work, there is a copy in the British Museum, another in the Library of the India Office, and Sir H. Elliot's Library contains three copies.

This edition was first noticed by Anderson in 1786. Gladwin subsequently made Extracts from it, and Major Price, in the Preface of his work, observed upon the differences between his own and Anderson's version. Upon the publication of Price's translation, De Sacy compared it with Anderson's, and proved that they were independent works. The following is a summary of his argument: "He observed that the difference could not be explained by the supposition that the text, as published by Anderson, was only an abridgment or extract from the original memoirs of Jahángír, since the version of Anderson, though the more concise of the two, contains the statement of many circumstances omitted in Price's translation; he likewise, by quoting parallel passages, showed that it was impossible that Anderson's extracts and Price's version could have been derived from the same text.

De Sacy also mentions the exaggerated account of property and expenditure, as to the number of elephants, horses, etc., and the cost of buildings, and such like, in the memoirs translated by Price, compared with the more moderate statements given in Anderson's extracts. He concludes, without questioning the authenticity of the MS. employed by Price, by stating that he considers the extracts published by Anderson and Gladwin have a greater right to be considered the work of the Emperor than the MS. from which Price has translated, and that the latter is probably a portion of a more recent work written on the basis of the original memoirs of Jahángír, and perhaps of other documents, by some writer who has wrongfully adopted the first person, as though addressing his children, and without regard to the order of events, has inserted much extraneous matter, just as he happened to remember it, leaving out many things that ought to have formed part of the narrative."[1]

Sir H. M. Elliot calls these "the authentic Memoirs," and his view of the question is given in the following articles LIV., LV. A very similar conclusion had been arrived at independently and almost contemporaneously by Mr. Morley in England. That gentleman, in cataloguing the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, found among them and in the Library of the India Government two distinct versions. The version translated by Price he called "the first edition," for the very sufficient reason that one copy of this MS. was dated in the year 1040 H. (A.D. 1630), only three years later than the death of Jahángír. But his critical sagacity was not at fault, and he discovered the superior value of what he called "the second edition." A comparison of the MSS., he says, "at once set the question at rest as to there being two texts of the Memoirs, but some doubt still remained as to their respective authenticity. That the edition which I have called the first is authentic, is, I think, sufficiently proved by the age of the present MS., since a work transcribed so soon after the author's death could scarcely have been foisted on the public

[1] See Morley's Catalogue, p. 114.

if a forgery; but the authenticity of the larger and more complete edition remained still doubtful. The details given by Muhammad Hádí, the editor, are, I think, decisive as to the genuineness of the larger work. He distinctly states that Jahángír himself wrote the history of eighteen years of his reign, and that he, Muhammad Hádí, continued it from various trustworthy sources to the time of the Emperor's death. I have called it the second edition, since it was edited after the author's death, but it possibly, nay was probably, prepared as it at present exists, by the Emperor himself. That the shorter work was only a kind of sketch for the preparation of the more complete edition, may be hazarded as a conjecture; but from the great difference existing between them, I am disposed to think that Jahángír, like Tímúr and Bábar, wrote his autobiography in the Chaghatáí Turkí language, and that the copies we now possess are merely more or less perfect translations from the original." This "first edition" of Morley comes down to the year 1029, and is the same as that called by Sir Henry "*Táríkh-i Salím-Sháhí.*"

Sir H. M. Elliot, unaware of the early MS. above noticed, rejects Price's version as spurious, as having "been written by a jeweller rather than an Emperor," but the edition which he describes as "authentic" gives ample proof of Jahángír's love of jewels, and of his habit of appraising their value. Taken as a whole, Anderson's edition is the more valuable; but while it records the Emperor's venial sins, his love of wine, and his drinking parties, it has less to say of his dark deeds. Morley's idea of the two editions being only different translations of one Chaghatáí original is unsatisfactory, for it would not account for the great divergences of the two works. Another solution of the difficulty may be suggested.

The fact is established that both editions were in existence before or soon after the death of Jahángír. It is proved, as regards Price's version, by the early dated MS. above noticed; and the fact that there are MSS. extant of Anderson's version which extend no further than the twelfth year of the reign,

substantiates the statement of Jahángír having had the work copied out and distributed at that period. The first part of the *Ikbál-náma*, written soon after his death, is merely an abstract of these Memoirs. It has been perhaps too hastily assumed that Jahángír wrote the Memoirs with his own hand, for he was hardly the man to have taken upon himself such manual labour. He certainly states, in the passage quoted in page 280, that he himself was the scribe up to a certain time; but in the very same passage he says that he appointed Mu'tamad Khán to continue the work, because this man had been "before employed to write the occurrences of my reign." This shows that one professional annalist had been retained; and it seems very probable that the Emperor kept two or more memoir-writers, to whom he gave directions as to the events they were to record, and a general expression of his opinion on the various subjects to be noticed. It may be that in some instances he wrote down or dictated the words he wished to be recorded, but it is more likely that in most cases his (auto)biographers followed their own bent in composing their respective records. Such a difference as exists between the two versions, a difference of details rather than of general conception, would be the natural result of such an arrangement.

Anderson's version, up to the end of the twelfth year, had the advantage of Jahángír's express approval, and has therefore the right to be called an "authentic version." Price's has no such mark of approbation, but cannot fairly be rejected as spurious. It is not a caricature, nor is it written in an inimical spirit; but the writer had a very exaggerated notion of numbers, and his figures must always be rejected. It contains much which the other version shows to have been characteristic of Jahángír, and in some respects it is superior; for it speaks more fully and clearly of deeds which he would probably have liked to conceal or gloss over. This may account for its not having received the royal approval.]

LIV.

TA'RI'KH-I SALI'M SHA'HI'.

TU'ZAK-I JAHA'NGI'RI'.

THESE two works, of which the names are assumed somewhat arbitrarily, must be considered together.

The name of *Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhí* is ascribed to different copies of the same work found in distant parts of India, and as there is no probability that these were copied from one another rather than from some older original, we may assume the name to be correct, although in the body of the work no particular name is assigned to it.

The *Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhí* was translated in the year 1829 by Major David Price, of the Bombay Army, for the Oriental Translation Committee, under the title of "Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangueir, written by himself, and translated from a Persian Manuscript." He observes that the Manuscript, "not being distinguished by any particular title, the translator would have ventured to style it the Wakiat Jahanguiri, or to bestow on it some other name equally signifying 'Incidents in the reign of the Emperor Jahangueir.' But to supply an Oriental name from mere conjecture seemed unnecessary, as the contents could be indicated with sufficient accuracy in an English title-page. Besides, from some extracts, occupying about seventeen pages in the 'Asiatic Miscellany' (printed at Calcutta, 1785, 1786, vol. ii. pp. 71-73), it would appear to be the same, or nearly the same, with that work which was described by an accomplished Orientalist, who translated those passages (James Anderson, Esq.), as the Toozuk-i Jehangeery, or Memoirs of Jehangeer, written by himself, and containing a history of the

transactions of the first thirteen years of his reign. But Mr. Anderson did not profess to give more than a few extracts from the *Túzak;* and a comparison of these with the present work will show that he must have occasionally omitted whole pages between certain facts recorded in both."

The difference between the versions of Major Price and Mr. Anderson have been marked by M. de Sacy in the "Journal des Savans," 1830.[1]

Amongst the autobiographies of Jahángír which circulate in this country, there is one much smaller than the *Salim-Sháhí* translated by Major Price. It is written with greater simplicity, with a truthfulness and sincerity more suited to an Imperial pen, and bearing upon it a far superior stamp of authenticity. This was probably the original from which the *Tárikh-i Salim-Sháhí* was amplified, and may have been composed by Jahángír in the early part of his reign. The translated work seems to have been written rather by a jeweller than an Emperor, and the pretended accuracy and minuteness with which the value of gold, silver, and precious stones is given, and the astounding exaggeration displayed in enumerating sums, "which far outshine the wealth of Ormus and of Ind," convey to the mind strong internal evidence of fabrication; and though there is much that no doubt correctly represents the sentiments of Jahángír, some parts at least of the composition must be ranked in the same class with the fictions of Ennius and Psalmanazar.

A few instances may as well be adduced, to show the exaggerations of the *Tárikh-i Salim-Sháhí.*

At page 2 of Major Price's translation it is said, "On this occasion I made use of the throne prepared by my father, and enriched it at an expense without parallel, for the celebration of the festival of the year, at the entrance of the Sun into Aries. In the fabrication of the throne a sum not far short of ten *krours*

[1] [A memorandum of Sir H. Elliot's shows that he had not seen De Sacy's notice when he wrote this article, but that it remained to be obtained and considered. A summary of De Sacy's arguments is given in page 252 *suprà*.]

of *ashrefies*, of five *mithkals* the *ashrefy*, was expended in jewels alone; a *krour* being the term of an hundred *laks*, and a *lak* being 100,000, independently of 300 *mauns* of gold, Hindustany measure, employed in the workmanship, each *maun* of Hind being equal to ten *mauns* of Irak."

The translator converts the value of jewels alone into 150 millions sterling!—an incredible sum, as he justly observes; but the more sober statement of the *Túzak-i Jahángírí* says "only sixty *laks* of *ashrafis* and fifty *mans* of gold, Hindústání measure," and there is no mention of the throne in the authentic Memoirs.

A little below we read: "Having thus seated myself on the throne of my expectations and wishes, I caused also the Imperial crown, which my father had caused to be made after the manner of that which was worn by the great kings of Persia, to be brought before me, and then, in the presence of the whole assembled Ameirs, having placed it on my brows, as an omen auspicious to the stability and happiness of my reign, kept it there for the space of a full astronomical hour. On each of the twelve points of this crown was a single diamond of the value of one *lak* of *ashrefies* of five *mithkals*, the whole purchased by my father with the resources of his own government, not from anything accruing to him by inheritance from his predecessors. At the point in the centre of the top part of the crown was a single pearl of four *mithkals*, of the value of one *lak* of *ashrefies*; and on different parts of the same were set altogether 200 rubies of one *mithkal* each, and each of the value of 6000 rupees." Upon which the translator observes, "Altogether this superb symbol of supreme power may be valued at two millions and seventy thousand pounds sterling;" but in the smaller work, and in the authentic Memoirs, there is no mention whatever of this costly crown.

At p. 5 Jahángír says he remitted certain sources of revenue, "which yielded to his father no less than 1600 Hindustany *mauns* of gold, equal to 16,000 *mauns* of Irak." The *Túzak*

says sixty *mans* Hindústání, and the authentic Memoirs give no sum.

At p. 14 he says that "the workmanship alone of the citadel of Agra was completed at the expense of not less than 186 *laks* of *ashrefies* of five *mithkals* each;" which the translator, with a note of admiration, converts into 26,550,000*l.*! The *Túzak* gives only thirty-six *lacs* of rupees, and the authentic Memoirs thirty-five *lacs* of rupees, equal to 1,15,000 *túmáns* of Írán, or one *kror* five *lacs* Khánî of Túrán.

At p. 15 he says that "the temple which had been built by Rájá Mán Singh, and which the King demolished for the purpose of raising a mosque on its ruins, cost in its construction nearly thirty-six *lacs* of five *mithkaly ashrefies*," which, as the translator says, is 5,40,00,000 rupees! The *Túzak* says only 8,00,000 rupees.

At p. 32 "he sends to Sháhzáda Parwez a chaplet of pearl of the value of 5,00,000 rupees." The *Túzak* says 1,00,000.

At p. 34 he says "that Daulat Khán left at his death property equivalent, according to the translator, to 120,000,000*l.*!" The *Túzak* says only 300,000 *túmáns* of jewels, besides gold and other specie.

At p. 37 he states "that the property of his brother Dániál amounted in jewels to five *crore* of *ashrefies*, and two *crore* in treasure of the same currency, or 63,000,000*l.* sterling!" The *Túzak* is silent as to the amount.

At p. 51 the tiara of Himú is said "to have been set with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, to the value of sixty *lacs* of *ashrefies*, or 5,400,000*l.* sterling!" The *Túzak* says only 80,000 *túmáns*.

At p. 67, in speaking of the preparations for the pursuit of his son Khusrú, he says, "40,000 horses feeding in his own stables, and 100,000 camels, were brought out and distributed." The *Túzak* has nothing on the subject.

At p. 79 he says "he delivered to Jemeil Beg 100,000 *ashrefies* to be distributed amongst the Badakshanians, and that he ordered

50,000 rupees to be distributed among the *Durweishes* at Adjmeir." The *Túzak* gives the sum at 30,000 rupees, and mentions nothing about the donations to the Badakhshanians.

At p. 88 "the jewel-chest of Khossrou is said to have contained 18,000,000*l.* sterling!" It must have been a pretty large and heavy one to have held only 18,000*l.*, and the *Túzak* says nothing about its contents.

After these instances of exaggeration, who will believe this Valerius, "immoderately augmenting the number of all things,"[1] and it is therefore much to be regretted that these translated Memoirs have obtained so much currency and credit in Europe, as true revelations of the Emperor's sentiments and proceedings.

There are also other additions, as well as omissions, which throw discredit upon the translated work. For instance, the account of the rebellion and capture of Khusrú, though given in great detail in both the spurious and the authentic copies, which will be hereafter noticed, varies in several essential particulars, and at the conclusion of these occurrences, instead of Jahángír's returning to Ágra, as he is represented in the translation to do, he goes to Kábul, as he is said in all other histories to have done.

Amongst other omissions, a very striking one is, that not only is there scarcely any allusion made to his propensity to drinking, but he speaks with pious horror of this disgraceful addiction of his brother Dániyál; whereas in the true Memoirs, there are as many drinking bouts noticed as in the Memoirs of Jahángír's great-grandfather Bábar; and the extraordinary potations to which he confesses would have shamed even that immoderate toper.

The *Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhí* details events, without much regard to order, down to the period of Jahángír's first visit to Kashmír, which occurred in 1029 A.H., or the fifteenth year of the reign.

The *Túzak* gives no date beyond 1017 A.H., but notices a transaction which occurred in 1020 A.H. One-half of the *Túzak* is devoted to Akbar and Khusrú.

[1] Valerio quis credat, omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti.—Livy, xxxiii. 10

It concludes with mentioning the practice of the King and his officers to discharge guns on the first day of every month. This corresponds with p. 89 of the translation; and thus those stories of magical performances and sleight of hand are omitted,[1] in which the Emperor betrays himself as the most credulous believer in the supernatural power of jugglers, and which has served his biographers with the opportunity, when reflecting upon the Demonology of his English contemporary, of marking another striking coincidence between the sentiments and persuasions of the two monarchs.

A comparison of the concluding portion of the *Túzak-i Jahangíri* with the corresponding passage in the translated *Tárikh-i Salim-Sháhi* will show better than any description the relation which one bears to the other.

The copies of the *Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhi* which I have seen close with a few pages of moral precepts, containing a kind of prose *Pand-náma*, of which the authorship is assigned to Jahángír; but these are not noticed by Major Price in his translation of the work. ["The *Pand-náma*," says Morley, "occupies thirty-two leaves. The Memoirs and the *Pand-náma* are in the present volume (No. 117) freely interspersed with verses, many of which are omitted in Price's MS.," though that contains the *Pand-náma*.] The short Preface which follows, without any break, immediately after the text of the *Salim-Sháhi*, appears to have been written by I'timádu-d daula. It runs thus:—*From the words of I'timádu-d daula*—"Since His Majesty's disposition inclines at all times to the weighing of

[1] It will be seen that in the authentic Memoirs these exhibitions are mentioned merely in general terms. See also the beginning of the 3rd Julús. These stories are given in full detail in the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*, as from the Memoirs, showing that the author must have considered the *Salim-Sháhi* as authentic. It is there added that the Emperor gave them nearly 50,000 rupees, and made his principal officers imitate his example, so that the jugglers received in all 2,00,000 rupees. He tells us also that these feats are common in Europe. Major Price's version says (p. 104), "I have heard it stated that the art has been called Lemuanian (perhaps *Asmanian*), celestial." But the real word used in the original is *Simyá*, meaning "fascination," "enchantment." In the *Mirát-i Aftáb-numá* (p. 388), these performances were narrated in the same way.

words, decent manners, and excellent actions, he has enjoined several precepts for the observance of his servants, who are endowed with purity of mind. In very truth, he has threaded the pearl of intelligence by means of the boring instrument of a powerful imagination, and, in very truth, he is such a wise and prudent King, that useful advice is implanted in the very essence of his noble nature, and he may fairly be considered among the perfect saints. It is therefore proper for his true and faithful subjects to invoke continually blessings on his head, for God, from the tribunal of the six quarters of the universe, has bestowed the chain of Justice[1] upon his subjects. May the Almighty increase the years of His Majesty, Núru-d dín Jahángír, until the Day of Judgment, and may the years of the children of this second Alexander, of this lord of State and lofty dignity, of him who sits on the throne of Sulaimán, etc., etc., of this compound of bravery and excellence, be also continued for ever!"

"*The precepts of Jahángír Sháh, for the observance and regulation of his sons and disciples, who should treasure them in their memories perpetually.* First, let them know that the world is not eternal, and that the less care they have for it the better. Act towards your inferiors, as you wish that your superiors should act towards you."

After several pages of similar common-place axioms, it concludes with the following sage remarks: "Bodily strength is to be obtained by three practices: 1. To speak little. 2. To eat little. 3. To sleep little. Three combinations are incompatible. 1. Power with the eating of lawful things. 2. Kindness with anger. 3. Truth with loquacity. Four things make a man fat.

[1] In allusion to the silly chain of justice which the Emperor tells us he fastened from the palace at Ágra to a stone pillar near the Jumna. It was covered with bells, so that when any petitioner demanded justice, he might make his presence known by shaking the chain. It does not appear that it was ever shaken, and probably was never meant for anything but parade. The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-tu.—*Modern Universal History*, vol. vii. p. 206. And Rájá Anangpal had already done the same at Dehlí.—See Extract from Mír Khusrú's *Nuh Sipihr*, suprà, Vol. III. p. 565.

" 1. To put on new clothes. 2. To indulge much in hot baths. 3. To eat greasy or sweet food. 4. To live according to one's desire. Six things make the heart black and sorrowful. 1. To put on dirty clothes, and cut your hair but seldom. 2. To be in a state of ceremonial defilement. 3. To tell many lies. 4. Back-biting. 5. To be abusive. 6. Negligence in prayer. Whoever attends to these precepts will procure liberation in this world and the next, will never be oppressed by evil, will always be held in consideration by great and small, and will not be ashamed in the morrow of resurrection. But whoever acts contrary to these precepts will obtain nothing but distress and dishonour in this world, and it will be accounted to him for sin in the next."

Verse.—" I have told you what I was commissioned to reveal; you may derive warning from listening to my words, or sorrow from rejecting them."

The *Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhí* opens thus:—

اي نام تو سر دفتر اسرار وجود * نقش صفتت بر در ودیوار وجود * در پرده کبریا نهان گشته بخلق * هموار عیان بر سر بازار وجود * حمد بي غایت و شکر بي نهایت مبدعیکه بیک امر کن اجرام فلکي و اجسام عنصري را از مکمن عدم نبضائي وجود آورده صانعي که طبقات اسمان را برافراشت و بساط خاک را بانوار قدرت بیاراست * وجودش آن فروزان افتاب ست * که ذرّه ذرّه اردي نوریاب ست *

and ends:—

مهابب خان را که پنجهزاري پاي تخت من است بابت هزار احدي چهار اسپ و ده هزار توپچي جماز سوار ودویست فیل روانه کابل کردم الهداد خان که بزرگ جماعت افغان بود بجهتي از ما گریخته بان سرحد رفته بود مهابت خان حکمي فرستادم که اکر واقع شود

اورا هم بدست آورده زنده بحضور فرستد تا ما در حضور اورا بسزا رسانم بنابر عبرت دیگران باشد که بجهتي ازین درگاه نباید رفت

SIZE.—12mo., 498 pages of 9 lines each.

Here follows the beginning and ending of the *Túzak-i Jahángírí*, corresponding with the work in Jonathan Scott's Library under the name of *Kár-náma Jahángírí*.[1]

Beginning:—

حمد بیغایت و شکر لا نهایت مبدعي را که بیک امر کن اجرام فلکي و اجسام عنصري را از مکمن عدم بوجود آورده و صانعي که طبقات افلاک را برافراشت و بساط خاکرا بانواع قدرت بسیار است و آدمي را بزیور لطف و زینت عقل اختصاص داد تابدان تاج کرامت و خلعت جلالت فرستاد و زمین و زمان را در قبضه تسخیر خود آورد

Ending:—

و اکثر پدر من روز غره ماه اول تفنگ بدست خود گرفته بي انداختند و بعد ازان منصبداران و برق اندازان سر میدادند و درهیچ وقت غیر ازین نبود که در سر هرماه این غوغا نمایند و من نیز بدان دستور اول تفنگ از دست خود مي اندازم و دیگر شروع از حمد مي شود

SIZE.—8vo., 109 pages of 16 lines to a page.

EXTRACTS.

[2] When the troops and generals of Khusrú's army despaired of the capture of the fort, and news arrived of the royal army being

[1] Critical Essay on Various Manuscript Works, p. 40.

[2] [This translation was made by Sir H. M. Elliot. It has been compared with Major Price's translation, and with his MS. now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. The chief variations are attributable to differences in the original texts; but in minor points Sir H. Elliot's translation often represents more accurately the sense of the MS.]

in pursuit, they perceived that they had committed extreme folly, and had not obtained any place where they could remain secure. Distracted as they were, they set their hearts upon battle, and determined that with twelve thousand men they would make a night attack upon my victorious army.

With this design, on Tuesday, between the hours of evening- and bed-prayer, they abandoned the siege of the fort of Lahore, and withdrew. The next evening the intelligence reached me at the *saráí* of Kazí Alí, that Khusrú, after raising the siege of Lahore, had gone off with nearly 20,000 wretches. On receipt of this news, fire inflamed my breast, and I reflected that perhaps he might have undertaken some other expedition. That very night, though rain was falling heavily, I ordered that the camp should be struck, and we marched to Dewál, crossing the river at Govindwál.

On Thursday, about noon, Shaikh Faríd succeeded in intercepting the army of Khusrú, and found himself in presence of the luckless enemy. I was seated at Sultánpúr, and at that moment they had just brought me a tray of food, and I was about to eat something, when news arrived that the action had commenced. I took only a mouthful for good luck's sake, while they were preparing my charger. I then mounted and galloped off. I did not stay to put my army in array, and although I demanded my arms, yet I took nothing but my sword and spear with me, and commending myself to God, proceeded in the utmost haste towards the scene of action. There were about 10,000 cavalry with me, but I ordered the paymaster to get ready the reserve and follow me. When I arrived at the bridge of Govindwál, I sent on nearly 20,000 men to support Shaikh Faríd.

I also despatched Mír Jamálu-d dín Husain Injú to Khusrú, to give him advice, to the effect that although the devil had drawn him from the right path, and that he was now actually engaged in open contest with me, I was ready to pardon his crime, provided he accompanied Mír Jamálu-d dín to my presence, and confessing shame for his proceedings, would relieve

himself of the responsibility of sacrificing me and the slaves of God. Though himself well inclined to repair to my presence, he was withheld by the counsels of the desperate and turbulent profligates with him, and the reply which he conveyed to me through Jamálu-d dín imported that, having proceeded so far, there was no alternative but the sword, and that God Almighty would give the crown to that head which he knew to be worthy of the empire.

When this reply was communicated to me by Mír Jamálu-d dín, I no longer entertained any compassion for my headlong son, and, being without remedy, I sent to announce to Shaikh Faríd that there was no longer need to wait further orders, and that he was at once to attack the main body of the rebels. When the Shaikh received this announcement, Bahádur Khán Uzbek commenced the attack on their rear with 10,000 cavalry, while Shaikh Faríd attacked the enemy in front with 20,000 men. The battle commenced two hours after sunrise, and did not close till sunset. As the assistance of God and the future of the empire were on my side, nearly 10,000 horsemen of the enemy were slain in the battle and pursuit.

Bahádur Khán Uzbek happened to come to the very spot where Khusrú, having dismounted from his horse, had seated himself on a litter, conceiving that in the tumult of the battle he would not be recognized and be taken captive. Bahádur Khán, however, on recognizing him, caused him to be immediately surrounded by his troops, just as Shaikh Faríd arrived at the same spot. Khusrú, no longer perceiving the smallest outlet for escape, quitted the litter, and said to Shaikh Faríd that compulsion was unnecessary, as he was of his own accord on the way to throw himself at his father's feet.

I was myself at the head of the bridge of Govindwál, in some apprehension of the result. Mír Jamálu-d dín was saying that he had seen with his own eyes that the troops of Khusrú exceeded 50,000 men, and he doubted if Shaikh Faríd could overcome them that night, seeing that his force, combined with that of

Bahádur Khán Uzbek, did not exceed 14,000 cavalry. I was engaged in this conversation, when news arrived of Shaikh Farid's victory and the capture of Khusrú. Mír Jamalú-d dín dismounted from his horse, and throwing himself at my feet, exclaimed, "This is the real meaning of good fortune. But I scarcely yet venture to believe the news to be true." He had scarcely said this, when Khusrú himself with his eunuchs were brought into my presence, and laid their heads on the ground before me. At that moment, the Mír, in great agitation and surprise, fell down again at my feet, exclaiming, "This is indeed Your Majesty's good fortune, which God has been pleased to grant."

Both Shaikh Farid and Abú Kásim Uzbek (Bahádur Khán) had conducted themselves with distinguished valour, and I immediately advanced both to the order of five thousand, with the insignia of the drum and standard, a horse with enriched caparisons, and waistband similarly ornamented; and I promoted Bahádur Khán to the government of Kandahár. Shaikh Farid had previously possessed the rank of an *amír* of two thousand, and I now promoted him to that of five thousand. Saif Khán, son of Saiyid Mahmúd, had also performed excellent service, having received not less than seventeen wounds; and Saiyid Jamálu-d dín also received a mortal wound on one side of the head, of which he died a few days afterwards.

Saiyid Kamálu-d dín and his brother, terror-stricken by the din of the Imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field at the very commencement of the action. Nearly 400 Aimáks[1] were sent to perdition in the conflict, and nearly 300

[1] This is the specific name of a tribe, as well as a generic term to signify a tribe. The particular tribe of Aimáks is noticed in Bidle's *Bokhára*, p. 79; David's *Turkish Grammar*, p. xliii. The Aimáks of Afghanistán lie to the west of the Hazáras.—Elphinstone's *Cabul*, vol. i. p. 162; vol. ii. pp. 242-49. For its generic meaning see *Modern Univ. Hist.*, vol. iii. pp. 251-334. "Each of the three great branches of the Mungls is divided into aymacks or tribes. Every aymack is composed of a number of families, who usually encamp together, and never separate without acquainting their chief. When an aymack or tribe is assembled, whether to fight their enemies, or for any other particular reason, it is called orda, or, as the Europeans term it, a horde."—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 79.

wretched ingrates from different quarters were brought prisoners to my presence. The jewel-chest of Khusrú fell into the hands of some persons who were never discovered.

On Thursday, the 25th of Zí-l hijja, I entered the castle of Lahore, and took my seat in the royal pavilion built by my father, from which he used to view the combats of elephants; and I directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the river, upon which thrones of misfortune and despair I caused the 300 traitors who had conspired with Khusrú to be impaled alive. Than this there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment, for the culprits die in lingering torture. Let the reflecting man take warning by this, and be deterred by the thousand punishments, which cannot exceed those which I have described, from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors.

As the Imperial treasury was at Ágra, as my authority was only lately established, and as the disaffected were ripe for revolt, it seemed inconsistent with good policy to remain longer at Lahore, and I therefore returned to Ágra, leaving Khusrú to the visitations of shame, in the custody of Dilawár Khán, who had instructions to watch him with unremitting vigilance. A son ought always to be the stay of monarchy. To continue, therefore, in a state of hostility with him, would be to sap the foundations of its prosperity. Never have I permitted myself to be misled from the right path by injudicious counsels; my proceedings being governed by my own reason and experience. I have constantly borne in mind the observation of my father and spiritual guide, that two things are necessary for kings and princes, viz. prudence and success; prudence to preserve the sovereignty, and good fortune to maintain one's wealth. Without good fortune, wealth is fleeting, and in a short time slips through our fingers.

In short, on the 28th of Safar, I returned to the metropolis of Ágra. I cannot omit to describe, that for more than thirty-two hours after the flight of Khusrú, and while I was far from Ágra,

his mother, being oppressed with grief, refused to take either food or water, but weeping and wailing, in hunger, and doing penance like the saints, sustaining life only by the barest sustenance, departed at last, in distraction and in anger, to the mercy of God—for how can any one live without either bread or water for two or three days?[1]

Keshú Rái, in close attention to his duties, surpassed his father. By night and by day he was unremitting in his attendance. Rain or fair, he would stand during the whole night leaning on his staff. He always accompanied me on foot on my hunting excursions. For these services, I had, previous to my accession conferred upon him the order of 5000, and after my accession, I raised his *mansab* by 1000. He is now, however, from his increasing corpulence, become in a great degree incapable of discharging his duties. In short, kings do not look so much to the persons of men as to their services; and in proportion as these latter improve in merit, so will be the personal advancement.

On the first day of every month, it was the rule with my father to discharge his matchlock, and he was followed by all his attendants, from the highest dignitary to the lowest stipendiary. This discharge never occurred but on such occasion. In imitation of the same example, I have continued the practice, discharging a matchlock with my own hand, and followed by every one present.

The same passage from the Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhí runs thus in Major Price's translation, pp. 85-89.

"The generals of Khossrou, not less than his troops, now despairing of the capture of the castle, and assailed by accumulating rumours of the approach of the imperial armies, began to perceive the folly of the treasons by which they had so deeply committed

[1] Major Price attributes this abstinence to Khusrú, but in this and many other parts he is not consistent with the original *Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhí*, which I have examined. But it must be confessed that the sentence is infamously constructed in both works, and the translator says that, from some omission, it became difficult to translate it into common sense.

themselves; neither could they venture to foresee the moment at which, instead of laying siege to others, they should not be themselves besieged. All was now consternation, in which, nevertheless, setting their minds on battle and death, it was resolved, with one hundred and twelve thousand horse, which they had contrived to collect together, to make at night a bold and simultaneous attack upon my camp.

With this magnificent design in view, on Tuesday, the 24th of Zilhudge, between the hours of evening prayer and supper-time, they abandoned the siege of the castle of Lahour, and withdrew from before the city altogether. On the evening of Thursday the 26th, while at the serai of Rhaujush Ally, intelligence was brought to me, that after raising the siege of Lahour, Khossrou, with about twenty thousand men, had gone off no one knew whither; and this awakening the greatest anxiety lest he might, after all, be able to elude my pursuit, I instantly gave orders to march, although there was at the time a heavy and incessant fall of rain. The same day I crossed the river of Ṭundwaul, and encamped at Dowaul.

It was on Thursday the 26th, about noon, that Sheikh Fereid succeeded in interrupting the march of Khossrou, and thus found himself at last in the presence of the enemy. At this moment at Sûltanpour, I had just seated myself, and was about to eat of some parched wheat, which was brought me by Moezz-ul-moulk, when intelligence was communicated to me of the situation of Sheikh Fereid, and that he was actually engaged with the troops of Khossrou. Having swallowed a single mouthful for good luck, I instantly called for and mounted my horse, and consigning myself entirely to the protection of God's providence, without suffering myself to be delayed by any concern for an array of battle, or being able to furnish myself at the moment with any other arms than my sword and a javelin, I gave the reins to my horse, and hastened towards the scene of the conflict. I had, however, about my person, more than 10,000 horse, although none were apprised that they were that day to be led to battle.

Neither was it indeed in strict conformity with the rules of military discipline, to engage in conflict with numbers so inferior, however favoured by Providence, the troops being, in fact, much disheartened by the contemplation of their manifest disparity. I endeavoured to remove these impressions, by directing the Bukhshies to order the whole army forward to our support without delay, and making generally known the crisis at which we were arrived. By the time I reached Goundwaul, accordingly, my force had amounted to 20,000 horse, and 50,000 camel-mounted gunners or matchlockmen, all of whom I now forwarded to the support of Sheikh Fereid.

Things were at this perilous crisis, when I thought it advisable to despatch Meir Jummaul-ud-dein Hûsseyne with a message to Khossrou, intreating that he would retrace his steps in time, and to beware of the awful responsibility to which he was exposing himself for the blood of such untold thousands of God's creatures. From this, though himself well inclined to repair to my presence, he was, however, withheld by the counsels of the desperate and turbulent profligates by whom he was surrounded; and the reply which he conveyed to me through Jummaul-ud-dein imported, that having proceeded so far, there was no alternative but the sword; and that God Almighty would doubtless give the crown to that head which he knew to be most worthy of the Empire.

When this presumptuous reply from Khossrou was communicated to me by Meir Jummaul-ud-dein, I sent to announce to Sheikh Fereid that there was no longer room for deliberation, and that he was at once to attack the main body of the rebels. These orders were carried into execution without a moment's delay. The attack commenced on one side from Bahauder Khaun the Ouzbek, at the head of 30,000 horse in cotton-mail, and 20,000 camel-mounted matchlockmen; while Sheikh Fereid, with a body-guard of chosen warriors, rushed upon the enemy on the other. The army of Khossrou, on this occasion, consisted altogether of 200,000 horse and camel-mounted matchlockmen; the former clad in the same description of quilted mail as worn

by the troops of Bahauder Khaun. The battle commenced at the close of the second watch of the day, and continued until sunset. The providence of God and the fortune of the Empire being on my side, the result was a triumphant day for me; for when 30,000 of the enemy had bitten the dust, the remainder discontinued all resistance, and quitted the field in dismay.

Bahauder Khaun came, as it happened, to the very spot where Khossrou, having dismounted from his horse, had seated himself on a litter, conceiving that in the tumult and confusion of the pursuit, he might possibly be able to escape without being known, Bahauder Khaun caused him, however, to be immediately surrounded by his troops, and Sheikh Fereid arriving also on the spot, Khossrou, no longer perceiving the smallest outlet for escape, and that he must be overtaken without alternative, quitted the *singhassun* (or covered litter), on which he lay concealed, and announced to Sheikh Fereid that all further force was unnecessary, as he was, of his own accord, on the way to throw himself at his father's feet.

I call God to witness, that while at Goundwaul, at this perilous crisis, I experienced some strong forebodings that Khossrou was coming to my presence; but Jummaul-ud-dein Hûsseyne did not hesitate to express considerable doubt that Sheikh Fereid would that night be able to repulse the enemy, since, as he said, he had with his own eyes ascertained that Khossrou had with him a force of more than 200,000 fighting men. In this sort of discussion we were engaged, when it was announced that Sheikh Fereid was victorious, and that Khossrou was his prisoner. Still incredulous of the joyful event, Jummaul-ud-dein dismounted from his horse, and throwing himself at my feet, persisted in the declaration, that although my imperial fortune indicated all that was propitious, still he could not yet give credit to the report. Every doubt was removed, however, a little afterwards, when Khossrou, on his litter, accompanied by his general of artillery, was conducted into my presence.

Both Sheikh Fereid and Bahauder Khaun had conducted

themselves on this trying occasion with distinguished ability and valour, and I immediately advanced the latter to the order of 5000, with the insignia of the drum and standard, and a present of horses with enriched caparisons, conferring upon him, moreover, the government of Kandahaur. Sheikh Fereid had previously possessed the rank of an Ameir of 2000, and I now promoted him to that of 4000. Seyf Khaun, the son of Seyed Mahmoud, had also greatly distinguished himself, having received not less than seventeen wounds in different parts of the body. Seyed Jullaul received a mortal wound in the upper region of the heart, of which he died a few days afterwards. He was of a distinguished family among the Afghans.

Seyed Hullaul and his brother, two of Khossrou's generals, terror-stricken by the din of the imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field, at the very commencement of the action. Nearly 400 heads of tribes, Owimauk, were sent to perdition in the conflict, and about 700 were brought from different quarters prisoners to my presence. The jewel-chest of Khossrou, containing jewels to the value of nearly two *krour* of five-*methkaly ashrefies*, fell into the hands of some persons who were never discovered.

In the course of the same Thursday I entered the castle of Lahour, where I took up my abode in the royal pavilion, built by my father on this principal tower, from which to view the combats of elephants. Seated in the pavilion, having directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the Rauvy, I caused the 700 traitors who had conspired with Khossrou against my authority to be impaled alive upon them. Than this there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment, since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonising torture, before the hand of death relieves them; and the spectacle of such frightful agonies must, if anything can, operate as a due example to deter others from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors.

As the imperial treasury remained at Agrah, and it seemed inconsistent with good policy, in so early a stage of my authority,

to continue long among the disaffected hypocrites at Lahour, I now quitted that place on my return to the metropolis, leaving the unhappy Khossrou a prey to the visitations of shame and remorse, in the custody of Dillawer Khaun, who had instructions to watch over him with unremitting vigilance. A son ought, indeed, always to be considered as the stay of monarchy; to continue, therefore, in a state of disunion and hostility with such would be to sap the foundations of its prosperity. Never have I permitted myself, either in this or any other instance, to be misled by injudicious counsels; my proceedings, as far as they were under my control, being ever governed by the dictates of my own reason and my own experience; constantly have I borne in mind the observation of that best of guides, my father, that there were two things of permanent utility to the sons of sovereign princes, prudence and fidelity in availing yourself of opportunities; the one indispensable to the preservation of sovereign power, and the other to the maintenance of a course of goood fortune. But too frequently felicity in promoting a career of prosperity is found extremely inconstant, after a very limited period it slips through our fingers never to return.

But to resume the narrative. On the 26th of the month of Suffur, of the year 1015, I returned to the metropolis of Agrah. I cannot omit to describe that in sorrow for his past misconduct, the unhappy Khossrou neither ate nor drank for the space of three days and three nights, which he consumed in tears and groans, hunger and thirst, and all those tokens of deep repentance, peculiar only to those on earth who have sustained the character of prophets and saints, but who have, nevertheless, found that a slight daily repast was still necessary to the support of life. It may be superfluous to remark, that an abstinence carried to the extremity of an entire fast for three days and three nights together, would inevitably have sent them on the fourth day to the bosom of mercy.[1]

[1] The whole of this passage, from some omission on the part of the transcriber, has been difficult to translate into common sense.

[Of a certain Kalujen or Kumbujen, it is impossible to ascertain which, the imperial narrator proceeds to state as follows:]

In zeal and diligence, and attention to the duties of his trust, he far surpassed his father. By night and by day he was unremitting in his attendance; wet or dry, rain or fair, leaning upon his staff, he would continue to read to me from night till morn. Neither did he discontinue his practice even when forming one of the suite on my hunting parties. For these services I had, previous to my accession, conferred upon him the order of 1000 horse, and I subsequently advanced him to that of 2000. He is now, however, from his increasing corpulence, become in a great degree incapable of discharging the duties of his office with the activity which formerly distinguished him. I shall here remark, in passing, that kings do not look so much to the persons of men as to their services; and exactly in proportion as these latter improve in merit, so will be the advancement in favour, wealth and dignity.

On the first day of every month, it was the rule with my father to set the example to his ameirs by discharging his musket, and this was followed by the whole train, from the highest dignitary to the lowest stipendiary enrolled in the service of the State, whether cannonier or matchlockman. But this discharge of artillery and musquetry never occurred but on that single occasion; unless, of course in battle. In imitation of the same example, I have continued the practice, a shot from my gun Droostandauz being followed by one from every individual in my armies, high or low.

LV.

DWÁZDA SÁLA JAHÁNGÍRÍ.

WÁKI'ÁT-I JAHÁNGÍRÍ.

We now proceed to consider the authentic Memoirs of Jahángír. At the outset we are met with a difficulty about the proper name to ascribe to this autobiography, and the matter has been slightly alluded to in the preceding article. The names which are given to the Memoirs, whether spurious or genuine, vary greatly. Besides the *Tárikh-i Salím-Sháhí* and *Túzak-i Jahángírí*, they are also called *Kár-náma Jahángírí*,[1] the *Wáki'át-i Jahángírí*, the *Bayáz-i Jahángír*, the *Ikbál-náma*, the *Jahángír-náma*,[2] and the *Makálát-i Jahángírí*.[3]

Muhammad Háshim, in the Preface to his *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, quotes among his authorities three several *Jahángír-námas*: first, that by Jahángír himself; second, that by Mu'tamad Khán; third, that by Mirzá Kámgár, entitled *Ghairat Khán*, which was composed in order to correct sundry errors into which Mu'tamad Khán had fallen. Neither of these works is specially entitled to the name, the first being the "Memoirs," the second the *Ikbál-náma*[4] *Jahángírí*, and the third the *Maásir-i Jahángírí*.

[1] *Critical Essays on Various Manuscript Works*, p. 40. It is the name given to Ardishír's account of his travels and enterprises which was circulated by Naushírwán for the improvement of his subjects.—Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 95.

[2] *Ma-dsiru-l Umará*, Preface. *Crit. Essay*, p. 39. Preface to *Tárikh-i Shahdat*, by Muhammad Bakhsh Ashob. Preface to the *Akhbár-i Muhabbat*. Preface to 4to. vol. of *Tárikh-i Nádiru-z Zamání*.

[3] *Mir-át-i Aftáb-numá*, MS., p. 382.

[4] This word, signifying "a record of prosperity," is a common term applicable to panegyrical history. It is adopted in India in imitation of the great poet Nizámí, the second part of his *Sikandar-náma* being so entitled.

I prefer calling this work the *Wáki'át-i Jahángírí*, as being not only in conformity with the title usually given to the autobiography of Bábar, but as being the one ascribed to it by the author of the *Mir-át-i Áftáb-numá*, and as being in a measure authorized by a passage in the Memoirs themselves under the transactions of the first year of the reign. *Jahángír-náma* and *Bayáz* would also appear to be not unauthorized by different passages of the Memoirs. Perhaps *Malfuzát*, after the precedent of Tímúr's Memoirs, might have been more appropriate; but no author has ever quoted them under that designation.

Gladwin, who extracts from the work in the "Reign of Jahángír," published in A.D. 1788, speaks of them under the name of *Túzak-i Jahángírí*, which he says are the Commentaries of the Emperor written by himself. In the catalogue of Captain Jonathan Scott's Library the *Túzak* is said to be the same as the *Ma-ásir-i Jahángírí*, which is altogether wrong.

The copy of the authentic work which I have had an opportunity of examining is in the possession of Major-General T. P. Smith, of the Bengal Army. It was copied for him at Lucknow, and at his desire collated by Saiyid Muhammad Khán, who procured with much trouble copies for the purpose of comparison from the Libraries of the King of Dehlí, Rájá Raghúband Singh, chief of Uchhaira, Nawáb Faiz 'Alí Khán of Jhajjar, and several other places, and completed his task in the year 1843. A copy was sent to England for deposit in the Library of the East India House.

This work is prefaced by an Introduction and Conclusion by Muhammad Hádí, which will be noticed in another article. The autobiography is almost entirely different from the one translated by Major Price, and it may, therefore, perhaps be considered worthy of being translated, if it were only for the purpose of displacing the spurious version already given to the world, and which has attracted much observation from its supposed authenticity.

It is written in the form of Annals, giving chronologically

the occurrences of each year of the reign. Major Price's translation, on the contrary, gives very few dates. The style is simple and inornate, and bears in some places the marks of negligence.

The royal author speaks of two different copies of his own Memoirs, the first edition comprising the period of twelve years only. In the transactions of the thirteenth year of the reign he tells us, that when the occurrences (*wakái'*) of twelve years were transcribed from the *Jahángír-náma* into a fair copy (*bayáz*[1]), he directed the writers of the Royal Library to make several copies of the history of these twelve years, and to bind them into a separate volume, and then he distributed them amongst his dependents for circulation throughout his dominions, in order that they might become a study and exemplar for their observance. The first copy which was prepared he presented to Sháh Jahán, after writing on the back of it with his own hand the date and place of presentation. A little later, in the annals of the same year, we read of two more copies being given away.

The twelve-year work ends with the King's arrrival at Ahmadábád in Gujarát, which occurred at the beginning of the thirteenth year of the reign. In the language there is no difference between that and the complete Memoirs, and in the former there are very few omissions, not amounting to more than 500 lines, so that it is evident that it was not re-compiled for the purpose of being included in the complete work. I have seen two copies, both commencing and ending in the same way; but, from several omissions, one was a third less than the other. The best contained 482 pages of 13 lines each.

This smaller work is evidently the one which Gladwin speaks of in his "Memoirs of Jahángír." He says (p. 92), "They contain a minute account of the political and private conduct of his life from the commencement of his reign to the end of the twelfth year. They are universally admired for the purity, elegance, and simplicity of the style, and he appears in general

[1] Usually a common-place book. The word also means "paper," "whiteness."

to have exposed his own follies and weaknesses with great candour and fidelity. When he had completed the Memoirs of twelve years, he distributed several copies of them amongst his children and the principal officers of his Court. He continued these Memoirs with his own hand till the commencement of the seventeenth year of his reign, when, finding himself from ill-health unable to proceed, he from that period to the time of his death employed Mu'tamad Khán as his amanuensis. The whole of the continuation is exceedingly scarce; the compiler of this history not having been able to procure a sight of any other copy than the one which was lent him by his friend Colonel Polier."

It will be observed hereafter that the name of the continuator is wrongly given, and that the real Memoir is extant to the end of the eighteenth, or rather the beginning of the nineteenth year.

That Gladwin never saw the larger work is probable from the style in which he speaks of the Memoirs above, and from his extracting nothing from them after the twelfth year, as well as from the tables of routes at the end of the history, which do not extend beyond Jahángír's arrival at Mándú, which occurred in the twelfth year of the reign, leaving out all the subsequent progresses to and from Gujarát, and in Upper India and Kashmír. It is doubtful whether Colonel Polier's copy, to which he alludes, contained the continuation ascribed to Mu'tamad Khán, or the continuation by the Emperor himself beyond the first twelve years, or merely the Memoirs of these twelve years.

It is strange that the author of the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará*, who was a man of unusually large research, quotes in his Preface the *Jahángír-náma*, written by the Emperor, "in which he details the occurrences of twelve years of the reign," so that he, too, could not have been in possession of a perfect copy, and we may therefore consider the Memoirs of eighteen years as a very rare work, almost unknown even in India itself. The author of the *Critical Essay* is among the few to whom it was known, because

he says he never saw a copy which extended beyond the eighteenth year.

Respecting this more perfect work, Jahángír himself says in the annals of the seventeenth year of his reign, "On the 7th of the month of Ázur, the ambassadors of Sháh 'Abbás, who had been deputed several times to my Court, received honorary dresses, and took their leave. Sháh 'Abbás had despatched by Haidar Beg a letter to me, apologizing for his conduct in the matter of Kandahár. An account of it with the attendant circumstances was entered in this *Ikbál-náma*. * * *

"As I still suffered from the weakness which had affected me during the last two years, I had neither heart nor head to think about the foul copies of my Memoirs. It was about this time that Mu'tamad Khán returned from the Dakhin and kissed the threshold. He was a faithful servant and pupil, and conducted himself to my satisfaction. He knew my disposition, and understood me in every respect. He was before this employed to write the occurrences (*wakáí'*) of my reign, and I now gave him an order to continue the Memoirs from the date up to which I had been writing, and place his narrative at the end of my foul copies (*musawidát*). I told him to write it in the form of a diary (*roznámcha*), and after submitting it for my corrections, it was afterwards to be copied into a book (*bayáz*). Moreover, at this time my mind was seriously engaged in making preparations for the expedition to Kandahár, and distracted by the anxiety I sustained upon learning the disaffection and excesses of Khurram."

It does not appear that Mu'tamad Khán ever strictly carried into effect the wishes of his royal master; and it is probable he never did anything more than abridge his master's original, and after adding the concluding events, he compiled, under his own name, the work called *Ikbál-náma*, which will shortly come under review.

Jahángír seems to have rewritten the events subsequent to the twelfth year about the same period that he left off adding to his Journal, for he sometimes alludes to events subsequent to that of

the date of which he gives the occurrences. In the account, for instance, of the celestial phenomenon, which he records in the thirteenth year, he says the effects of it were felt for eight years subsequently.

Before concluding this notice, it may be as well to observe, that the probable reason for the rarity of this volume is to be found in the fact that, in the latter parts of it, the conduct of Sháh Jahán towards his father is so severely reproved that it would not have been safe to copy the work, that it was consequently suppressed through fear of Sháh Jahán, and that after his long reign, it became almost forgotten, till the time of Muhammad Sháh, when fortunately Muhammad Hádí undertook to edit it.

This will appear more probable, if we consider the following passage, which occurs in the seventeenth year of the reign, on the occasion of Jahángír's march towards Thatta, to oppose his rebellious son. "I directed that henceforward he should be called 'Wretch,' and whenever the word 'Wretch' occurs in this *Ikbál-náma*, it is he who is intended. I can safely assert that the kindness and instruction which I have bestowed upon him no King has ever yet bestowed upon a son. The favours which my respected father showed to my brothers I have shown over to his servants. I exalted his titles, made him lord of a standard and drum, as may be seen recorded in this *Ikbál-náma*, and the fact cannot be concealed from the readers of it. The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son. Many nobles, too, who have been long disciplined under me, and would now have been available against the Uzbeks and the Kazilbáshes, have, through his perfidy, met with their due punishment. May God in His mercy enable me to bear up against all these calamities! What is most grievous for me to

bear is this, that this is the very time when my sons and nobles should have emulated each other in recovering Kandahár and Khurásán, the loss of which so deeply affects the honour of this empire, and to effect which this 'Wretch' is the only obstacle, so that the invasion of Kandahár is indefinitely postponed. I trust in God that I may shortly be relieved of this anxiety!"

No one could well have ventured to give currency to such imprecations during the life of Sháh Jahán. The same objection would not apply to the twelve-year Memoirs, because in them he is mentioned throughout in extravagant terms of laudation.

[The present autobiography is longer than the one translated by Major Price. It is a plain and apparently ingenuous record of all that its author deemed worthy of note. The volume contains a good deal of matter quite uninteresting to a European reader, such as the promotions and honours bestowed upon the Emperor's followers, and the presents he gave and received; but taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and assuming that Jahángír is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses, and confesses his faults, with candour, and a perusal of this work alone would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents. Like his father, he was fond of jewels, and estimated their value as a true connoisseur. He was a mighty hunter, and took pleasure in sport, even in the later years of his life. He was a lover of nature, both animate and inanimate, and viewed it with a shrewd and observant eye. He mentions the peculiarities of many animals and birds, and shows that he watched their habits with diligence and perseverance. Trees and fruits and flowers also come under his observation, and he gives his opinions upon architecture and gardening like one who had bestowed time and thought upon them. The Extracts which follow will enable the reader to form his opinion of the work. They have been translated by various hands, some by Sir H. M. Elliot, much by his private *munshi*, some by a person whose handwriting is unknown to the Editor, some by

the Editor, and from the beginning of the fifteenth year entirely by the Editor himself. The MS. translation of several years appears to be nearly perfect, but only a small portion of it can be printed in this volume.]

SIZE.—Small folio, containing 659 pages, of 15 lines to a page. [The copy belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society is also a small folio of 823 pages, of 15 lines each.]

The commencement of both works is the same :—

از عنایات بیغایات الهي یکساعت نجومي از روز پنجشنبه هشتم جمادي الثاني هزار و چهارده هجري گذشته در دار الخلافت آگره در عمر سي و هشت سالگي بر تخت سلطنت جلوس نمودم

The *Dwázda-Sála Jahángirí* concludes at about the 150th line of the thirteenth year of the perfect Memoirs; but as the same sentence is continued in them, it is probable that the real conclusion is, as one of my copies represents a few lines above, where he indulges in his complaint of the climate of Gujarát, and especially of Ahmadábád, which he said should be called Gardábád, the City of Dust; Samúmábád, the City of Pestilential Winds, and Jahannamábád, the City of Hell.

هم درین وقت خانعالم که نزد دارائي ایران بایلچي گري رفته بود بگذشت باز آشناي که بزبان فارسي اکبه مي گویند پیشکش فرستاده بود از نظر گذشت

The conclusion of the larger work is as follows :—

دست تعرض از دامان ناموس و خانمانان او کوتاه است بفراغ خاطر روانه گردد و اگر توقف را مصلحت خود میداند هر گو که ازین ملک التماس نماید میفرمائیم

The copy in the King of Dehlí's Library gives the answer of Ibráhím Khán as part of the autobiography. In General Smith's copy it forms part of the continuation by Muhammad Hádí.

EXTRACTS.

[On Thursday, the 8th Jumáda-s sání, 1014 Hijra (12th October, 1605), I ascended the throne at Ágra, in the thirty-eighth year of my age.]

The Chain of Justice.

[The first order which I issued was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the Courts of Justice should fail in the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them redress, the injured persons might come to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs. I ordered that the chain should be made of pure gold, and be thirty *gaz* long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindústání *mans*, equal to thirty-two *mans* of 'Irák. One end was firmly attached to a battlement of the fort of Ágra, the other to a stone column on the bank of the river.][1]

The Twelve Institutes.

[I established twelve ordinances to be observed, and to be the common rule of practice throughout my dominions.

1. *Prohibition of cesses* (*zakát*).—I forbad the levy of duties under the names of *tamghá* and *mír-bahrí*,[2] together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *jágírdárs* of every *súba* and *sarkár* had been in the habit of exacting for their own benefit.

2. *Regulation about highway robbery and theft.*—In those roads which were the scenes of robbery and theft, and in those portions of road which were far from habitations, the *jágírdárs* of the neighbourhood were to build a *saráí* or a mosque, and they were to sink a well, to be the means of promoting cultivation, and to induce people to settle there. If these places were

[1] See note, *suprà*, p. 262.

[2] [Price has "*sermohary*" instead of *mír-bahrí*; but although his MS. is indistinct, there can be no doubt that *mír-bahrí* is the term used. His MS. reads "*zakát, mír-bahrí*, and *tamghá*." But in all the MSS. of this version, "*zakát*" is part of the rubric. The words "three sources of revenue" which Price uses are not found in his text.]

near to *khálisa* lands, the Government officials were to carry out these provisions.

3. *Free inheritance of property of deceased persons.*—Firstly. No one was to open the packages of merchants on the roads without their consent. Secondly. When any infidel or Musulman died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property, and to expend it according to the law of Islám; in building mosques and *saráis*, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells.

4. *Of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors.*—Wine,[1] and every sort of intoxicating liquor is forbidden, and must neither be made nor sold; although I myself have been accustomed to take wine, and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the thirty-eighth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. In early days, when I craved for drink, I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of double-distilled liquor. In course of time it took great effect upon me, and I set about reducing the quantity. In the period of seven years I brought it down to five or six cups. My times of drinking varied. Sometimes I began when two or three hours of the day remained, sometimes I took it at night and a little in the day. So it was until my thirtieth year, when I resolved to drink only at night, and at present I drink it only to promote digestion of my food.

5. *Prohibition of the taking possession of houses, and of cutting off the noses and ears of criminals.*—No one was to take up his abode in the dwelling of another. I made an order prohibiting every one from cutting off the noses or ears of criminals for any offence, and I made a vow to heaven that I would never inflict this punishment on any one.

6. *Prohibition of Ghasbi.*[2]—The officers of the *khálisa* lands and the *jágírdárs* are not to take the lands of the *ráiyats* by

[1] *Sharáb*, lit. drink. Commonly used to signify wine, but spirits are included.

[2] In law, taking the property of another without his consent.

force, and cultivate them on their own account. The collectors of the *khálisa* lands and the *jágírdárs* are not without permission to form connexions with the people in their districts.

7. *Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick.*—Hospitals were to be built in large cities, and doctors were to be appointed to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.

8. *Prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain days.*—In imitation of my honoured father, I directed that every year from the 18th of Rabí'u-l awwal, my birthday, no animals should be slaughtered for a number of days corresponding to the years of my age. In every week, also, two days were to be exempted from slaughter: Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, the birthday of my father.

9. *Respect paid to the Sunday.*—He (my father) used to hold Sunday blessed, and to pay it great respect, because it is dedicated to the Great Luminary, and because it is the day on which the Creation was begun. Throughout my dominions this was to be one of the days on which killing animals is interdicted.

10. *General confirmation of mansabs and jágírs.*—I issued a general order that the *mansabs* and *jágírs* of my father's servants should be confirmed, and afterwards I increased the old *mansabs* according to the merit of each individual. He who held ten was not advanced to less than twelve, and the augmentation was sometimes as much as from ten to thirty or forty. The allowance (*'alúfa*) of all the *ahadís* was advanced from ten to fifteen, and the monthly pay of all the domestics (*shágird-pesha*) was from ten to twelve or ten to twenty. The attendants upon the female apartments of my father were advanced according to their position and connexions from ten to twelve, or ten to twenty.

11. *Confirmation of aima lands.*—The *aima* and *madad-ma'ásh* lands throughout my dominions, which are devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise, I confirmed according to the terms of the grant in the hands of each grantee. Mírán, *Sadr-i Jahán*, who is of the purest race of Saiyids in Hindústán, and

held the office of *Sadr* in the days of my father, was directed to look after the poor every day.

12. *Amnesty for all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind.*—All prisoners who had been long confined in forts or shut up in prisons, I ordered to be set free.]

New names for the Coins.

[Gold and silver coins of various weights were struck, to each one of which I gave a distinct name. The coin of 100 *tolas* I called *Núr-i sháhí;* the 50 *tolas, Núr-i sultáni;* the 20 *tolas, Núr-i daulat;* the 10 *tolas, Núr-i karm;* the 5 *tolas, Núr-i mihr;* the 1 *tola, Núr-i jahání;* the $\frac{1}{2}$ *tola, Núráni;* the $\frac{1}{4}$ *tola, Rawájí.* Silver coins.—I called the 100 *tolas, Kaukab-i tálí';* the 50 *tolas, Kaukab-i bakht;* the 5 *tolas, Kaukab-i sa'd;* the 1 *tola, Jahángirí;* the $\frac{1}{2}$ *tola, Sultání;* the $\frac{1}{4}$ *tola, Aishyárí;* the 10th of a *tola, Khair-kabúl.* The copper coins in like manner each received a name.] [*Legends on the coins.*]

Hardás Rái, who had received from my father the title of Rái Ráyán, and from me that of Rájá Bikramájít (after one of the most celebrated Rájás of Hindústán, the founder of an Indian Observatory), was honoured by me with marks of the highest distinction. I made him commandant of artillery, with directions to keep 50,000 gunners and 3000 gun-carriages always in a state of readiness. Bikramájít was a Khatrí by caste. He was in my father's time examiner of the expenditure on the elephants, and was afterwards raised to the exalted grade of *díwán*, and enrolled among the nobles of the Court. He was not destitute of gallantry and judgment.

As it was my intention to satisfy, as far as possible, all the old dependents of my father, I issued orders to the *bakhshis*, that every one of them who wished to obtain a *jágír* in his own country must apply for a grant to that effect, and that, in accordance with the Institutes of Changíz, he should be rewarded with an *Altamghá* grant, and enjoy the same without appre-

hension of change or removal. My ancestors, whenever they wished to bestow a *jágír* in proprietary right, used to stamp the grant with an *Altamghá* seal, which means one to which red ink is applied. I ordered that the place of the seal should be covered with gold-leaf, and then stamped with the *Altamghá* seal. Hence I named it *Altúntamghá*—that is, the gold seal.

Mirzá Sultán, the favourite son of Mirzá Sháh Rukh, and grandson of Mirzá Sulaimán, the descendant of Mirzá Sultán Abú Sa'íd, chief of Badakhshán, was elevated to the grade of 1000. I had asked my father to allow him to be on my establishment. Hence I brought him up, and treated him as a son. Bháo Singh, the ablest son of Rájá Mán Singh, was rewarded by a *mansab* of 1500, retaining his former office, and Zamáná Beg, son of Ghayúr Beg Kábulí, had gained the dignity of 500, by serving me when I was Prince as an Ahadí. He now, having received the title of Mahábat Khán and a *mansab* of 1500, was nominated paymaster of my household. Rájá Nar Singh Deo, one of the Bundela Rájpúts, stood high in my favour. He was as brave, kind-hearted, and pure as any man of his age. I elevated him to the dignity of 3000. The cause of his elevation was the murder of Abú-l Fazl, a descendant of one of the Shaikhs of Hindústán, distinguished for his talents and wisdom. About the close of my father's reign, Abú-l Fazl, wearing upon his plausible exterior the jewel of probity, which he sold to my father at high price, was summoned from his appointment in the Dakhin to the Royal Court. He was not my friend. He inwardly nourished evil intentions towards me, and did not scruple to speak ill of me.

Murder of Abú-l Fazl.

The details of the murder of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl are thus described: Certain vagabonds had caused a misunderstanding between me and my father. The bearing of the Shaikh fully convinced me that if he were allowed to arrive at Court, he would do everything in his power to augment the indignation of my father against me, and ultimately prevent my ever appearing

before him. Under this apprehension, I negociated with Nar Singh Deo. His country lay on the high road of the Shaikh from the Dakhin, and he at that period was engaged on a plundering expedition. I sent him a message, inviting him to annihilate Shaikh Abú-l Fazl on his journey, with promises of favours and considerable rewards. Nar Singh Deo agreed to this, and God rendered his aid to the success of the enterprise. When the Shaikh passed through his territory, the Rájá closed upon him and his followers. They were in a short time put to flight, and he himself murdered. His head was sent to me at Allahábád. Although my father was exasperated at this catastrophe, yet in the end I was able to visit him without any anxiety or apprehension, and by degrees his sorrow wore away, and he received me with friendliness.

Discussion with learned Hindús.

One day I observed to some learned Hindús that if the foundation of their religion rested upon their belief in the ten incarnate gods, it was entirely absurd; because in this case it became necessary to admit that the Almighty, who is infinite, must be endowed with a definite breadth, length, and depth. If they meant that in these bodies the supreme light was visible, it is equally visible in all things, it is not limited to them alone; and that if they said that these incarnate gods were the emblems of His particular attributes, it is also not admissible, for, amongst the people of all religions, there have flourished persons who performed miracles, and were possessed of much greater power and talents than others of their time. After a long discourse, they at last admitted that there was a God who had no corporeal form, and of whom they had no definite notion. They said that as to understand that singular and invisible Being was beyond their comprehension, they could not form any idea of Him but by the means of some natural objects, and therefore they had made these ten figures the medium of raising their minds up to

the Supreme God. I then told them that they could not attain that end by this means.

Portrait of the Emperor Akbar.

My father used to hold discourse with learned men of all persuasions, particularly with the Pandits and the intelligent persons of Hindústán. Though he was illiterate,[1] yet from constantly conversing with learned and clever persons, his language was so polished, that no one could discover from his conversation that he was entirely uneducated. He understood even the elegancies of poetry and prose so well, that it is impossible to conceive any one more proficient. The following is a description of his person. He was of middling stature, but with a tendency to be tall, wheat-colour complexion, rather inclining to dark than fair, black eyes and eyebrows, stout body, open forehead and chest, long arms and hands. There was a fleshy wart, about the size of a small pea, on the left side of his nose, which appeared exceedingly beautiful, and which was considered very auspicious by physiognomists, who said that it was the sign of immense riches and increasing prosperity. He had a very loud voice, and a very elegant and pleasant way of speech. His manners and habits were quite different from those of other persons, and his visage was full of godly dignity.

First Year of the Reign.[2]

Remission of Transit Duties.

As I had removed the practice of levying transit duties, which amounted to many *krors* of rupees, throughout all the protected territories, I also extended the same indulgence to all the commercial places on the way between Kábul and Hindústán,

[1] [The word used is أُمّی "one who can neither read nor write, an idiot."]

[2] [Jahángír counts the years of his reign by the solar reckoning, and the first year of his reign as commencing on the New Year's Day next after his accession, with the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which corresponded with the 11th Zí-l ka'da, 1014 A.H. (10th March, 1606 A.D.).]

the transit duties of which were collected annually to the amount of one *kror* and twenty-three *lacs* of *dáms*. The whole transit duties of both provinces, viz. Kábul and Kandahár, were paid to the public treasury, and they formed the principal part of the income of those provinces. I removed the practice altogether, and this contributed much to the prosperity and benefit of the people of Írán and Túrán.

Flight and Rebellion of Prince Khusrú.[1]

[In the first year after my accession Khusrú, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and prudence, and by the encouragement of evil companions, got some absurd notions into his head. In the time of my father's illness some short-sighted men, trembling for their crimes and despairing of pardon, conceived the idea of raising him to the throne, and of placing the reins of the State in his hands. They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of limited intelligence. The Supreme Dispenser of Justice gives this high mission to those whom he chooses, and it is not every one that can becomingly wear the robes of royalty.

The vain dreams of Khusrú and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disgrace; so when I obtained the sovereignty, I confined (*girifta*) him, and quieted my doubts and apprehensions. Still I was anxious to be kind and considerate to him, and to cure him of his ridiculous notions; but it was all in vain. At length he concocted a scheme with his abettors, and on the night of the 20th Zí-l hijja, he represented that he was going to visit the tomb of my father. Fifty horsemen in his interest came into the fort of Ágra, and went off in that direction. A little afterwards, intelligence was brought that Khusrú had

[1] [This account of Khusrú's rebellion has been translated by the Editor. It is the Emperor's own version of this important episode of his reign, and it will afford the means of comparing the two different versions of his Memoirs. See the account of the same transaction from the other version, *supra*, p. 264.]

escaped. The *Amíru-l umará* having ascertained the fact, sent into my private apartments, desiring to speak with me on an urgent affair. I thought that perhaps some news had come from the Dakhin or from Gujarát. When I heard what had occurred, I said, "What is to be done, shall I mount and pursue him, or shall I send Khurram?" The *Amíru-l umará* said he would go if I would give him permission, and I said, "Be it so." He then said, "If he will not be persuaded to return, and force becomes necessary, what am I to do?" I said, "If he will not return to the right way without fighting, do not consider what you may do as a fault—sovereignty does not regard the relation of father and son, and it is said, a king should deem no one his relation." After having spoken these words, and settled some other matters, I sent him off. It then came to my recollection, that Khusrú had a great hatred of him. He (the *Amíru-l umará*) also, in consequence of the position and dignity that he holds, is envious of his peers, God forbid lest he should be malicious and destroy him! So I sent to call him back, and I despatched Shaikh Faríd Bokhárí on the service, directing him to take all the *mansabdárs* and *ahadís* he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day. * * The news came in that Khusrú was pressing forward to the Panjáb, but the thought came to my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Rájá Mán Singh, who was in Bengal, was Khusrú's maternal uncle, and many thought Khusrú would proceed thither. But the men who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Panjáb.

Next morning I arose, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be detained by any person or anything. When I reached the tomb of my honoured father, which is about three *kos* distant, I offered up prayers for the aid of his protecting spirit. Mirzá Hasan, son of Sháh Rukh Mirzá, who had formed the design of joining Khusrú, was brought in. I questioned him, but he denied the intention. I

ordered them to bind his hands, and carry him back on an elephant. This capture I took as a good omen of the blessed assistance vouchsafed to me by that departed spirit.

At mid-day, when it became hot, I rested under the shade of some trees, and I observed to Khán-i 'azam, that I had been so engrossed with this unhappy matter that I had not taken the allowance of opium I usually took in the fore-part of the day, and that no one had reminded me of it. My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dissatisfied and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Uzbeks or Kazilbáshes, and thus dishonour would fall upon my throne. Determined on the course to be pursued, after a short rest, I started from the *pargana* of Mathurá, which is twenty *kos* from Agra, and after travelling two *kos* farther, I halted at one of the villages of that *pargana*, in which there was a tank.

When Khusrú arrived at Mathurá, he met Hasan Beg Khán Badakhshí, who had received favours from my father, and was coming from Kábul to wait upon me. The Badakhshís are by nature quarrelsome and rebellious, and when Khusrú, with his two or three hundred men, fell in with him, Khusrú made him commander of his men.[1] Every one whom they met on the road they plundered, and took from him his horse or goods. Merchants and travellers were pillaged, and wherever these insurgents went, there was no security for the women and children. Khusrú saw with his own eyes that a cultivated country was being wasted and oppressed, and their atrocities made people feel that death was a thousand times preferable. The poor people had no resource but to join them. If fortune had been at all friendly to him, he would have been overwhelmed with shame and repentance, and would have come to me without the least apprehension. It is well known how I pardoned his offences, and with what great kindness and gentleness I treated him, so as to leave no ground

[1] A very involved and obscure passage.

for suspicion in his breast. When, during the days of my father, he was incited by designing men to entertain improper aspirations, he knew that the fact had been communicated to me, but he showed no trust in my kindness.

His mother even, in the days when I was a prince, being grieved by his very unseemly acts, and by the unkindness of her younger brother Mádhu Singh, took poison and died.[1] How can I describe her excellences and good nature! She had an excellent understanding, and her affection for me was such that she would have given a thousand sons or brothers as a ransom for one hair of mine. She frequently wrote to Khusrú, and urged upon him the proofs of my kindness and affection, but it was all without effect; and when she found that there was no knowing to what lengths he would go, her Rájpút pride was wounded, and she set her heart upon death. From time to time her mind wandered, and her father and brothers all agreed in telling me she was insane. After a time she appeared to recover, but on the 26th Zí-l hijja, 1013 H., when I had gone out hunting, she, in a state of aberration, took an excessive quantity of opium, and died soon afterwards, hoping that her fate would bring her undutiful son to contrition. She was my first bride, and I was married to her in youth. After the birth of Khusrú, I gave her the title of Sháh Begam. Unable to endure the ill-conduct of her son and brothers towards me, she gave up her life, and so relieved herself from vexation and sorrow. Her death took such an effect upon me that I did not care to live, and had no pleasure in life. For four nights and days, that is for thirty-two watches, in the depth of distress and sorrow, I did not care to eat or drink. When my father heard of my state, in his extreme kindness and affection, he sent me a robe and the turban which he had worn upon his own head. This great favour fell like water on the flaming fire of my affliction, and gave me relief and comfort. But the recital of all this had no effect upon Khusrú. By his wicked and unfilial conduct he had caused the death of

[1] [See *suprà*, p. 112.]

his mother, and for no reason, but from mere freak and vicious fancy, he had broken out in rebellion against me, and thrown off all duty and obedience. It was necessary to punish his evil conduct, and at last he carried matters to such a length that he was placed in confinement.

On the 2nd Zí-l hijja I halted at Hindal, and sent Shaikh Farid Bokhárí with some men in pursuit of Khusrú, and I gave him the command of the advance force. I sent Dost Muhammad to take care of Ágra, and of the palaces and treasure. When I departed from Ágra, I left that city in charge of 'Itimádu-d daula and Wazíru-l Mulk. I now told Dost Muhammad that as I was going to the Panjáb, and that province was under the *diwáni* of 'Itimádu-d daula, he was to send the latter to me, and that he was to seize and keep in confinement the sons of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, who were in Ágra; for if my own son could act in the way he had done, what might I expect from my uncle's sons? After the departure of Dost Muhammad, Mu'izzu-l Mulk became *bakhshi*.

I halted at Palol and Farídábád, and on the 13th reached Dehlí. There I visited the tomb of my grandfather Humáyún, and distributed alms to the poor. Then I went to the tomb of Nizámu-d dín Auliyá, and there also I had my bounty dispensed among the poor and needy. On the 14th Ramazán, I halted at the *saráí* of Naríla. Khusrú had set fire to this *saráí*, and then passed on. * * On the 16th I halted in the *pargana* of Pánípat, a place which had always been a fortunate one for my ancestors, and where two important victories had been won by them: one, the victory gained by Bábar over Ibráhím Lodí; the other, the victory over Hímú by my honoured father. When Khusrú left Dehlí and got to Pánípat, it happened that Diláwar Khán had reached that place. The Khán received a short warning of his approach, and immediately sent his sons over the Jumna, while he pressed forward to throw himself into the fortress of Lahore before Khusrú could arrive there. About the same time, 'Abdu-r Rahím arrived from Lahore at the same place. Diláwar Khán

advised him to send his sons over the river in the company of Diláwar's own sons, and himself to await my arrival. He was alarmed and timid; he could not resolve upon this course: but he delayed till Khusrú arrived, and then he waited upon him and joined him.

Diláwar Khán bravely pushed on towards Lahore. On his way he informed every Government servant, and every *krorí* merchant or other traveller he met, of the rebellion of Khusrú. Some he took with him, and some he warned to keep out of the way. After this the people were saved from the violence of the rebels. It seems very probable that, if Saiyid Kamál in Dehlí, and Diláwar Khán at Pánípat, had shown any vigour, and had thrown themselves in the way of Khusrú, the disorderly party which accompanied him would have been unable to make any resistance, and would have broken up, when Khusrú would have been taken prisoner. Their courage did not serve them on this occasion, but both of them made up for the deficiency afterwards.

Diláwar Khán, by rapid marching, reached Lahore before Khusrú, and exerted himself to put the fortress in a state of defence to repel the rebel. Kamál also had done his best to stop the rebel, as will be noticed in its proper place. On the 18th Zí-l hijja I reached Karnál, where I halted. * * On the 19th I stopped at Sháhábád, where there was great scarcity of water; but a heavy rain now fell, and gladdened every one. * * At Aloda I sent Abú-l Bani Uzbek with fifty-seven *mansabdárs* to the support of Shaikh Faríd, and I also sent by them 40,000 rupees for expenses. Seven thousand were given to Jamíl Beg, to pay arrears, and I also gave 18,000 to Mír Sharíf Ámalí.

On the 24th Zí-l hijja five of Khusrú's followers were captured and brought in. Two of them who had entered into his service I ordered to be cast before elephants; the other three denied having undertaken to serve him, and they were placed under restraint till the truth could be ascertained. * * On the 24th Farwardín, a messenger arrived from Diláwar Khán to inform me that Khusrú was threatening Lahore, and to warn me to be

cautious. On that same day the gates of Lahore were closed and secured, and two days afterwards Diláwar Khán entered the fortress with a few men. He immediately began to strengthen the place, repairing damages, mounting guns on the ramparts, and making all preparations for a siege. There was but a small force of troops in the place, but they were earnest, and had been appointed to their respective posts. The men of the city also were loyal and zealous.

Two days afterwards, when the preparations were complete, Khusrú arrived before the city, and commenced operations. He directed his followers to burn one of the gates in any way they could, and he promised them that after the capture of the fortress the place should be given up to plunder for seven days, and that the women and children should be their prisoners. The desperate villains set fire to one of the gates, but Diláwar Khán and the other officers inside the walls raised up another barrier[1] at the gate. Sa'íd Khán, who was encamped on the Chináb, being informed of these movements, marched rapidly to Lahore. On reaching the river Rávi, he informed the garrison of his presence, and requested them to find a means of bringing him into the fortress. They sent twenty boats, and brought him and some of his followers in.

On the ninth day of the siege Khusrú was informed of the approach of the Imperial army in pursuit of him and his adherents. Having no resource, he deemed it desirable to encounter the royal forces. Lahore is one of the largest cities in Hindústán, and in the course of six or seven days a great number of men had been got together. I had been well informed that 10,000 or 12,000 men were ready to march away from Lahore, and to make a night attack on the van of my army. This intelligence reached me on the night of the 16th, in the garden of Aghá Kulí. On the night of the 20th, although it was raining heavily, I marched, and on the following morning reached Sultánpúr. I remained

[1] [A doubtful word. Two MSS. have محازي, another بخراري, and a fourth leaves a blank.]

there till mid-day, and just at that time a great action began between the royal army and the rebels. Mu'izzu-l Mulk had just brought me some food, and I was about to enjoy myself, when the news of the battle reached me. Directly I heard it, although I had a very good appetite, I merely swallowed a mouthful for good luck, and then mounted. Aware of the smallness of the force engaged, and anxious to bring up my men, I determined to press on with all speed night and day. I called for my great coat, but nobody brought it, and the only arms I had were a javelin and sword. Confiding myself to the favour of God, I started without hesitation. At first my escort did not exceed fifty horse, and no one knew that a battle was on that day imminent. At the bridge of Govindwál my men numbered four or five hundred, good and bad. After crossing the bridge, intelligence of victory reached me. The man who brought it was an officer of the wardrobe named Shamshír, and to him I gave the title of Khush-khabr Khán. Mír Jamálu-d dín, whom I had before sent to warn Khusrú, arrived just at the same time, and he spoke so much about the numbers and strength of Khusrú, that my men were frightened, until the news of victory was confirmed by successive messengers. This Saiyid was a simple fellow. He would not believe the report, but expressed his incredulity that an army such as he had seen could have been vanquished by so small and unprepared a force as that of Shaikh Farid. But when the litter of Khusrú was brought in attended by two eunuchs, he then believed, and alighting from his horse, he placed his head at my feet, and offered his congratulations.

Shaikh Farid had acted in this battle with the greatest zeal and fidelity. He placed the Saiyids of Bárha, the heroes of the age, in the advance, and they fought most bravely. Saif Khán, son of Saiyid Mahmúd Khán, the chief of the tribe, greatly distinguished himself, and received eighteen wounds. Saiyid Jalál, another of the tribe, received an arrow in the head, and died in a few days. The Saiyids of Bárha in this action did not exceed fifty or sixty in number. These Saiyids repulsed

the attack of 1000 horse and 500 Bádakhshís, and were cut to pieces. Saiyid Kamál, with his brothers, was sent to support the advanced force, and he attacked the enemy vigorously in flank. The right wing, shouting, "Long live the King!" bore down, and the enemy, stricken with panic, broke and fled in all directions. Nearly 400 of the enemy were killed, and Khusrú's chest of jewels and trinkets, which he always carried with him, was captured. * *

I placed Mahábat Khán and 'Alí Beg Akbarsháhí in command of a force to pursue Khusrú wherever he should go. I also determined that if he went to Kábul, I would follow him, and not return till I had got him into my hands. If he should not stay in Kábul, but go off to Badakhshán and those parts, I would leave Mahábat Khán in Kábul, and follow him thither, lest he might ally himself to the Uzbeks, and bring disgrace to my throne. * *

On the 28th my camp rested at Jahán, seven *kos* from Lahore. On that day Khusrú came with a few followers to the banks of the Chináb. After his defeat, the opinions of those who escaped with him differed. The Afgháns and the Hindústánís, who were mostly his oldest adherents, wished to turn back to Hindústán, and there raise disturbances. Husain Beg, whose wives and children and treasure were in the direction of Kábul, was in favour of going towards Kábul. When he resolved upon the latter course, the Afgháns and Hindústánís separated from him. Upon reaching the Chináb, he wanted to cross at Sháhpúr, one of the regular ferries; but as he could not get boats, he went to the ferry of Súdhara. There they found one boat without boatmen, and another boat made of wood and straw. Before the defeat of Khusrú, an order had been issued to all the *jágírdárs*, road-keepers, and ferrymen of the Panjáb, informing them of what had happened, and warning them to be careful. In consequence of this notice, the ferries and rivers were watched. Husain Beg was about to take the two boats and send Khusrú over. But just at this juncture, a *chaudhrí* of Súdhara came up, and saw

that a party of men were going to cross over the river by night. He expostulated with the boatmen of the wood and straw boat, and told them that the Emperor's order was, that no boat should pass over by night. The contention and noise brought a number of men together, and the boat was taken away from the boatmen, and no one would convey them over. Abú-l Kásim Khán, who had charge of the ferry at Gujarát, when he was informed that a party of men wanted to cross the Chináb, proceeded to the place with his sons and some horsemen. Husain Beg * * got four boats, and attempted to cross; but the last one stuck on a sand-bank. At daybreak Abú-l Kásim and Khwája Khizr, who was director of the boatmen, assembled a party and secured the western bank of the river. The eastern bank was occupied by the *zámíndárs*. A force which I had sent under Sa'íd Khán now came up at a most opportune time, and assisted to capture Khusrú. On the 29th of the month, men riding on elephants and in boats secured him. Next day I heard of his capture, and I immediately sent the *Amíru-l umará* to bring Khusrú to my presence. In matters of Government and State it frequently happens that one has to act upon one's own judgment. Of the councils I have held, there are two which are remarkable. First, when, in opposition to the counsel of all my friends, I left Allah-ábád, and went to wait upon my father, through which I obtained his pardon, and became King. Second, when I resolved instantly to pursue Khusrú, and not to rest till I had taken him. * * On the 3rd of Muharram, 1015 A.H., Khusrú was brought into my presence in the garden of Mirzá Kámrán, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Changíz Khán. Husain Beg was on his right, and 'Abdu-l 'Azíz on his left; he stood between them, trembling and weeping. Husain Beg, suspecting that they would make a scape-goat of him, began to speak sorrowfully, but they did not allow him to continue. I gave Khusrú into custody, and I ordered these two villains to be inclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and to be placed on asses, face to the tail, and

so to be paraded round the city. As the skin of a cow dries quicker than the skin of an ass, Husain Beg lived only to the fourth watch, and then died. 'Abdu-l 'Azíz, who was in the ass's skin, and had moisture conveyed to him,[1] survived.

From the last day of Zí-l hijja till the 9th Muharram, in consequence of bad weather, I remained in the garden of Mirzá Kámrán. I attributed the success gained in this expedition to Shaikh Farid, and I dignified him with the title of Murtazá Khán. To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebel *awaimáks*,[2] and others who had taken part in this revolt, should be impaled thereon, and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment. The land-holders between the Chináb and Behat who had proved their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each one of them some lands as *madad-ma'ásh*. * *

The disposal of Khusrú still remained unsettled. As the vicinity of Ágra was a hot-bed of disaffection, I was desirous that it should be cleared of dangerous persons, lest these pretensions of Khusrú should be backed up and kept alive. So I directed my son Parwez to leave several *sardárs* to carry on the campaign against the Ráná, and to proceed himself with Ásaf Khán and 200 others to Ágra, and there to undertake the control and protection of the city. But before they arrived there, Khusrú's attempt had been crushed to the satisfaction of my friends, so I directed Parwez to come and meet me. On the 9th Muharram I entered Lahore. My friends and well-wishers advised me to return to Ágra, because Gujarát, the Dakhin, and Bengal were all in a disordered state. But this advice did not approve itself to me, because I had learnt from the letters of Sháh Beg Khán,

[1] ["In the excess of his impudence he drew a dog's skin over his face (*i.e.* he acted like a dog), and as he was led through the streets and bázárs, he ate cucumbers and anything else containing moisture that fell into his hands. He survived the day and night. Next day the order was given for taking him out of the skin. There were many maggots in his skin, but he survived it all."—*Ikbál-náma.*]

[2] [See *suprá*, p. 267.]

the ruler of Kandahár, sundry facts all tending to show that the *amírs* of the frontier of the Kazilbáshes had designs upon Kandahár. * * Intelligence reached me at Lahore, that the Kazilbáshes had inclosed the fort of Kandahár on three sides, and it was evident that further delay would be dangerous; so I sent a force thither under the command of Ghází Beg Khán and * * *. With a view to prevent the threatened danger, I determined to proceed to Kábul, and to postpone my proposed excursion round about Lahore.]

Second Year of the Reign.

[The second new year of my auspicious reign began on the 22nd Zí-l ka'da, 1015 A.H. (10th March, 1603 A.D.).]

Journey to Kábul.

On the 7th of Zí-l hijja, at a prosperous hour, I left the fort of Lahore, and crossing the Rávi, alighted at the garden of Dílámez, and stopped there for four days. I passed Sunday, the 19th of Farwardín, which was the day of the Sun's entry into Aries, in that garden. Some of my servants were favoured with promotion. Ten thousand rupees in cash were given to Husain Beg, the ambassador of the ruler of Írán. I left Kalij Khán, Míran Sadr-jahán, and Mír Sharíf Ámalí at Lahore, and authorized them to conduct all transactions in concert with each other.

On Monday I marched from the garden to the village called Harípúr, three and a half *kos* from the city. On Tuesday, my flags waved in Jahángírpúr, which was a hunting-ground of mine. Near this village a minaret was raised by my orders over an antelope of mine, called "Ráj," which was not only the best fighter in my possession, but was the best decoy for wild ones. Mullá Muhammad Husain of Kashmír, who in caligraphy excelled all persons of his profession, had engraved the following words on a piece of stone: "In this delightful spot an antelope was caught by the Emperor Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír,

which in the space of a month became entirely tame, and was considered the best of all the royal antelopes." Out of regard to this animal I ordered that no one should hunt antelopes in this forest, and that their flesh should be considered as unlawful as that of a cow to the infidel Hindús, and as that of a hog to the Musulmáns. The stone of its tomb was carved into the shape of a deer. I ordered Sikandar Maí, the *jágírdár* of the *pargana*, to erect a fort in Jahángírpúr.

On Thursday, the 14th, we encamped in the *pargana* of Chandwála, and, after one intervening stage, arrived on Saturday at Háfizábád, and put up in the buildings erected under the superintendence of Mír Kiránu-d dín, who held the office of *krorí* at that station. In two marches more I reached the banks of the Chináb.

On Thursday, the 21st Zí-l hijja, I crossed the river over a bridge of boats, and pitched my tents in the *pargana* of Gujarát. When the Emperor Akbar was proceeding to Kashmír, he built a fort on the other side of the river, and made the Gújars, who had been hitherto devoted to plunder, dwell there. The place was consequently named Gujarát, and formed into a separate *pargana*. The Gújars live chiefly upon milk and curds, and seldom cultivate land.

On Friday we arrived at Khawáspúr, five *kos* from Gujarát, which was peopled by Khawás Khán, a servant of Sher Khán Pathán. Beyond it, after two marches, we reached the banks of the Behat, and pitched our tents there. In the night a very strong wind blew, dark clouds obscured the sky, and it rained so heavily that even the oldest persons had never seen such rain within their memory. The rain ended with showers of hailstones, which were as large as hens' eggs. The torrent of water and the wind combined broke the bridge. I with my ladies crossed the river in a boat, and as there were but very few boats for the other men to embark on, I ordered that they should wait till the bridge was repaired, which was accomplished in a week, when the whole camp crossed the river without any trouble.

The source of the river Behat is a fountain in Kashmír, called Vírnág. The name signifies in the Hindí language a snake, and it appears that at one time a very large snake haunted the spot. I visited this source twice during the lifetime of my father. It is about twenty *kos* from the city of Kashmír. The spring rises in a basin, of an octangular form, about twenty yards in length, by twenty in breadth. The vestiges of the abodes of devotees, numerous chambers made of stone, and caves, are in the neighbourhood. Its water is so clear that although its depth is said to be beyond estimation, yet if a poppy-seed be thrown in, it will be visible till it reaches the bottom. There are very fine fish in it. As I was told that the fountain was unfathomably deep, I ordered a stone to be tied to the end of a rope and thrown into it, and thus it was found that its depth did not exceed the height of a man and a half. After my accession, I ordered its sides to be paved with stones, a garden to be made round it, and the stream which flowed from it to be similarly decorated on both sides. Such elegant chambers and edifices were raised on each side of the basin, that there is scarcely anything to equal it throughout the inhabited world.[1] The river expands much when it reaches near the village of Pampúr, which is ten *kos* from the city.

All the saffron of Kashmír is the product of this village. Perhaps there is no other place in the world where saffron is so abundantly produced: the quantity annually yielded there being 500 *maunds* of Hindústán, or 4000 *maunds* of Kábul (*wiláyat*). I visited this place once with my father in the season in which the plant blossoms. In all other trees we see they first get the branches, then the leaves, and after all the flower. But it is otherwise with this plant. It blossoms when it is only about two inches high from the ground. Its flower is of a bluish colour, having four leaves and four threads of orange colour, like those of safflower, in length equal

[1] Compare Forster's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 4; Von Hügel's *Kaschmir*, vol. i. p. 291; Vigne's *Kashmir*, vol. i. p. 333; Moorcroft's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 250.

to one joint of the finger. The fields of saffron are sometimes a *kos*, sometimes half a *kos* in length, and they look very beautiful at a distance. In the season when it is collected, it has such a strong smell that people get headache from it. Although I had taken a glass of wine, yet I was also affected by it. I asked the Kashmirians, who were employed in collecting it, whether it took any effect upon them, and was surprised by the reply, which was, "they did not know even what the headache was."

The stream that flows from the fountain of Vírnág is called Behat in Kashmír, and becomes a large river, when it is joined by many other smaller ones on both sides. It runs through the city. In some places its breadth does not exceed the reach of an arrow shot from a bow. Nobody drinks its water, because it is very dirty and unwholesome. All people drink from a tank called Dal, which is near the city. The river Behat, after falling into this tank, takes its course through Bárah-Múlah, Pakalí, and Damtaur, and then enters the Panjáb. There are many rivulets and fountains in Kashmír, but Darahlár, which joins the Behat at the village of Shahábu-d dínpúr, is the best of all the streams.

This village is one of the most famous places in Kashmír; and in it, in a piece of verdant land, there are nearly a hundred handsome plane trees, the branches of which interlace and afford a deep and extensive shade. The surface of the land is so covered with green that it requires no carpet to be spread on it. The village was founded by Sultán Zainu-l 'Ábidín, who ruled firmly over Kashmír for fifty-two years. He is called there Barosháh, or the Great King. He is said to have performed many miracles. The remains of his many buildings are still to be seen there; and among these there is a building called Barín[1] Lanká, which he built with great difficulty in the middle of the lake called Ulur (Wulur), about

[1] [The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* calls it Zain-lanká. *Suprà*, Vol. V. p. 465.]

three or four *kos* in circumference. This lake is exceedingly deep. To form the foundation of the building, boat-loads of stone were thrown into the lake; but as this proved of no use, some thousands of boats laden with stones were sunk, and so with great labour a foundation of a hundred yards square was raised above the water, and smoothed. On one side of it were erected a palace and a place for the worship of God, than which no finer buildings can anywhere be found. Generally he used to come to this place in a boat, and devoted his time there to the worship of Almighty God. It is said that he passed many periods of forty days in this place.

One day one of his sons came into the sacred place, with a drawn sword in his hand, with the intention of killing him. But as soon as his eye fell upon him, the natural affection of the son and the royal dignity of the parent struck him with dismay, and diverted him from his purpose. After a short time the King came out, and having embarked in the same boat with his son, returned towards the city. Midway he told his son that he had left behind him his rosary, and asked him to return in a skiff and bring it to him. When the Prince went back to the building, he was amazed to find the King also there. He was exceedingly sorry for what he had done, and immediately fell at his feet, soliciting forgiveness for his conduct.

The King is said to have performed many such miracles, and that he could assume any form he liked. Reflecting on the habits and manners of his sons, and knowing that they were very impatient and anxious to ascend the throne, he told them that with him it was easy to resign the crown and to die, but that they could do nothing after him, for their government would not last long, and but few days would elapse before they would see the reward of their conduct. Having said this, he left off eating and drinking, and passed forty days in the same manner. He did not even doze during this interval of time, but like a great saint he directed his whole attention to the worship of the Omnipotent God. On the fortieth day he delivered his

soul to the angel of death, and met with the mercy of his Maker.

He left three sons, viz. Ádam Khán, Hájí Khán, and Bahrám Khán. They quarrelled among themselves, and at last lost the dominions of their father. The sovereignty of Kashmír fell into the hands of a class called Chaks, who were formerly but common soldiers. Three rulers of this tribe constructed three buildings on the remaining three faces of the foundation which was laid by Zainu-l 'Ábidín in the lake of Ulur, but none of them is so substantial as the first one built by that King.

Kashmír is a delightful country in the seasons of autumn and spring. I visited it in the former season, and found it even more charming than I had anticipated. I never was there in spring, but I hope some time or other to be there during that season.

[1]On Saturday, the 1st of Muharram, I marched from the bank of the Behat to Rohtás, with one stage intervening. The fort of Rohtás is one of the buildings of Sher Khán Afghán, and is constructed amongst the ravines, where it was scarcely conceivable that so strong a position could have been obtained. As this tract is near the country of the Gakkhurs, a troublesome and turbulent race, it came into his head to build this fort for the purpose of overawing and controlling them. Sher Khán died when only a portion of the work was done, but it was completed by his son Salím Khán. Over one of the doors the cost of the fort is engraven on a stone, which is set in the wall. The amount is 16,10,00,000 *dáms* and something more, which is 34,25,000 rupees of Hindústán,[2] 120,000 *túmáns* of Írán, or 1,21,75,000 *khánis* of Túrán.

On Tuesday, the 4th, I marched four *kos* and three-quarters to Tillah,[3] which means "a hill" in the Gakkhur language.

[1] [Sir H. M. Elliot's own translation.]

[2] It is worth bearing this comparatively moderate estimate in mind, for our modern travellers rarely place it under 100,00,000, and one has it as high as 500,00,000 rupees.

[3] The original reads *Bilah*, but *Tillah* must be meant, which bears the meaning ascribed, and though the lofty Tillah cannot itself be meant, yet the halting ground is sufficiently close to admit of its deriving its name from that conspicuous hill.

From that place I marched to the village of Bhakra,[1] which in the language of the same people is the name of a shrub with white flowers without any odour. From Tillah to Bhakra I marched the whole way through the bed of a river,[2] in which water was then flowing, and the oleander bushes were in full bloom, and of exquisite colour, like peach blossoms. In Hindústán this evergreen is always in flower. There were very many growing at the sides of this stream, and I ordered my personal attendants, both horse and foot, to bind bunches of the flowers in their turbans, and I directed that the turbans of those who would not decorate themselves in this fashion should be taken off their heads. I thus got up a beautiful garden.

On Thursday, the 6th, Hatyá[3] was the encamping ground. On this march a great many Palás[4] shrubs were found in blossom. This shrub is also peculiar to the jungles of Hindústán. It has no fragrance in its flowers, which are of a fiery orange colour. The trunk is black. The flowers are the size of a red rose, or even bigger. It was such a sight that it was impossible to take one's eyes off it. As the air was very charming, and as, in consequence of a veil of clouds obscuring the light of the sun, there was a slight shower, I indulged myself in drinking wine. In short, I enjoyed myself amazingly on this march.

[1] This is now called Bakrála, correctly Bekkrála. The local name for this flower is Phakra, elsewhere it is ordinarily called Haft-chingara. It is not more common at Bakrála than elsewhere in the neighbourhood, and I could get no one to acknowledge that this was, or could be, the origin of the name; so I suspect that the royal autobiographer has been deceived by his informants.

[2] This is the Káhan, a troublesome stream, full of quicksands.

[3] This is a few miles beyond the usual encamping ground at present, which is Dhamak, a most impracticable name of which to obtain the true pronunciation. In the village and by the same men I have heard it variously given as Damak, Dhamak, Damihak, Tam'ak, Tamiák, Tamihak, the *d* and *t* being convertible in these parts, as "antá" for "andá," an egg. It was here that Shahábu-d dín Ghorí was assassinated, and in the lines which record the dates of his death, given in the *Lubbu-t Tawárikh*, the place is called Damyek. One of our road books (in the Bengal and Agra Guide) renders the confusion worse confounded, by attempting to be specific, and recording it as "Tamako, near Dhamack." Dhamak appears the most correct. The *zamindárs* are of the Awán tribe.

[4] Generally called "Dhák," *Butea frondosa*.

This place is called Hatyá because it was founded by a Gakkhur named Hátí. The country from Márgalla to Hatyá is called Pothúwár.[1] Within this tract there are but few crows to be found. Between Rohtás and Hatyá is the country of the Búgyáls,[2] who are of the same stock, and connected with the Gakkhurs.

On Friday I marched four *kos* and three-quarters to Pakka, so called because it has a *saráí* built of baked bricks; and Pakka in the Hindí language means "baked." There was nothing but dust on the road; and in consequence of the annoyances I experienced, I found it a very troublesome march. In this place most of the sorrel brought from Kábul got injured.

On Saturday, the 8th, I marched four and a half *kos* to a place called Khar, which means "broken ground" in the Gakkhur language.[3] This country is very bare of trees.[4]

On Sunday I pitched my camp on the other side of Ráwal Pindí, so called because it was founded by a Hindú named Ráwal, and Pindí[5] in that language means "a village." Near this place there is a stream of flowing water in a ravine, which

[1] It is so called now, or rather Pathwár, but the pronunciation is not distinct. Various origins are ascribed to the name, none of them satisfactory. One is, that Phútwár is the proper name, on account of the mixed tribes which this table-land contains, in consequence of the frequent depopulation it has undergone. Another, that when it was under Kashmír, the collections used to be carried there in bags, called *pithú*. Another, because the land is *patwár*, or level between the hills which form its boundaries. There are tracts in India, as those under the Sindian and Sulaimání Hills, called Pát, for this reason; but the ground here can only be called level by comparison, for it is intersected by ravines in every direction, and this very fact is assigned as another origin of the name, the soil being *phútwár*, or broken. As this is conspicuously the case all the way from Dhamak to Márgalla, I am disposed to look on this as the most probable origin, though the present pronunciation omits the aspirate with the *p*.

[2] This tract is now called Búgyál from the Gakkhur tribe of that name, descendants of Sultán Búgá.

[3] Spelt "Kor" in the original, but Khor must be meant, as it bears the meaning ascribed to it in the text, though there is no village of that name. The present encamping ground is Mánikyála, where is the celebrated Buddhist tope, of which it is surprising that Jahángír makes no mention.

[4] A later traveller, speaking of this country, says truly, "I never passed through a country so devoid of any pretension to beauty."—Baron Hügel's *Travels*, p. 238.

[5] It can scarcely be called Hindí. It prevails throughout the Panjáb, but is unknown to the east of the Jumna.

empties itself into a tank. As the place was not destitute of charms, I remained there for a short time. I asked the Gakkhurs what the depth of the water was. They gave no specific answer, and added, "We have heard from our fathers that there are alligators in this water, which wound and kill every animal that goes into it, and on this account no one dares enter it." I ordered a sheep to be thrown into the water, which swam round the whole tank, and came out safe. After that I ordered a swimmer to go in, and he also emerged safe. It was therefore evident that there was no foundation for what the Gakkhurs asserted. The breadth of this water is about a bow-shot.

On Monday I encamped at Kharbuza. The Gakkhurs in former days erected a domed structure here, in which they used to collect tolls from travellers. As the dome is in shape like a melon, it was called Kharbuza.

On Tuesday, the 11th, the camp moved to Kálá-páni, which means in Hindí "black water." On this march there occurs a hill called Márgalla.[1] *Már*, in Hindí, signifies "to rob on the highway," and *galla*, "a caravan,"—that is, it is a place where caravans are plundered. Up to this extends the boundary of the country of the Gakkhurs. These fellows are strange animals, always squabbling and fighting with one another. I did all I could to effect a reconciliation, but without effect. "The life of fools is held very cheap in troublous times."

On Wednesday, our encamping ground was Bábá Hasan Abdál. About a *kos* to the east of this place there is a cascade, over which the water flows with great rapidity. On the whole road to Kábul there is no stream like this, but on the road to Kashmír thence are two or three of the same kind. Rájá Mán Singh raised a small edifice in the middle of the basin whence the water flows. There are several fish in it, of half or a quarter

[1] The road has been improved since this Emperor's time. There is a substantial stone pavement through the pass, which from a Persian inscription on a rock appears to have been erected in A.H. 1084, by "the strong-handed Khán Mahábat Shikoh."

of a yard long. I stayed three days at this charming spot, and drank wine with my intimate companions. I also had some sport in the way of fishing. I had never, up to this time, thrown the *Safra* net, which in Hindí they call "*Bhanwar Jál*," and is one of the commonest kind. To throw this net is a matter of some difficulty, but I tried it with my own hand, and succeeded in getting twelve fish. I strung pearls in their noses, and let them go again in the water. I asked the inhabitants and people acquainted with history who Bábá Hasan Abdál was, but no one could give me any specific information. The most noted spot there is where a spring issues from the foot of the hill. It is exceedingly pure and clear, and the following verse of Mír Khusrú may well be applied to it. "The water is so transparent, that a blind man in the depth of night could see the small particles of sand at the bottom." Khwája Shamsu-d dín Khwáfí, who was for a long time the minister of my respected father, erected a small summer-house there,[1] and excavated a cistern into which the water of the spring flows, supplying the fields and gardens with the means of irrigation. Close to it he built a domed tomb for himself, but it was not his fate to be buried there. Hakím Abú-l Fath Gílání and his brother Hakím Humám, who were the most intimate friends of my father, and to whom he entrusted all his secrets, were buried there by his orders.[2]

On the 15th I encamped at Amardí, a most extraordinary green plain, in which you cannot see a mound or hillock of any kind. At this place and in the neighbourhood there are seven

[1] It is probable that this is the place now occupied by Sikh Granthís, who have set up there the *panja*, or hand, of Bábá Nának, and have established the cistern as a sacred spot where they feed fat fish. Considering at what a late period this place came under the dominion of the Sikhs, it is curious that popular feeling should concur in the new belief that Bábá Nának visited the spot and performed the miracle ascribed to him, which is recorded by our modern travellers who have visited the spot.

[2] There is an old tomb in this situation, now domeless, which is no doubt the place indicated. The inhabitants say some prince is buried there, some say Núr Jahán Begam, but she is buried not far from Jahángír, at Shahderah, in an elegant structure like a *bárádarí* (summer-house), now falling rapidly to ruin.

or eight thousand houses of Khaturs and Dilazáks, who practise every kind of turbulence, oppression, and highway robbery. I gave orders that the *sarkár* of Attak, as well as this tract of country, should be made over to Zafar Khán, the son of Zain Khán Koka, and I gave him directions, that before the return of the royal camp from Kábul, he should march off the whole of the Dilazáks towards Lahore, and should seize the chiefs of the Khaturs, and keep them in prison and fetters.[1]

On Monday, the 17th, I encamped near the fort of Attak,[2] on the banks of the river Níláb, after making one march intermediately. At this place I promoted Mahábat Khán to the rank of 2500. This fort, which is very strong, was constructed under the direction and superintendence of Khwája Shamsu-d dín Khwáfí by order of my father. In these days the Níláb was very full, insomuch that the bridge consisted of eighteen boats, over which people passed with great ease and security. The Amíru-l Umará was so weak and sick, that I left him at Attak, and as the country around Kábul was not able to subsist so large

[1] His orders appear to have been faithfully executed, for there are now no Dilazáks here. There are some in Hazára, who call themselves Turks. Of the Khaturs there are still several villages, such as Wáke, Kate, etc., and the fertile plain of Khatur is still called after their name. They called themselves Mughals, and also say they were converted Rájpúts, whose original seat was Dehlí. Others say their name is owing to their being converted Khattrís, others because they practise agriculture (*khetí*). The little information which the people of this neighbourhood can give about themselves is as remarkable now as in Jahángír's time. Of the Dilazáks Elphinstone says:—"All the lower valley of the Caubul, all the plain of Peshâwer, with part of Bajour, Chush Huzaurah, and the countries east of them, as far as the Hydaspes, belonged to the Afghaun tribe of Dilazauk, which is now almost extirpated. The country between the Dilazauks and the range of Hindoo Coosh on both sides of the Indus, formed the kingdom of Swaut, which was inhabited by a distinct nation, and ruled by Sultán Oneiss, whose ancestors had long reigned over that country. The Ghorees descended to Peshâwer in the reign of Cawmraun, the son of Baubar, and with the assistance of that prince drove the Dilazauks across the Indus; of that numerous and powerful tribe, there are now only two or three villages to the west of the Indus. There are, however, some thousand Dilazauks on the Indian side of the river."—*Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. ii. pp. 12, 56.

[2] At that period the place was called Attak Banáras, as it is now in the vicinity of the place itself. [See *suprà*, Vol. V. p. 443.] Banáras is a small ruinous town, about a mile to the east of the fort, where the tomb and garden of Bairám Beg, the guardian of Akbar, are still conspicuous.

a camp as accompanied me, I ordered the *bakhshís* to allow no one to cross the river except my own friends and household; the main camp being ordered to wait at Attak till my return.

On Wednesday, the 19th, I embarked with the Prince and a few attendants on a raft, and passing over the Níláb[1] in safety, landed on the bank of the Káma,[2] the river which flows under Jalálábád. These rafts are composed of bamboos and grass, and placed on inflated skins. Here they call them *Jál*,[3] and in rivers where there are many stones, they are safer than boats.[4] I gave 12,000 rupees to Mír Sharíf Ámalí and the officers who were left on duty at Lahore, to be distributed to the poor; and orders were given to 'Abdu-r Razák M'amúrí and Bihárí Dás, paymaster of the Ahadís, to make arrangements for supplying with every necessary the party who had been left behind with Zafar Khán.

From that ground we moved, one march intervening, to my camp near Saráí Bára. On the opposite side of the river Káma there is a fort,[5] built by Zain Khán Koka, when he was appointed to exterminate the Yúsufzáí Afgháns. It is called Naushahra, and nearly 50,000 rupees were expended in its construction. They report that His Majesty Humáyún hunted wolves in these parts, and I have heard my father say, that he

[1] The river is not now known by this name, since the town of Níláb has declined, and Attak has risen. From the north-east downwards it is called Abbásín, and from Attak to Kálábágh, the Attals. By the Hindús of that neighbourhood it is frequently called the Sind, under which name they read of it in their Shásters.

[2] This name is derived from a fort nearly opposite Jalálabád, at the junction of the Kuner with the river which Englishmen call the Kábul river. The Kuner is also called the Káma; but the lower part of the Kábul river, which Jahángír calls the Káma, is now generally known as the Lundye, or Landa. The Lundye proper rises in the Panjkora country, and flows nearly due south into the Kábul river, opposite Pesháwar. Lieut. Macartney says that the stream is called the Káma from Jalálábád as far as Pesháwar.—Elphinstone's *Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. ii. p. 473.

[3] *Jálá* is now the term.

[4] Any one who has tried these convenient floats can testify to this. In the upper rivers of the Panjáb an inverted bed is usually placed on two skins, and the float is then called *Kha-ndo*, "a bed-boat."

[5] There is now a Naushahra on either side of the river. Near the town of the Yúsufzái bank the Kála-páni enters the Lundye.

had himself attended his father two or three times on these excursions.

On Tuesday, the 25th, I moved to Saráí Daulatábád. Ahmad Beg Kábulí, the *jágírdár* of Pesháwar, brought the Yúsufzáí and Ghoryá-khail chiefs with him to pay their respects. As I was not pleased with his services, I removed him from the government of that country, and bestowed it upon Sher Khán Afghán.

On Wednesday, the 26th, I arrived at the garden of Sardár Khán, near Pesháwar. Ghorkhatrí, a famous place of worship amongst the Jogís, is in this neighbourhood, and I went to see it in the possible chance of seeing some *fakír*, from whose society I might derive advantage; but such a man is as rare as the Philosopher's Stone or the 'Anká; and all that I saw was a small fraternity without any knowledge of God, the sight of whom filled my heart with nothing but regret.

On Thursday Jamrúd was our encamping ground.

On Friday we went through the Khaibar Pass, and encamped at 'Alí Masjid.[1] * * *

A Hindu Murderer.

On the same day (3rd Safar) Kaliyán, son of Rájá Bikramájít, arrived from Gujarát. Many heinous deeds of villany were reported of this mean and vicious character. One among his other atrocities is that he kept a common woman of the Muhammadan persuasion in his house, and for fear of being discovered, he killed her father and mother, and buried them in his house. I ordered him to be imprisoned until the facts were ascertained. After conviction I ordered that his tongue should be cut out,[2] that he should be kept in prison for life, and that he should be fed at the same mess as the dog-keepers and sweepers. * * *

[1] [End of Sir H. M. Elliot's translation. A note states that he deemed it unnecessary to carry the translation of this itinerary further.]

[2] [This excision of the tongue is not mentioned in some MSS.]

Bábar's Memoirs.

With the object of acquiring information about the history of Kábul, I used to read the *Wáki'át-i Bábari*, which, all except four parts (*juzw*), was written with his (Bábar's) own hand. To complete the work I copied these parts (*ajzá*) myself, and at the end I added some paragraphs in the Turkish language, to show that they were written by me. Although I was brought up in Hindústán, yet I am not deficient in reading and writing Turkí.

Prince Khusrú.

On the 12th I summoned Khusrú to my presence, and ordered the chains to be put off from his legs, and that he should be allowed to walk in the garden of Shahr-árá, for my paternal affection had not so far departed as to induce me to deprive him of this indulgence. * * * Although Khusrú had been repeatedly guilty of improper actions, and was deserving of a thousand punishments, yet paternal affection did not allow me to take his life. To bear with such wicked proceedings was incompatible with the rules of government and policy; yet I overlooked his offences, and he was kept in great comfort and ease. It was discovered that he had sent people to several vile and wicked characters, and by promises had instigated them to raise disturbances, and to attempt my life. Some of these wretched, shortsighted people conspired together and formed the design of destroying me while engaged in hunting at Kábul and its vicinity; but as the favour of Providence is the protector and preserver of kings, they found no opportunity to commit that crime. The day on which I halted at Surkháb, one of the conspirators hastily came to Khwája Kuraishí, the *díwán* of Prince Khurram, and said that about 500 insurgents, with Fathu-lla, son of Hakím Abú-l Fath, Núru-d dín, son of Ghiyásu-d dín Alí, Ásaf Khán, and Sharíf, son of I'timádu-d daula, were, at the instigation of Khusrú, on the watch for a suitable opportunity of making an attack upon me. The Khwájá immediately reported the matter to Khurram,

who in great perturbation instantly came and informed me. I blessed the Prince, and resolved to take measures for the apprehension of all those imprudent persons, and for treating them with every kind of severe punishment. But again I thought that as I was now on a journey, their pursuit would cause the disturbance and dispersion of my camp, and accordingly only the chief insurgents were captured. Fathu-lla Khán was placed in prison, in charge of some trustworthy persons, while the two other wretches, with three or four more ringleaders of those cursed revolters, were killed.

Third Year of the Reign.

The third Nauroz after my happy accession to the throne occurred on Thursday, the 2nd of Zí-l hijja, corresponding with the 1st of Farwardín, and the world-enlightening Sun, after leaving the sign of Pisces, entered that of Aries. The festival of *Nauroz* was celebrated in the village of Rankata, which is at the distance of five *kos* from the city of Ágra. * * *

As the magnificent sepulchre of my father was on the road, I thought that if I now went to see it, ignorant people would consider that I went to visit it only because it was on my road. I therefore determined that I would proceed direct to the city, and then, as my father, in accordance with his vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Ágra to Ájmír, in the same manner I would also walk from the city to his splendid sepulchre, a distance of two and a half *kos*. Would that I could have gone this distance upon my head!

On Saturday, the 5th of the month, at noon, in an auspicious hour, I set out towards the city. As I went, I distributed about 5000 rupees to the beggars, who lined both sides of the road along the whole way, till I entered my palace within the fort. On the same day, Rájá Nar Singh Deo brought to me a white leopard. Though among animals of other species, both quadrupeds and birds, there may be some of white colour, distinguished

by the name of *tewighun*,[1] yet a white leopard I had never seen up to this time.

On Thursday, the 8th of Muharram, A.H. 1016, Jalálu-d dín Mas'úd, who held the rank of 400, and was not destitute of courage, and in several actions had shown valour which was more nearly allied to rashness, expired of dysentery at the age of between fifty and sixty years. He was much addicted to opium, and took it after breaking it into small pieces like cheese. He often received it from the hands of his mother. When his illness grew worse, and symptoms of death were visible, she took a large quantity of the same opium which she used to give him, and died a few minutes after he departed this world. To this time such maternal love for a son has never been heard of. It is a custom among the Hindús that women burn themselves alive after the death of their husbands, either through affection, or for the sake of the honour and reputation of their fathers and relations; but a thing like this was never known to be done by any mother, whether among the Muhammadans or Hindús.

On the 15th of the same month I bestowed the finest of my horses on Rájá Mán Singh in consequence of the affection which I entertained for him. As I had asked Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Rájá Mán Singh, for the hand of his daughter, I sent to the Rájá, on the 16th, a sum of 80,000 rupees on account of one of the nuptial ceremonies, called *sáchak*.[2] Mukarrab Khán sent me from the Port of Kambháit (Kambáy) a piece of European tapestry, which was so beautifully made that I had never seen any work of the Faringis equal to it before.

On the 4th of Rabí'u-l awwal, the daughter of Jagat Sing entered my Seraglio, and the nuptial ceremonies were performed in the residence of Mariam-i Zamán. Among other valuables which Rájá Mán Singh sent with her were sixty elephants.

As I was very anxious to extirpate the Ráná, I determined

[1] تویغن is said in the Turkí Dictionary to mean exclusively a white hawk. It is not found in Richardson's Dictionary.

[2] [Presentation of *Hinna* to the bride.]

to send Mahábat Khán against him, and placed 12,000 horse, perfectly equipped, with some experienced officers, under his command, besides 500 Ahadís, 2000 musketeers, artillery to the number of seventy or eighty guns, and elephant and camel-swivels, and sixty elephants. I also ordered a treasure of twenty *lacs* of rupees to be sent with this army.

Khán-khánán, who was my preceptor, came from Burhánpúr, and paid me a visit. He was so anxious to see me, that he did not know whether he came on foot or head. He threw himself in great agitation at my feet. With great kindness and favour I raised up his head with my hands, and with much affection took him in my arms and kissed his face. He presented me with two rosaries of rubies and pearls, and several rubies and emeralds, to the value of three *lacs* of rupees, besides many other articles of all sorts. * * *

On the 22nd Ásaf Khán presented me with a ruby seven *tánks* in weight, which was purchased by his brother Abú-l Kásim in the port of Kambháit for 75,000 rupees. Its colour and form were exceedingly good, but in my opinion it was not worth more than 60,000 rupees.

On the 24th the sons of Khán-khánán, who were coming after him, also arrived and paid their respects. They presented me with 25,000 rupees. On the same day the Khán also presented me with ninety elephants. This day a doe was brought, which freely allowed itself to be milked, and produced four *sers* of milk every day. Such a doe I had never seen or heard of. There is no difference of taste between the milk of a doe and that of a cow or a female buffalo. It is said to be a remedy for asthma.

On the 11th Rájá Mán Singh, in order to make his preparations for the equipment of the army of the Dakhin, whither he was ordered to proceed, asked for leave to go to Amber, his native country. I granted his request, and gave him an elephant, which was called Hushiyár Mast.

On the 21st Khán-khánán, having undertaken to suppress all

the disturbances which had arisen in the territory of Nizámu-l Mulk at the death of the late Emperor, wrote a document, in which he engaged that if he did not successfully perform this service within two years, he would confess himself liable to punishment, provided only that, besides the army which was already in the province, a force of 12,000 horse and a treasure of ten *lacs* of rupees be placed at his disposal. I ordered that he should immediately be provided with every equipment for the army, and gave him leave to proceed to his duty.

As Kishen Singh, the youngest maternal uncle of Khurram, had rendered many valuable services while with Mahábat Khán, and in the engagement with the army of the Ráná had received a spear-wound in his foot, had killed twenty of the Ráná's distinguished officers, and captured about 3000 men, he was now raised to the rank of 2000 personal salary, and the command of 1000 horse. * * *

On Tuesday the 17th, I went on foot to see the resplendent sepulchre of my father. If I could, I would travel this distance upon my eye-lashes or my head. My father, when he made a vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Fathpúr to Ajmír on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the great Khwájá Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, a space of 120 *kos*, and it would therefore be nothing very great if I were to go this short distance upon my head or eyes. When I had obtained the good fortune of visiting the tomb, and had examined the building which was erected over it, I did not find it to my liking. My intention was, that it should be so exquisite that the travellers of the world could not say they had seen one like it in any part of the inhabited earth. While the work was in progress, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the unfortunate Khusrú, I was obliged to march towards Lahore. The builders had built it according to their own taste, and had altered the original design at their discretion. The whole money had been thus expended, and the work had occupied three or four years. I ordered that clever architects, acting in concert with some intelligent persons, should

pull down the objectionable parts which I pointed out. By degrees a very large and magnificent building was raised, with a nice garden round it, entered by a lofty gate, consisting of minarets made of white stone. The total expense of this large building was reported to me to amount to 50,000 *túmáns* of 'Irák, and forty-five *lacs* of *khánis* of Túrán.

On Sunday, the 23rd, I went to the house of Hakím 'Alí, to see the reservoir, like one which was made in the time of my father in Lahore. I was accompanied by a body of attendants who had not seen it. The size of the reservoir was six yards each way, and by its side was made a chamber, which was exceedingly well lighted, and which had a passage to it through the water, but not a drop could penetrate the chamber. It was so large that ten or twelve persons could sit in it. The Hakím presented me there with what money and articles he could produce at the time. After seeing the chamber, and allowing all my attendants to examine it, I returned to my palace, having honoured the Hakím with the rank of 2000. * *

On the 6th of Zí-l hijja, Mukarrib Khán sent me a picture, stating that the Portuguese believed it to be the portrait of Tímúr. It was represented that, at the time when Ilderim Báyazíd was taken prisoner by the victorious army of that Emperor, a Christian, who was then the governor of Istambol, sent an ambassador with presents to offer terms of submission. He was accompanied by a painter, who drew a portrait of the Emperor, and on his return carried it away with him. If this had been true, in my opinion there could not have been a more valuable curiosity in my possession; but as it bore no resemblance to his royal descendants, I was not at all satisfied of the truth of the statement.

Fourth Year of the Reign.

[The Nauroz of the Fourth Year fell on the 14th Zí-l hijja, 1017 (11th March, 1609).

It had now become manifest that, to secure the settlement of

the Dakhin, one of the Princes must be sent thither, and I accordingly resolved upon sending Parwez.[1]]

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

[The Nau-roz of the Fifth Year fell on the 24th Zí-l hijja, 1018 (10th March, 1610).]

Outbreak at Patna.

[On the 19th of Urdíbihisht, in the fifth year of my reign, a wonderful event took place in Patna, which is the chief residence of the governor of the province of Bihár. When Afzal Khán, the governor of the province, was about to march to Gorakpúr, which had been recently conferred on him in *jágír*, and which lies at about sixty *kos* distance from Patna, he placed the fort and the city in charge of Shaikh Banárasí and Ghiyás Zain Khání the *díwán*, and other *mansabdars;* but thinking that there was no enemy in the country, he never thought of making provision for the security of the fort and city.

It happened that in his absence a turbulent and seditious person of Uch, by name Kutb, came in the habit of a *fakír*, into the territory of Ujjainiya, which lies near Patna, and having made friends with some people of notorious character, declared himself to be Khusrú, and said that, having escaped from prison, he had come there; and that those who joined and helped him should share in his success. With such false words, he assured those foolish people of the truth of his pretensions. As his eyes had been branded in days gone by, he told those people that while he was in prison hot cups had been tied over his eyes, which had left that mark.[2] By these means he succeeded in collecting a number of horse and foot. As these insurgents had received intelligence of Afzal Khán's absence from Patna, they took advantage of the opportunity, and having entered the city,

[1] [Asaf Khán was sent with him as his *atálík* or tutor.—*Ikbál-náma, Ma-ásir-i Jahángírí.*]

[2] [An attempt had been made to blind Khusrú. See *infrà*, Extract from *Intikhább-i Jahángír-Sháhí.*]

made an attack upon the fort. On one occasion Shaikh Banárasí, who was in the fort, being confounded, came down to the gate; but the enemy pushed in, and would not let him close it. Then he went with Ghiyás, and getting out of a window on the river-side, they procured a boat, and endeavoured to make their way to Afzal Khán.

The rebels, flushed with success, entered the fort, took possession of all the property of Afzal Khán, and all the royal treasure. A number of the vagabonds and adventurers of the city and suburbs also joined with them. The intelligence of this outrage reached Afzal Khán in Gorakpúr, and Shaikh Banárasí and Ghiyás also arrived by water. Several letters from the city stated that the pretender was only an impostor, and had falsely assumed the name of Khusrú. Afzal Khán, depending upon the favour of God and the aid of my fortunate star, immediately marched against the insurgents. In five days he arrived at Patna. The enemy having left one of their leaders in the fort, marched out both horse and foot to oppose him, and took post at four *kos* from the city, on the river Punpun, in array of battle. The engagement began, and the insurgents, after a slight resistance, took to flight in consternation. A number of them fled back into the fort, but Afzal Khán pursued them so closely, that he prevented them from shutting the gate. In panic they rushed into the house of Afzal Khán, and there held out till the evening. They shot about thirty men with their arrows. The impostor at last, when his companions were going to hell, and he had become helpless, came out to the presence of Afzal Khán. The Khán, to quash the rebellion, put him to death on the same day, and sent several of his followers who had been captured into confinement. When I was informed of this outbreak, I had Shaikh Banárasí, Ghiyás Ríhání, and the other officers brought to Ágra. I then ordered that their heads and beards should be shaved, and that they should be dressed in sordid garments, and be paraded round the city on the backs of asses, as a punishment to them and as a warning to others.]

Affairs of the Dakhin.

[On the 2nd Á'bán, Khán-khánán came to present himself before me. I had received many complaints, true or untrue, about him, so I was estranged from him, and did not treat him with that kindness and attention which I had ever shown him, and which I had seen my venerable father show him. He had been sent on service to the Dakhin for a certain time, in attendance upon Prince Parwez. He and other *amírs* had started on this important duty; but when he arrived at Burhánpúr, regardless of the time being unfavourable for operations, and the want of supplies and necessaries, he led Sultán Parwez and the army to the Bálághát. Ill-feeling and discord prevailed among the *amírs*, and at length the grain was exhausted, and none was to be obtained for money. The men were reduced to distress, and there was no means of carrying the matter further. Horses, camels, and other quadrupeds sank exhausted. So he patched up a sort of peace with the enemy, and conducted Sultán Parwez and the army back to Burhánpúr. This reverse and distress brought me many letters of complaint against Khán-khánán, but I did not believe all that was stated. A letter also came from Khán Jahán, in which he said, "All the disasters have happened through the bad management of the Khán-khánán. Either confirm him in his command, or recall him to Court and appoint me to perform the service. If 30,000 horse are sent as a reinforcement, I will undertake in the course of two years to recover all the Imperial territory from the enemy, to take Kandahár and other fortresses on the frontier, and to make Bíjápúr a part of the Imperial dominions. If I do not accomplish this in the period named, I will never show my face at Court again." As the relations between Khán-khánán and the other *sárdars* were unsatisfactory, I did not think it right to uphold him, so I removed him, and appointed Khán Jahán to the command. * *

From the time of the conquest of Ahmadnagar by my late brother Dániyál to the present, the place had been under the command of Khwájá Beg Mirzá Safawí, a relation of Sháh

Tahmasp of Persia; but since their late successes, the Dakhinís had invested the town. Every effort was made to defend the place, and Khán-khánán, and the other *amírs* who were with Prince Parwez at Burhánpúr, marched forth to relieve it. Through the jealousies and dissensions of the leaders, and from want of supplies, the army was conducted by improper roads through mountains and difficult passes, and in a short time it was disorganized, and so much in want of food, that it was compelled to retreat. The hopes of the garrison were fixed on this force, and its retreat filled them with despair. They desired to evacuate the place. Khwájá Beg Mírzá did his best to console and encourage them; but in vain, so he capitulated on terms, and retired with his men to Burhánpúr. When the despatches arrived, and I found that the Khwájá had fought bravely and done his best, I promoted him to a *mansab* of 5000, and gave him a suitable *jágír*.] * * * * * * *

Sixth Year of the Reign.

[New Year's Day of the sixth year fell on the 6th Muharram, 1020 (12th March, 1611).] * * * * * *

One of the royal slaves, who was employed as an ornamental carver, presented me with a most extraordinary instance of his ingenuity. It was such a marvel as I had neither seen nor heard of before, and therefore a brief description of it will be interesting. He had fixed within the shell of a filbert a piece of painted ivory, which he had divided into four compartments. The first contains five individuals. Two are wrestling with each other, the third stands with a spear, the fourth bears a heavy stone, and the fifth is sitting with his hands on the ground, with a staff, a bow, and a cup before him. The second part represents a throne, on which a king sits under a magnificent canopy. One leg is crossed over the other, and he has a cushion behind his back. Five servants are in attendance round about him, and the shade of a tree spreads over the whole. The third part exhibits a party of rope-dancers. There is a long bamboo sup-

ported by three ropes. One man dances upon the rope in an extraordinary attitude. He holds his right leg at the back of his head by his left hand. There is a goat also standing on the top of a stick. The second man beats a drum which hangs round his neck, while the third person stands holding up his hands and looking at the rope. Five individuals are also standing by him, one bearing a stick in his hand. The fourth part represents a large tree, under which Jesus Christ is sitting. One man is bowing his head at the feet of Jesus, while an old man is talking with him. Four other men are standing by his side. In acknowledgment of this wonderful piece of workmanship, I rewarded the artist with a handsome present and an increase of his allowances. * * *

Regulations.

It had repeatedly come to my hearing, that the *amírs* at the frontier posts were in the habit of requiring certain observances to which they had no right, paying no regard to the established rules and ordinances. Accordingly, the *bakhshis* were ordered to issue *farmáns* prohibiting them from observing in future those practices which are peculiar to emperors. 1. Not to sit at the *jharoka* or window.[1] 2. Not to give the *amírs* and *sardárs* serving under them the annoyance of their own chair or of requiring obeisance to the chair.[2] 3. Not to have elephant fights. 4. Not to punish any person by ordering him to be blinded, or to have his nose or ears cut off. 5. Not to forcibly impose Musulmán burdens (*taklíf-i Musulmání*) on any one.[3] 6. Not to grant titles to their

[1] [Not to show themselves at the window to the people, as was the practice of emperors.]

[2] [The words are بامرا و سرداران کومکي تکليف چوکي خود و تسليم چوکي نکنند. The *Ma-dsir* repeats the exact words. The *Ikbál-náma* substitutes بندهاي پادشاهي (servants of the State) for the first part of the sentence, and leaves out the second *chauki* (chair). The meaning is perhaps this: "They were not to sit in state themselves nor to require obeisance to an empty chair placed for the Emperor."]

[3] [This prohibition is not repeated either in the *Ikbál-náma* or *Ma-dsir-i Jahángíri*.]

servants. 7. Not to require the servants of the State to bow their bodies or to touch the ground before them.[1] 8. Not to trouble the singers and musicians to give chairs after the manner of a *darbar*.[2] 9. Not to have the drums beaten at the time of their going out. 10. When they presented a horse or elephant to any man, whether a public or private servant, they were not to require obeisance from him with a horse's bridle or an elephant's goad placed upon his back. 11. Not to make the royal servants to walk on foot in their retinue. 12. Not to place their seals upon letters addressed to royal servants. These rules, which were promulgated under the title of *A'in-i Jahángíri*, are now in force.

Seventh Year of the Reign.

[New Year's Day of the seventh year fell on the 17th Muharram, 1021 (12th March, 1612).]

War in Bengal.

[Just at this time, a despatch arrived from Islám Khán, with intelligence of the defeat of the enemy, and the deliverance of the country of Bengal from the sway of 'Usmán the Afghán. Before entering upon this subject, a few particulars respecting Bengal may be recorded. It is an extensive country, situated in the second clime. Its length is 450 *kos*, extending from Bandar Chátgám (the port of Chittagong) to Garhí, and its breadth, from the northern mountains to the province of Madáran (Midnapúr), is 220 *kos*. Its revenue amounted to sixty *krórs* of *dáms*.[3] In former times, its governors always maintained 8000 horse, one *lac* of foot soldiers, 1000 elephants, and 400 or 500 war boats. From the time of Sher Khán Afghán and his son Salím Khán,

[1] [To make *kornish* or *taslím*.]

[2] [تکلیف چوکي دادن نکنند The *Ikbál-náma* omits this interdict. The *Ma-dsir* transposes the words "*chauki dádan*" and reads "*dádan-i chauki*." There would seem to be some conventional meaning of the words "*taklif chauki*," which was not generally understood even when these works were written.]

[3] [One *kror* and fifty *lacs* of rupees.—*Ikbal-náma*.]

this country had remained in the possession of the Afgháns.[1] When my revered father mounted and adorned the throne of Hindústán, he appointed an army to subdue it. Strenuous efforts to effect its conquest were for a long time maintained, and at length it was wrested from the hands of Dáúd Kirání, the last ruler of the country, who was killed, and his forces defeated and scattered by Khán Jahán.

From that time to the present the country has been governed by servants of the Empire, excepting only a remnant of Afgháns who remained in the recesses and on the borders of the country. By degrees these fell into trouble and distress, and the whole country was annexed to the Imperial dominions. When I ascended the throne, in the first year of my reign, I recalled Mán Singh, who had long been governor of the country, and appointed my *kokaltásh* Kutbu-d dín to succeed him. Soon after his arrival, he was assassinated by one of the turbulent characters of the country, who met with his reward and was killed.[2] Jahángír Kulí Khán, whom I had made a commander of 5000, was governor of the province of Bihár, and was near to Bengal, so I ordered him to proceed thither and take possession of the country. Islám Khán was then at Ágra, and I sent a *farmán* to him, granting him the province of Bihár in *jágír*, and directing him to proceed there. Jahángír Kulí Khán had not been long there when he fell ill, and died from the effects of the climate. On receiving intelligence of his death, I appointed Islám Khán to succeed him, and sent directions for him to proceed thither with all speed, leaving Bihár in charge of Afzal Khán.

On my appointing him to this great service, some of my servants made remarks upon his youth and want of experience, but I perceived that he had nobility of character and talents, so I selected him. The result has been, that he has brought the

[1] ["After the death of Salím Khán, Sulaimán Kiráni ruled over it."—*Ikbál-náma.*]

[2] [Sher-Afgan, first husband of Núr Jahán.—See post, Extracts from the *Ikbál-náma.*]

country into a state of order, such as no one of his predecessors in the office had ever been able to accomplish. One of his most signal services has been the suppression of 'Usmán the Afghán. During the reign of my father, the royal forces had continual encounters with this man, but were unable to subdue him.

Islám Khán took up his quarters at Dacca, to bring the *zamíndárs* of that vicinity to submission, and he formed the design of sending an army against 'Uṣmán and his country, to induce him to make profession of allegiance, or else to exterminate him and his turbulent followers. Shujá'at Khán was at this time with Islám Khán, and he was appointed to command the force appointed for this service. Several other of the servants of the State, such as * *, were sent with him. * * When they arrived near 'Usmán's fortress and country, some able speakers were sent to advise him to renounce his rebellious habits, and to become a good subject; but he was too proud and ambitious. He cherished the design of subduing this country, and had other projects in his head. He would not listen to a word, but got ready for battle. He took a position in a village on the bank of a *nála*, surrounded by water and marsh. Shujá'at Khán determined to attack, and arranged his forces in their respective places. 'Usmán had not intended to fight that day; but when he heard that the Imperial forces were in motion, he mounted and rode to the bank of the *nála* to arrange his men.

The battle began, and the fight waxed warm. At the very first the bold rebel, mounted on a fierce elephant, pushed forward and encountered the advanced force. After a sharp struggle, the commanders of the attacking force were killed. Iftikhár Khán, the commander of the right wing, showed no want of gallantry, and was killed fighting, while his men fought desperately till they were cut to pieces. In the left wing also Kishwar Khán fell, after performing great deeds of valour.

Although the enemy had lost many men, their intrepid leader conceived a well-devised and skilful movement.[1] He knew that

[1] [He was very fat and heavy, and rode on an elephant in a *howda*.—*Ikbál-náma*.]

the commanders of the advance and of the right and left wings had fallen, but that the centre remained. So, heedless of his dead and wounded, he made a fierce assault upon the centre. The sons and brothers and relatives of Shujá'at Khán, with some others, cast themselves in his way like lions and panthers, and fought desperately tooth and nail, till many of them were slain, and such as survived were severely wounded.

The leading elephant, a very fierce one, attacked Shujá'at Khán, and he wounded it with his spear, but what does such an animal care for a spear? Shujá'at drew his sword and gave it two cuts, but what did it care for that? He then wounded it twice with his dagger, but even then it did not turn, but sought to bear down both the Khán and his horse. As he was thrown from his horse, he shouted "Jahángír Sháh!" and then sprung to his feet. One of his attendants struck the elephant on his fore-legs with a two-handed sword, and brought him to his knees. Shujá'at and his attendant then threw his driver to the ground, and with the same dagger he wounded the elephant in the trunk and forehead so that he shrieked with pain and turned back. The animal had received so many wounds, that he fell on reaching the enemy's ranks.

Shujá'at Khán's horse got up unhurt; but while he was mounting, the baffled foe drove another elephant against the standard-bearer of Shujá'at Khán, to overthrow both horse and standard. Shujá'at raised a shout of warning to the standard-bearer, and cried, "Act like a man, I am yet alive." Every man near the standard directed his arrow, his dagger, or his sword against the elephant. Shujá'at Khán bade the standard-bearer arise, and calling for another horse, made him remount and again raise the standard.

During this struggle, a musket-ball struck the forehead of the rebel commander, but the hand which fired it was never known, though inquiry was made. As soon as he received the wound, 'Usmán fell back, for he knew that it was mortal. Still for two watches and a half, in spite of his wound, he kept urging his

men on, and the fight and slaughter was continued. At length the foe gave way, and the troops pursued them to the position they had fortified. Still they kept up a discharge of arrows and muskets, and prevented the royal forces from obtaining an entrance.

When Walí the brother, and Mamrez the son, of 'Usmán, and other of his friends, were informed of the severe wound he had received, they knew that he could not survive; they also reflected that if after such a defeat they broke and made for their fastnesses, not one of them would escape; so they resolved to remain in their position for the night, and to escape just before break of day to their fortresses. At midnight 'Usmán departed to hell, and in the following watch the enemy, carrying off his body, and leaving all their equipage standing, made off to their strongholds. Upon hearing of their flight, Shujá'at Khán proposed to pursue them, and not give them time to draw breath; but the exhaustion of the troops, the burying of the dead, and the tending of the wounded, prevented him, to his great chagrin. 'Abdu-l Islám, son of Mu'azzam Khán, now arrived with several officers, 600 horse, and 400 gunners. With these fresh troops he started in pursuit. Walí, who was now the leader of the rebels, on being informed of this, (*resolved to ask for peace*). Shujá'at Khán and the other officers accepted the proposition, and granted terms. Next day Walí, and the sons and relations of 'Usmán, came into the Imperial camp, and presented forty-nine elephants, with other tribute. Shujá'at Khán then left some forces to watch the country held by the enemy, while he carried Walí and his Afghán prisoners to Jahángír-nagar (Dacca), which he entered on the 6th Safar, and waited on Islám Khán. * * In reward of this service, I raised Islám Khán to the dignity of 6000, and I gave Shujá'at Khán the title of "Rustam of the age," with a *mansab* of 1000.] * * *

On the 16th of the month of Farwardín, Mukarrab Khán, one of my chief, confidential and oldest nobles, having received

«the dignity of 3000, and the command of 2000 horse, gained the honour of being presented to me on his arrival from Kambay. Certain political considerations induced me to depute him to the seaport town of Goa,[1] to visit the *wazír* or ruler of that place. I further asked him to purchase certain articles procurable there, which might suit my taste. In obedience to orders, he set out directly for that harbour, and resided there for a long time. He did not regard the expense, but purchased several articles from the Feringís, at any price they asked. On his return, he presented the precious things he had bought in Goa. Amongst these were a few animals which excited my curiosity, and which I had never seen before. No one even knew their names.

The Emperor Bábar has in his Memoirs given an able description and pictured representation of several animals; but it is most probable he never ordered the painters to draw them from the life. But as the animals now before me were of such exquisite rarity, I wrote a description of them, and ordered that their pictures should be drawn in the *Jahángír-náma*, with the view that their actual likenesses might afford a greater surprise to the reader than the mere description of them. One of the birds resembled a peahen, but was a little larger in size, though less than a peacock. When he was desirous of pairing, he used to spread his tail and feathers, and danced about like a peacock. His beak and feet resembled those of a barn-door fowl. His head, neck, and throat changed their colour every minute; but when anxious to pair, he became a perfect red, and seemed to be a beautiful piece of coral. After some time, he was as white as cotton, and sometimes he got as blue as a turquoise, and in short turned all colours like a chameleon. The piece of flesh which is attached to his head looked like the comb of a cock. But the curious part of it was this, that piece of flesh, when he was about to pair,

[1] Though this is spelt Goa, or rather Goh, in the original, it is most probable that Goga is meant; and indeed in one copy it is spelt Goda, where the *d* may have been inserted for *g*. Goa was much beyond Mukarrab Khán's jurisdiction; whereas Goga was in it. Goga is the seaport of Ahmadábád, and was at one time the chief port of the Gulf of Kambay.—See Briggs's *Cities of Gujarishtan*, p. 281.

hung down a span long, like the trunk of an elephant, and when again restored to its position, it was erected over his head to the height of two fingers, like the horn of a rhinoceros. The part round his eyes remained constantly of a blue colour, and was never subject to change, which was not the case with his wings, which were always changing their colour, contrary to those of a peacock.[1] * * *.

I put the *tiká* on the forehead of Dalpat with my Royal hands, selected him as the successor of his father, and conferred upon him the *jágír* and country of the deceased Rái Singh. A handsome ornamented inkstand and pen was this day given by I'timádu-d daula.

Lakhmí Chand, the Rájá of Kamáun, one of the chief Rájás in the hills, was son of Rájá Rái, who, at the time of waiting upon the late King, sent a petition, asking that the son of Rájá Todar Mal might lead him to the royal presence, and his request was complied with. Lakhmí Chand now likewise begged me to order the son of I'timádu-d daula to conduct him to the Court; and to meet his wishes, I sent Sháhpúr to bring him into my presence. The hill-chief had brought a great number of the valuable rarities of his mountains for my acceptance. Amongst them were beautiful strong ponies called *Gúts*, several hawks and falcons, numerous pods of musk, and whole skins of the musk-deer with the musk in them. He also presented me with various swords which were called *khandah* and *katára*. This Rájá is the richest hill-chief, and it is said that there is a gold mine in his territory.

As Khwája Jahán had greatly distinguished himself in architecture, I sent him to Lahore to build a handsome palace for me.

Defeat in the Dakhin.

[Affairs in the Dakhin were in a very unsatisfactory state, in consequence of the bad generalship and want of care of Khán-i

[1] This description is evidently meant for a turkey-cock—which, strange to say, is in Turkish ascribed to India, and called *Hind Táúghi*.—See David's *Turkish Grammar*, p. 133.

'azam, and a defeat had been suffered by 'Abdu-lla Khán. I summoned Khwája Abú-l Hasan to my presence, and after inquiry, I ascertained that the disaster was attributable partly to the conceit and rashness of 'Abdu-lla Khán, and partly to discord and want of co-operation among the *amirs*.

'Abdu-lla Khán and the officers who had been appointed to serve under him, marched with the army of Gujarát by way of Násik Tirbang. This force was well equipped; its numbers were from 10,000 to 14,000, and the officers serving in it were * *. It had been arranged that another force should advance from the side of Birár under the command of Rájá Mán Singh, Khán-Jahán, the *Amíru-l Umará*, and other officers. These two armies were to keep up communications, and to be informed of each other's movements, so that they might at an appointed time close in upon the enemy. If this plan had been carried out frankly and cordially without jealousy, it is very probable that under God's grace it would have succeeded.

'Abdu-lla Khán, having passed the Ghát, entered the country of the enemy, but made no arrangements for sending messengers to obtain intelligence of the other force, and to regulate his movements in concert, so as to place the enemy between the two armies. He trusted entirely to his own power, and thought that if he could effect the victory himself, it would be all the better. Acting upon this view, he paid no heed to Rájá Mán Singh when the latter wished to settle a concerted plan.

The enemy kept a sharp watch over his movements, and sent a large force of Mahrattas (*bargíyán*), who skirmished with him all day, and harassed him at night with rockets and other fiery projectiles, till the main body of the enemy drew near, and he was quite unaware of their proximity, although he approached Daulatábád, a stronghold of the Dakhinís. * *. 'Ambar the black-faced, who had placed himself in command of the enemy, continually brought up reinforcements till he had assembled a large force, and he constantly annoyed 'Abdu-lla with rockets and various kinds of fiery missiles (*átash-bázi*), till he reduced him to a sad

condition. So, as the Imperial army had received no reinforcements, and the enemy was in great force, it was deemed expedient to retreat, and prepare for a new campaign. All the chiefs were unanimous in favour of this, and before dawn they began to fall back. The enemy pressed upon them to the boundaries of their own territory, but either side held its own. But a party of our force courted a serious encounter, and 'Alí Mardán Khán, after a valorous conflict, was left wounded in the hands of the enemy.[1] * * After another day, when they reached the frontier of Rájá Baharjíú, an adherent of the Imperial throne, the enemy retired, and 'Abdu-lla Khán proceeded to Gujarát. It seems clear, that if proper precautions had been taken, and the two forces had been kept in co-operation, the objects of the campaign would have been accomplished. On the retreat of 'Abdu-lla, the army, which marched by way of Birár, had no alternative but to retire; so it retreated and joined the camp of Prince Parwez, near Burhánpúr. On receiving this information, I was greatly excited, and felt inclined to proceed thither myself to retrieve the position. But Khwája Abú-l Hasan remonstrated * *, and I resolved to send Khán-khánán * *.

The Dakhinís now made proposals for peace. 'Ádil Khán professed amity, and promised, if the affairs of the Dakhinís were left to him, that he would restore sundry districts to the Imperial officers. I did not come to any decision on the matter, but left it to Khán-khánán.]

Eighth Year of the Reign.

[The eighth New Year's Day of my reign fell on the 26th Muharram, 1022 A.H. (8th March, 1613 A.D.).]

Journey to Ajmír and Campaign against the Ráná.

[On the 2nd Sha'bán I left Ágra, with the intention of paying

[1] [He was carried to Daulatábád, and Malik 'Ambar appointed a surgeon to attend him, but he died in a few days. A saying of his, continues the *Ikbál-náma*, has become famous. A person attending him observed, "Victory is in the hands of heaven." He replied, "Truly victory is with heaven, but the battle is for man."]

a visit to Ajmír, having two objects in view. One, to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, whose blessed influence had operated so powerfully on the fortunes of my dynasty. Second, to overcome and subjugate Amar Singh, who was the greatest of the *zámíndars* and *rájás* of Hindústán. All the *rájás* and *ráis* of the country have acknowledged him and his ancestors to be their chief and head. The sovereignty and government have been held by this family for a long time. For many years they held rule in the east country, and then had the title of *Rájá*. Afterwards they fell upon the Dakhin, and brought the greater part of that country under their sway, when they took the title of *Rúp*, "handsome," instead of that of *Rájá*. After that they overran the mountain land of Mewat, and still advancing they got possession of the fortress of Jaipúr.

From that date[1] up to the present year, which is the eighth of my reign, 1471 years have passed. Twenty-six individuals of this race have reigned over a period amounting to 1010 years, who have borne the title of *Ráwal*. From the time of Rahab, who was the first to assume the title of Ráná, to Ráná Amar Singh, who is the present Ráná, there have been twenty-six persons, who have reigned over a period of 461 years. During all this long period not one of them had bowed the neck in submission to any King or Emperor of Hind. They were nearly always in a state of insubordination and rebellion. So, in the days of the Emperor Bábar, the Ráná Sángá, having assembled all the *Rájás* and *Ráis* of this country, with 180,000 horsemen and several hundred thousand infantry, fought a battle in the vicinity of Bayána against the victorious army of the Musulmáns, and suffered a signal defeat. The full particulars of this battle are given in that most trustworthy work, the *Wáki'át*, written by the Emperor Bábar himself. My father also devoted himself with great ardour to the subjection of this unruly race. Several times he sent expeditions against them, and in the twelfth year of

[1] [It does not distinctly appear what "that date" means. Inferentially it would seem to signify the time when the title "*Rúp*" was used.]

his reign he marched in person to effect the reduction of Chítor, one of the strongest fortresses in the world, and to subdue the country of the Ráná. After a siege of four months and ten days, he overpowered the men of Amar Singh's father, took the fortress, and then returned. Repeatedly he sent armies against the Ráná, and each time they pressed him so hardly that he was reduced to the brink of ruin, when something occurred to save him from destruction. Near the end of his reign, my father, having directed his own attention to the conquest of the Dakhin, sent me with a large army and trusty leaders against the Ráná. For reasons too lengthy to be here entered upon, both these enterprises failed.

When the Empire devolved upon me, as this conquest had been half effected under my leading, the first army I sent upon foreign service after my accession was this army against the Ráná. My son Parwez was appointed to command, and all the resources of my government were applied to the service. Ample treasure and abundant artillery were ready to be sent off, when all was stopped by the unhappy outbreak of Khusrú. I was obliged to pursue him to the Panjáb, and the capital and interior of the country were denuded of troops. I was obliged to write to Parwez, directing him to return to protect Ágra and the neighbourhood, and to remain there; so the campaign against the Ráná was suspended. When, by the favour of God, I had quashed Khusrú's rebellion, I returned to Ágra, and I then sent Mahábat Khán, 'Abdu-lla Khán, and other *amírs* against the Ráná; but until I started from Ajmír, the Imperial forces had not achieved any success of importance. There was nothing to detain me in Ágra, and I felt assured that nothing of any importance would be accomplished till I myself went thither.

At the time appointed, I left Ágra and encamped in the garden of Dahra. The next day was the festival of the *Dasahra*, and according to rule the horses and elephants were decked out and paraded before me. The mothers[1] (*válidahá*) and sisters of

[1] It has already been recorded (page 294) that Khusrú's mother had poisoned herself.

Khusrú represented that he was exceedingly contrite and sorry for what he had done. Having thus excited my paternal affection, I called him into my presence, and arranged that he should come every day to pay his respects to me. I stayed in the garden twenty days, and on the 21st day of Mihr I started, having appointed Khwája Jahán to the charge of the capital, with its palaces and treasures. On the 2nd Mihr, intelligence arrived that Rájá Bású had died at Sháhábád, on the Ráná's frontier. On the 10th I encamped at Rúp-bás, now called Amánábád. It was formerly the *jágír* of Rúp, but after him I gave it to Amánu-lla son of Mahábat Khán, and I ordered that it should be called by his name. It was one of my regular hunting-grounds, so I went out hunting every day. In these few days 158 deer, male and female, and other kinds of game were killed. * * On the 10th Ramazán intelligence arrived of the death of Kalíj Khán, one of the oldest servants of the State, in his eightieth year. He was engaged at Pesháwar in controlling the Afgháns.] * * *

In this month (Ázur) news arrived that the Europeans in Goa, in defiance of their engagements, had plundered four ships engaged in the foreign trade of the port of Surat; and having made a great many Muhammadans prisoners, had at the same time taken possession of their money and goods. It gave me much displeasure. Mukarrab Khán, the governor of that harbour, received a dress of honour, besides an elephant and horse, and was commanded to proceed to put a stop to such outrages. He started on the 18th of Ázur. * * *

Campaign against the Ráná.

[After visiting the tomb of the saint Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, the matter of the Ráná was again taken into consideration, and I now determined to stay at Ajmír, and to send my dear son Khurram on the expedition. On the 6th I gave him leave to depart, and made him many presents.[1] Besides the men who had already been sent on this service under Khán-i 'azam, I now placed 12,000 horse under the command of the Prince, and after

[1] [The text specifies them.]

granting presents to the officers, I despatched them. Fidáí Khán was appointed *Bakhshí*. * * Although Khán-i 'azam had requested me to send Khurram on this service, and the Prince himself treated him with much attention, he did not show a proper spirit, and acted in an unsatisfactory matter. I wrote him a very kind letter, * * but my words had no effect upon him, and he still went on in a foolish obstinate way. When Khurram found that he was not hearty in the work, he wrote to me that it was by no means desirable to keep him there, and that his relations with Khusrú were the cause of his misbehaviour. So I ordered Mahábat Khán to go to Udípúr and bring him away, and I ordered Muhammad Takí Díwán to proceed to Mandisor and convey to Ajmír his children and dependents. * * On the 16th, I received a despatch from Khurram, informing me that an elephant of which the Ráná was very fond, and seventeen others, had been taken. He added that their master would soon be a prisoner.]

Ninth Year of the Reign.

[The New Year's Day of the ninth year of my reign fell on a day corresponding with the 9th Safar, 1023 H. (1614 A.D.).

Mahábat Khán, who had been sent to fetch Khán-i 'azam and his son 'Abdu-lla, arrived. I consigned Khán-i 'azam to Ásaf Khán, to custody at Gwálior, but to be honourably treated.

On the 18th Urdíbihist, I forbad Khusrú to come to my presence. In consequence of my paternal affection, and the supplications of his mothers and sisters, I had given orders that he should come to pay his respects to me every day. But he showed no signs of frankness of spirit, and always seemed sad and downcast, so I forbad his coming to see me.]

'Atr of Roses.

[*'Atr* of roses, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The mother of Núr Jahán Begam conceived the idea of collecting the oil which rises to the surface when rose-water is heated, and this having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume.]

Submission of the Ráná.

[In the month of Bahman, intelligence came in of the submission of Ráná Amar Singh, and of his willingness to pay homage to the Imperial throne. The particulars of the matter are these: My dear and fortunate son Sultán Khurram had established several military posts, especially in places where, from the insalubrity of the climate, the bad quality of the water, and the difficulty of access, many persons deemed it impossible to form a station. By this, and by keeping the Imperial forces in continual movement against the enemy, regardless of the intensity of the heat and the abundance of rain, he had captured the families of many Singhs, and had brought the enemy to such straits, that the Ráná perceived he could hold out only a little longer, and that he must either flee from his country or be made a prisoner. Being helpless, he resolved to succumb, and to do homage. He sent his maternal uncle Subh Karan, and Hardás Jhálá one of his most trusty and intelligent servants, praying my son to overlook his offences, and to give him an assurance of safety under the princely seal; he would then wait upon him in person to pay homage, and would send his son and heir-apparent to the Imperial Court, so that he might be classed among the adherents of the throne like all other *rájás*. He also begged that on account of old age he might be excused from proceeding to Court.

My son sent these persons to me in charge of Mullá Shukru-lla, his *diwán*, who, after the settlement of this matter, was dignified with the title of Afzal Khán, and of Sundar Dás, who afterwards received the title of Rái Ráyán. My son wrote me the particulars in a despatch. * * Ráná Amar Singh and his ancestors, relying upon the security of his mountains and his home, had never seen one of the kings of Hindústán, and had never shown obedience; but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission. In compliance with my son's letter, I overlooked the Ráná's offences, and wrote him a kind and reassuring *farmán* under my own seal. I also wrote a kind letter to the Ráná's son, desiring him to specify the way in which he

would come to pay his respects, and assuring him that all things should be made pleasant for him. My son sent my letters to the Ráná, to comfort him, and to gratify him with the expectation of my favour and kindness, and it was arranged that the Ráná and his sons should have an interview with my son on the 28th Bahman.]

Good News.

The second happy tidings was the death of Bahadúr, son of the chief of Gujarát, and the leaven of insubordination and turbulence. God of his mercy destroyed him, but he died a natural death.

The third happy tidings was the defeat of the Portuguese (*Warzí*), who had made every preparation for the capture of the port of Surat. An action took place between them and the English,[1] who had sought refuge in that port. Most of their vessels were burnt by the English, and not being able to stand the contest, they took to flight, and sent a message to Mukarrab Khán, the governor of the ports of Gujarát, suing for peace, and representing that they had come with peaceful views, not to fight, and that the English had been the first to quarrel.

[Another piece of intelligence that came was, that the Rájpúts who had resolved to kill (Malik) 'Ambar had concealed themselves till they found an opportunity of approaching him, when one of them gave him an ineffectual wound. The men in the escort of 'Ambar killed the Rájpút, and carried their master off home. A very little more would have made an end of this cursed fellow.]

[At the end of the month, while I was hunting in the environs of Ajmír, Muhammad Beg arrived with a letter from my son Sultán Khurram. * * From the letter it appeared that on the 26th Bahman the Ráná came in and paid his respects to my son, with all the observances required by the rules of the Imperial

[1] *Angrezán.* This is perhaps the first occasion of the use of that word in a native book.

Court. He presented as tribute a celebrated ruby belonging to his family, and * *. My son received him with great kindness; and when the Ráná advanced to kiss the Prince's feet, and beg pardon for his offences, the Prince raised him up, did his best to cheer him, and presented him with a jewelled sword, etc., etc. It is the practice among *samíndárs*, that they, and the son who is heir-apparent, never present themselves before kings together; so the Ráná had not brought his son Karan, who was his heir. But the Prince wished to depart on that same day, so the Ráná took his leave, and sent his son Karan to wait upon Khurram, and on the same day he started with the Prince on his journey to the Imperial Court.]

Tenth Year of the Reign.

[The New Year's Day of my tenth year corresponded with the 8th[1] Safar, 1024 H. * *

Karan (son of the Ráná) was granted a *mansab* of 5000, and I gave him a small rosary of emeralds and pearls with a ruby in the middle, such as in Hindi is called *Smarani*. * *]

Drinking.

[The 25th of De was the day of the annual weighing of my son Khurram. He was now twenty-four years of age, a married man, and the father of a family, but yet he had never been addicted to drinking wine. This being the day for weighing him, I said to him, "My boy, you are the father of children, and kings and princes drink wine. To-day is a festival, and I will drink wine with you, and I give you leave to drink on feast days, on New Year's Day, and at great entertainments, but always with moderation; for to drink to excess and weaken the intellect is avoided by the wise; in fact, some good and benefit ought to be obtained from wine-drinking."

Up to my fourteenth year I had never drunk wine, except two or three times in childhood, when my mother or nurses had given me some as a remedy for some childish ailment. Once also my

[1] [This ought to be the 18th, corresponding to 10th March, 1615.]

father called for some spirit (*'arak*) to the amount of a *tola*, and mixing it with rose-water, made me drink it as a remedy for a cough. In the days when my father was in the field against the Yúsufzái Afgháns, and was encamped near Átak, on the Níláb (Indus), I one day went out hunting. I met with many mishaps, and was very tired, when one of my attendants told me that if I would drink a cup of wine, it would relieve my fatigue and weariness. I was young, and prone to indulgence, so I sent a servant to the house of Hakím 'Alí for a refreshing drink. He brought me about a cup (*piyála*) and a half of yellow wine of sweet taste in a small bottle, and I drank it. The result was pleasant. From that time I took to wine-drinking, and from day to day took more and more, until wine of the grape had no effect upon me, and I resorted to spirit-drinking. In the course of nine years I got up to twenty cups of double-distilled spirit, fourteen of which I drank in the day, and the remaining six at night. The weight of this was six *sírs* of Hindústán, equal to one *man* of Írán. My food in those days was one fowl and some bread. No one dared to expostulate with me, and matters reached such an extreme, that when in liquor I could not hold my cup for shaking and trembling. I drank, but others held the cup for me. At last I sent for the *hakím* (doctor) Humám, brother of Hakím Abú-l Fath, who was one of my father's attendants, and placed my case before him. With great kindness and interest, he spoke to me without concealment, and told me that if I went on drinking spirits in this way for six months longer, my state would be past remedy. His advice was good, and life is dear. I was greatly affected by his words, and from that day I began to diminish my potations, but I took to eating *falúhá*.[1] As I lessened my drink, I increased the *falúhá;* and I directed that my spirits should be mixed with wine of the grape; two parts wine and one spirit. Lessening my allowance daily, I reduced it in the course of seven years to six cups, each cup

[1] [This word is variously written *falúhá*, *falúhán*, *falúniyá*, *falúniyán*. It is, no doubt, the name of some intoxicating drug or preparation; perhaps *bháng*.]

weighing eighteen *miskáls* and a quarter. For fifteen years I have now kept to this quantity, taking neither more nor less. I take it at night, except on Thursday, that being the day of my accession to the throne, and on Friday, which is the most holy day in the week, for I do not think it right to pass these nights in heedlessness, and to fail in giving thanks to the Almighty for his blessings. On Thursday and on Sunday I eat no meat; that being the day of my accession, this my father's birthday. These days are held in great honour. After some time, instead of *falúhá*, I took to opium. Now that my age is forty-six years and four months solar reckoning, and forty-seven years nine months lunar style, I take eight *surkhs*[1] of opium when five hours of the day have passed, and six *surkhs* after one hour of the evening.]

Victories.

Towards the end of the year, tidings of victory arrived from all quarters of my dominions. The first victory was that won over Ahdád the Afghán, who had long been in rebellion in the mountains of Kábul. * *

Another victory was achieved over the army of the wretched 'Ambar. The following is a brief account of it. Some good officers and a body of *Bargís* (Mahrattas), a very hardy race of people, who are great movers of opposition and strife, being offended with 'Ambar, desired to become subjects to my throne. Having received assurances from Shahsawár Khán, who was with the royal army at Bálápúr, Ádam Khán, Yákút Khán, and other chiefs, with the *Bargís* Jádú Rái and Bábá Jukayath, came to see him, and he gave them each a horse, an elephant, a robe, and cash, according to their respective ranks. Having thus brought them into the interests of the throne, he marched with them from Bálápúr against 'Ambar. On their way they were opposed by an army of the Dakhinís; but they soon defeated it, and drove the men in panic to the camp of 'Ambar. In his

[1] [The *surkh* or *rati* is the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, which averages about $1\frac{A}{10}$ of a grain Troy (Wilson). The old *rati* was 1·75 gr.; Akbar's coin *rati* ran as high as 1·90 (Thomas).]

vanity and pride, he resolved to hazard a battle with my victorious army. To his own forces he united the armies of 'Ádil Khán and Kutbu-l Mulk, and with a train of artillery he marched to meet the royal army till he came within five or six *kos* of it.

On Sunday, the 25th of Bahman, they came to an engagement. At about three o'clock in the afternoon the fight commenced with rockets and guns, and at last Dáráb Khán, who commanded the foremost division, with other chiefs and warriors, drew their swords and vigorously attacked the enemy's advanced force. Their bravery and courage soon put their opponents to confusion. Without turning aside, they then fell upon the centre. In the same manner each division attacked the division which was before it, and the fight was terrible to behold. The battle went on for about an hour, and heaps of corpses were formed. 'Ambar, unable to withstand the royal army, fled from the field, and had it not been a very dark night, none of the enemy would have escaped. The great warriors of the royal army pursued the fugitives for about two or three *kos*, till horse and man were unable to move. The enemy was totally defeated and dispersed, and the warriors returned to their camp. All the enemy's guns, with 300 camels laden with rockets, many elephants, horses, and munitions of war to an incalculable extent, fell into the hands of the victorious army. The killed and wounded were innumerable, and a great number of chiefs were captured alive. Next day the army having moved from Fathpúr, marched towards Khirkí, which had been the shelter of the rebels; but no trace of them was found. It encamped there, and learnt that the enemy were completely disorganized.

The third conquest achieved in those days was that by which the territory of Kokrah and its diamond mines were taken possession of, through the enterprising exertions of Ibráhím Khán. The territory belongs to the province of Bihár and Patna, and through it there runs a stream, from which diamonds are extracted in a very peculiar manner. In the days when the water is low, and is left in little holes and troughs, the people

whose business it is to extract the diamonds, and who have great expertness in the art, search out for those portions from which they observe many little insects issue like gnats, which are called in the language of those people *chika*. These parts, along the whole course of the stream which is accessible, they fence round with a wall of stones, and then dig it up with spades and axes, to about one yard and a half deep, and search among the stones and mud which are brought up. In such soil both large and small diamonds are found, and sometimes so large that they are worth even a *lac* of rupees. In short, this territory and the stream from the bed of which diamonds are extracted were in the possession of Durjan Sál, *zamíndár*. Although the governors of the province of Bihár had several times led their armies to invade his dominions, yet, on account of the impassable roads and thick forests, they were obliged to return, being contented only with two or three diamonds which he presented to them.

When the governorship of the province was transferred from Zafar Khán to Ibráhím Khán, I instructed the latter, on his departure to the province, to invade the dominion of that refractory chief, and dispossess him. Accordingly, Ibráhím, immediately after his arrival in the province, collected a force and marched against the *zamíndár;* who, as on former occasions, sent him some diamonds and elephants; but the Khán did not accept them, and having proceeded with all speed, invaded his dominions. Before the enemy could collect his force, Ibráhím penetrated into his territory, and before the news of his approach could reach him, attacked the hill and the valley where he resided. Ibráhím ordered his people to search for him, and he was at last found in a valley with one of his brothers and some women, among whom was his mother and other wives of his father. All the diamonds which they had were taken, and twenty-three elephants fell into the hands of the royal army. As a reward for this service, the *mansab* of Ibráhím Khán was raised to the personal salary of 4000 and the command of 4000 horse, with the title of Fath-Jang. In like manner promotions

were ordered to be made in the rank of all those who had shown distinguished bravery in the accomplishment of this undertaking. The territory is still under the possession of the officers of this government; and diamonds which are extracted from the stream are brought to this Court. Recently, a diamond was found, the value of which was estimated at the amount of 50,000 rupees, and it is hoped that if the search be continued, more excellent diamonds will be placed in the repository of the crown jewels.

Eleventh Year of the Reign.

The *Nau-roz* of the eleventh year of my reign corresponded with the 1st Rabí'u-l awwal, 1025 H. (10th March, 1616 A.D.).

In this year, or rather in the tenth year of my reign, a dreadful plague (*wabá*) broke out in many parts of Hindústán. It first appeared in the districts of the Panjáb, and gradually came to Lahore. It destroyed the lives of many Muhammadans and Hindús. It spread through Sirhind and the Doáb to Delhí and its dependent districts, and reduced them and the villages to a miserable condition. Now it has wholly subsided. It is said by old men, and it is also clear from the histories of former times, that this disease had never appeared before in this country. I asked the physicians and learned men what was the cause of it, as for two years in succession the country had suffered from famine, and there had been a deficiency of rain. Some said that it was to be attributed to the impurity of the air arising from drought and scarcity; but some ascribed it to other causes. God knows, and we must patiently submit to his will.[1]

Before this date, some thieves had plundered the public treasury of the *kotwáli*, and after a few days seven vagabonds were apprehended, with their chief named Namal. Some of the treasure was also recovered. I was incensed at the bold conduct of these scoundrels, and consequently I was determined to punish them severely. Each of them got a fitting punish-

[1] [A few pages before, and in the tenth year of his reign, Jahángír records that one of his nobles died in the Dakhin of cholera (*haiza*).]

ment, and their chief was ordered to be trodden under the feet of an elephant. He petitioned to me that he would rather fight with that formidable animal than suffer the agony of being trampled under his feet. I consented to this. A dagger was given to him, and notwithstanding that the elephant, which was wild and vicious, prostrated him several times, and notwithstanding he had been witness to the fate of his associates, yet, with undaunted courage, he managed to recover his feet, and inflict several wounds with his dagger upon the trunk, and succeeded in driving the animal back. It was truly an act of wonderful bravery, and I therefore spared his life, directing at the same time he was to be taken care of. After some time, he ungratefully made his escape. It gave me much annoyance. I issued orders to the *jágírdárs* of the neighbourhood for his apprehension, and when caught he was hanged by the neck.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 1st of Zí-l ka'da, corresponding with 21st of Ábán, I marched in sound health from Ajmír in a European carriage drawn by four horses, and I ordered several nobles to make up carriages similar to it,[1] and to attend upon me with them. About sunset I reached my camp in the village Deo Ráná, a distance of nearly two *kos*.[2]

It is customary in India, when a king, prince, or noble undertakes an expedition towards the east, to ride on an elephant with

[1] A little above he tells us, that on the departure of Bábá Khurram, he had given him "a carriage of the Feringí English fashion, that he might sit and ride in it." These are the only remote allusions made throughout the work to the embassy of Sir T. Roe, whose residence in Jahángír's camp lasted from the 10th January, 1616, to the 21st January, 1618.

[2] Sir Thomas Roe thus mentions the mode of departure from Ajmír: "Thus richly accoutred, the King went into the coach, which waited for him under the care of his new English servant, who was dressed as gaudily as any player, and more so, and had trained four horses for the draught, which were trapped and harnessed all in gold. This was the first coach he had ever been in, made in imitation of that sent from England, and so like it that I only knew the difference by the cover, which was of gold velvet of Persia. * * * Next followed the English coach, newly covered and richly trimmed, which he had given to his favourite queen, Nourmahal, who sat in the inside. After this came a coach made after the fashion of the country, which I thought seemed out of countenance, in which were his younger sons. This was followed by about twenty spare royal elephants, all for the King's own use."—(Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 312.)

long tusks; when towards the west, to ride on a horse of one colour; when towards the north, to go in a litter or *pálkí;* when towards the south, to go in a carriage drawn by bullocks. I remained at Ajmír five days less than three years. At that place there is the holy shrine of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín. Ajmír is situated within the limits of the second climate. * * *

A large tray of fruits was brought before me. Among them were the celebrated melons of Kárez, Badakhshán, and Kábul. Grapes from the latter place as well as from Samarkand. The sweet pomegranates of Yazd, and the subacid ones of Farráh. Pears from Samarkand and Badakhshán. Apples from Kashmír, Kábul, Jalálábád, and Samarkand were also there. Pine-apples from the seaports of the Europeans were also in the tray. There were some plants of this latter fruit placed in my private gardens at Ágra, and after some time they produced several thousands of that fruit. The *kaulá* was also among them, which is smaller than an orange, and full of sweet juice. In the province of Bengal it is produced in abundance. I had no sufficient words to thank Almighty God for the enjoyment of these delicious fruits. My father the late King was exceedingly fond of fruit, especially melons, pomegranates, and grapes; but in his reign, the melons from Kárez, which are of the best quality, the pomegranates from Yazd, which are celebrated all over the world, and pears from Samarkand, were never brought to India, and, therefore, when I see and enjoy those luxuries, I regret that my father is not here to share them. * * *

When I was Prince, I had promised to give an *Altamghá* grant of the district of Málda in Bengal to Mír Zíáu-d dín, a *saiyid* of Kazwín, and two of his sons. When I ascended the throne, I gave him the name of Mustafá Khán, and in this journey I had the pleasure of fulfilling my promise.

Mandú.

Mandú is one of the divisions of the province of Málwa, and the total of its revenue is one *kror* thirty-nine *lacs* of *dáms.*

The city was for a long time the capital of the kings of this country. Many buildings and relics of the old kings are still standing, for as yet decay has not fallen upon the city. On the 24th, I rode out to see the royal edifices. First I visited the *jámi' masjid* which was built by Sultán Hoshang Ghorí. It is a very lofty building, and erected entirely of hewn stone. Although it has been standing 180 years, it looks as if built to-day.

Afterwards I visited the sepulchres of the kings and rulers of the Khiljí dynasty, among which there is also the tomb of the eternally cursed Nasíru-d dín, son of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín. It is notorious that this graceless wretch twice attempted to kill his father by poison when he was in the eightieth year of his age; but the old monarch saved his life by the use of bezoar. The third time he gave him, with his own hand, a cup of sherbet mixed with poison, and told him that he must drink it. The father, seeing his son's determination, took the bezoar off his arm, and placed it before him. Then he bowed in humble supplication before his Maker, and said, "O Lord! I have now arrived at the age of eighty. All this time I have passed in ease and prosperity, and in a state of pleasure such as has been the lot of no monarch. This moment is my last, and I pray thee not to hold my son Nasír answerable for my blood. May my death be deemed a natural death, and may my son be not held answerfor it." Having said this, he drank the poisoned draught and expired. What he meant by saying that he had enjoyed such luxury and pleasure as no king ever did was this: In the forty-eighth year of his age, when he succeeded to the throne, he said to his friends and associates, that in the time of his father he had spent thirty years of his life in the command of the army, and had done all that was required of a soldier. Now that the sovereignty had devolved upon him, he had no desire for conquest, his only wish was to pass the remainder of his life in pleasure and luxury. It is said that he had 15,000 women in his harem. He built a city which was inhabited only by women, and all arts and sciences were taught them. The posts of

governor, judge, magistrate, and all offices required in the management of a city, were held by persons of the female sex. Whenever he heard of a girl possessing beauty, he never rested till he obtained her. He was exceedingly fond of sport, and had made a deer park, in which he had collected all kinds of animals. He often amused himself in hunting in this park, in the company of women. As he had from the first determined, he made no invasion during his whole reign of thirty-two years, and spent all this time in ease, enjoyment, and pleasure; and no enemy made any attack upon his dominions.

It is reported that Sher Khán Afghán, in the course of his reign, came to the tomb of Nasíru-d dín, and although he had a brutal disposition, yet on account of the shameful deed above stated, he ordered his people to beat the tomb with their sticks. When I went to the tomb, I also kicked it several times, and ordered my attendants also to spurn it with their feet. Not satisfied even with this, I ordered the tomb to be opened, and the remains of that foul wretch to be thrown into fire. But then I remembered that fire is a part of the eternal light, and that it was very wrong to pollute it with that filthy matter. I also hesitated from burning his remains, lest by so doing a remission be made in his punishment in the next world. I ordered that his decayed bones and the dust of his body should be thrown into the Nerbudda, because it is said that as he had a very hot temper in the days of his youth, he always remained in water. It is well known that one day, in a fit of intoxication, he threw himself into the tank of Kaliyádah, which was very deep. Some of the servants of the palace caught hold of his hair and dragged him out. When he came to his senses, and learnt what had happened, and that they had dragged him out by the hair, he was so angry with them that he ordered their hands to be cut off. The next time he fell into the tank, nobody attempted to pull him out, and so he was drowned. Now, at a period of 110 years after his death, it had come to pass that his rotten remains were also mixed with water.

One night I turned the discourse of my courtiers on the chase, and told them how fond of it I formerly was. At the same time it occurred to my mind whether all the animals and birds which I had killed since the time of my coming to reason could not be calculated. I therefore ordered all the news-writers, the gamekeepers and other officers to ascertain and write out a list of all the various animals and birds I had killed, and to show it to me. Accordingly a paper was prepared, from which it appeared that from the twelfth year of my age, A.H. 988, to the end of the last year, the eleventh of my reign, and the fiftieth lunar year of my age, 28,532 animals and birds were killed in the course of my sport, of which 17,168 were graminivorous animals and birds I had shot or killed with my own hands, and the following is a detailed account of them.[1]

Twelfth Year of the Reign.

The Nau-roz of my twelfth year corresponded with 12th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1026 (10th March, 1617 A.D.).

Prohibition of Tobacco.

As the smoking of tobacco had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Sháh 'Abbás, also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Írán. But Khán-i 'Álam was so much addicted to smoking, that he could not abstain from it, but oftened smoked.

Prince Khurram at Court.

On Thursday, the 20th Mihr, and the twelfth year of my reign, corresponding to the 11th of Shawwal, A.H. 1026, at about three o'clock after noon, Prince Khurram arrived and obtained audience in the fort of Mandú. He had been absent from the Court for eleven months and eleven days. After he had paid me his respects, I called him in the window where I was sitting, and

[1] [Sir H. M. Elliot gives a summary of it in a note, *infrâ*.]

with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love, I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me. He presented me with 1000 gold *mohurs* and 1000 rupees. * *

Formerly at the conquest of the Ráná, a *mansab* of 20,000 and the command of 10,000 horse had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the Dakhin, he was honoured with the title of a Sháh. Now, in consideration of his present service, his *mansab* was promoted to a *mansab* of 30,000 and the command of 20,000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of Sháh-Jahán. It was also ordered, that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred on him, and had never before been known in my family.

A report came from Kashmír, that in the house of a silk-dealer two girls were born who had teeth in their mouths, and who were joined together by the back as far as the waist,[1] but their heads, hands, and feet were all separate. They lived only a little time, and then died.

On Monday, the 2nd of the month, I drank wine in an assembly at the banks of a tank where my tents were pitched.[2]

Journey to Gujarát.

On Friday, the 1st of De, I marched three *kos* and three-quarters, and encamped on the banks of the tank of Jhanúd. At this place Ráí Mán, the head of the royal footmen, caught a Rahú fish and brought it to me. I was very fond of this fish, which is the best of all the fishes found in India. Since the date I had passed the defile of Chándá up to this time, a space of eleven months, I had not been able to procure it, although every search was made. I was highly pleased at receiving it this day, and granted Ráí Mán a horse.

[1] از پشت تا کمر باهم متصل

[2] [This is but one of many similar entries.]

Though the country from the *pargana* of Dahad is reckoned as belonging to Gujarát, yet it was only from this stage that I saw a marked difference in all things, both jungle and cultivation. The people and their tongue were different. The jungles which I saw on the roadside were full of fruit trees, such as those of the mango, khirní, and tamarind. The fields are protected by the thorns of the zakúm tree. The cultivators, in order to separate the lands of their respective possessions, make hedges of these thorns round their fields, and between them leave a narrow path for wayfarers. As the soil is very sandy, the least movement in a party of travellers raises so much dust, that one can see another's face with difficulty, and therefore it came into my mind, that thenceforth Ahmadabád should not be called by that name, but Gardábád.

Kambay.

On Friday we travelled a distance of six *kos* and a half, and the tents were pitched on the sea-shore. Khambáit (Kambay) is a very ancient port, and according to the Brahmins many thousand years have elapsed since its foundation. In the beginning it was called Trimbáwatí, and Rájá Nar Singh Makhwár was its ruler. It would be very tedious to detail the account of this Rájá as given by the Brahmins. To be brief, when the chiefship devolved on Rájá Abhí Kumár, who was a descendant of his, by the will of heaven a great calamity fell upon this city. A shower of dust and dirt fell, and buried all the houses and buildings, and destroyed a great number of people. Before the occurrence of this catastrophe, an idol, which the Rájá used to worship, appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of the approaching misfortune. Consequently, he embarked with his family on a vessel, and he also took with him the idol and the pillar which supported it behind. It so happened that the vessel was battered by a storm; but as the Rájá was destined to live some time longer, he, by means of that same pillar, brought the ship and himself safe to land. He then set up that pillar as a mark of

his intention to rebuild and newly people the place. As a pillar in Hindí is called Khamb, the city was hence called Khambáwatí, which was gradually worn down by constant use into Khambáit. This port is one of the largest in Hindústán, and is situated on one of the estuaries of the sea of 'Umán. The average breadth of this estuary is estimated to be seven *kos*, and the length about forty. Ships cannot enter this branch, but are anchored in the port of Goga, which is one of the dependencies of Khambáit, and is near the high sea. From hence the cargoes are transported to Khambáit on boats (*gharáb*, grabs), and in the same manner merchandize intended for exportation is carried to the ships. Before the arrival of my victorious arms, several boats had come to Khambáit from the ports of Europe, and the crews, after selling and purchasing goods, were on the point of returning. On Sunday, the 10th, having decorated their boats, they displayed them before me, and then took their departure towards their destination. On Monday, the 11th, I embarked on a boat, and sailed about one *kos*.

In the time of the Sultáns of Gujarát, the *tamghá* or customs duty levied from the merchants was very large; but it is now ordered that no more than one part in forty should be taken. In other ports the custom officers[1] take the tenth or twentieth part, and give all sorts of trouble and annoyance to the merchants and travellers. In Jedda, the port of Mecca, one-fourth is taken, and sometimes even more than that; hence it may be inferred what the duties at the ports of Gujarát were in former reigns. Thanks be to God, this humble creature of the Almighty has dispensed with levying the *tamghá*, which amounted to a sum beyond calculation, throughout the territories under his rule, and the very name of *tamghá* has disappeared from his dominions.

Coins.

It was also ordered in these days, that *tankas* of gold and silver, ten and twenty times heavier than the current gold

[1] ['*Ushúrgas*, literally, tithing-men.]

mohur and rupee, should be struck.[1] The legend on the face of the golden *tánka* was "Jahángír Sháh, A.H. 1027," and on the reverse, "Struck at Khambáit, the 12th year of H. M. reign." For the silver *tanka*, on one side, "Jahángír Sháh, A.H. 1027," with a verse round it, the meaning of which is, "This coin was struck by Jahángír Sháh, the ray of victory." On the other side was impressed, "Struck at Khambáit, the 12th year of H. M. reign," with this verse round it, "After the conquest of the Dakhin, he came from Mándú to Gujarát." In no reign before this had *tankas* been coined except of copper. The *tankas* of gold and silver were inventions of my own, and I called them *Jahángírí tankas*.[2]

Conquest of Khúrda.

Intelligence arrived from the eastern provinces that Mukarram Khán, son of Mu'azzam Khán, who had been appointed to the governorship of Orissa, had conquered the territory of Khúrda; and that its Rájá had sought protection at the Court of Rájá Mahendra. As a reward of this service, the Khán was favoured with a *mansab* of 3000 personal allowance and the command of 2000 horse. He was also honoured with a kettle-drum, a horse, and a *khil'at*. Between the province of Orissa and Golkonda, there were the territories of two *zamíndárs*, viz. the Rájá of Khúrda and the Rájá Mahendra. The territories of the former have been taken possession of by the servants of my Government, and it is hoped that through the influence of the Emperor's prosperous star, that of the latter will also be soon added to the protected countries.

[1] In the sixteenth year of the reign, he gives to the Persian ambassador a gold *mohur*, called *Núr-jahání*, weighing 100 *tolas*. In the twelfth year, he gives to the *vakíls* of 'Ádil Khán a gold *mohur*, called *kaukab tola*, equal to 500 current gold *mohurs*. In the tenth year he gives one of the same weight to the ambassador of 'Ádil Khán, but calls it a *Núr-jahání*.

[2] [This statement is certainly not true, so far as regards the silver *tanka*; and it seems to have puzzled the copyists, for in several MSS. the word مس (I) is written instead of مس (copper), making the whole passage unintelligible. But perhaps nonsense was preferred to error.]

The Jám of Gujarát.

When the royal tents were pitched on the banks of the Mahí, the *zamíndár* (called) Jám attended at Court. Having obtained the honour of kissing the ground, he presented fifty horses, 100 *mohurs*, and 100 rupees. His name was Jasá, and Jám was his title, which is held by every man who succeeds to the chiefship. He is one of the greatest *zamíndárs* of the province of Gujarát. His territory is bordered by the sea. He has always 5000 or 6000 horsemen; but in time of war he can collect 10,000 or 12,000. There are plenty of excellent horses in his territory, and a Kachí horse is sold at as high as 2000 or 3000 rupees. I bestowed a *khil'at* upon him.

Thirteenth Year of the Reign.

On Sunday night, the 23rd of Rabí'u-l awwal, A.H. 1027 (10th March, 1618), at about two hours after sunset, that great luminary which benefits the world with its bounty entered Aries, the first sign of the Zodiac. This New Year's Day which gave light to the world, brought to a close the twelfth year of this humble servant of God, which had been passed in happiness, and now a new, auspicious and prosperous year began.

On Thursday, the 2nd of Farwardín, the festival of my being weighed against metals on the lunar anniversary of my birth occurred; and the happy fifty-first year of my age commenced. May the remaining days of my life be spent in occupations consistent with the will of God, and no moment pass without reflection upon his goodness! After the ceremony was over, a wine party was convened, and the most familiar servants of the throne, being favoured with draughts of wine, became merry.

The Tuesday night, 21st of the month, I marched on my return towards Ahmadábád. As the excess of heat and the oppressive atmosphere were very grievous to the camp followers, and a great distance had to be travelled before we could reach Ágra, it occurred to me that I had better remain at Mándú during this hot season. As I had heard much praise of the rainy season of Gujarát,

and as there was no comparison between the city of Ahmadábád and that of Mándú, I at last determined to remain in the former. The Almighty God always and in all places has extended his assistance and protection to this his humble creature; and this is shown from the fact that at this very time it was reported to me that a pestilential disease (*wabá*) had broken out in Á'gra, and numbers of men had perished. For this reason I was fully confirmed in my resolution of postponing my march towards Á'gra, which had occurred to my mind by the divine inspiration.

Coins.

Formerly it was customary to strike my name on one side of the coin, and that of the place, and the month, and the year of the reign, on the obverse. It now occurred to my mind that, instead of the name of the month, the figure of the sign of the Zodiac corresponding to the particular month should be stamped. For instance, in the month of Farwardín the figure of a Ram, in Urdíbihisht that of a Bull, and so on; that is, in every month in which a coin might be struck, the figure of the constellation in which the Sun might be at the time should be impressed on one side of it. This was my own innovation. It had never been done before.

Drinking.

On Thursday, 20,000 *darabs* were granted to Hakím Masíhu-z Zamán, and 100 gold *mohurs* and 1000 rupees to Hakím Rúhu-lla. As they well knew that the air of Gujarát was very uncongenial to my health, they told me that if I would diminish a little the usual quantity of wine and opium which I took, my complaint would be at once removed. Accordingly, on the very first day I derived great benefit from their advice.

Illness of Jahángír.

On Saturday I had a severe headache, which was followed by fever. That night I did not take my usual quantity of wine. After midnight the effect of my abstinence became apparent, and

aggravated the fever with which I was tossing about on my bed till morning. In the evening of Sunday the fever decreased; and by the advice of some physicians of Multán, I took my usual quantity of wine. They also repeatedly recommended me to take some gruel made of pulse and rice, but I could not manage to do so. From the time I arrived at years of discretion, I had never, so far as I recollect, drunk such broth, and I hope I may never be obliged to drink it again. When my meal was brought, I had no inclination to take it. In short, I fasted altogether three days and three nights. Although I had fever only one day and one night, yet I was as weak as if I had been for a long time laid up in my bed. I had no appetite at all.

Ahmadábád.

I am at a loss to conceive what beauty and excellence the founder of this city saw in this wretched land, that he was induced to build a city here; and how after him others also should spend the days of their precious life in this dirty place. Hot wind always blows here, and there is very little water. I have already mentioned that it is very sandy, and that the atmosphere is loaded with dust. The water is exceedingly bad and disagreeable; and the river which runs along the outskirts of the city is always dry, except during the rains. The water of the wells is bitter and brackish, and that of the tanks in the outskirts becomes like buttermilk from the mixture of soap which the washermen leave in it. Those people who are somewhat affluent have reservoirs in their houses, which are filled with rain-water during the rainy season, and they drink from this supply during the whole year. It is manifestly very injurious to drink water which is never fanned by a breeze, and stagnates in a place where there is no passage for exhalation. Outside of the city, instead of verdure and flowers, all the ground is covered with *sakúm* (thorn-trees), and the effect of the air which blows over these thorns is well known. I have previously called this city Gardábád. Now I do not know what to call it—whether Samúmistán

" (the home of the simoom), Bímáristán (place of sickness), Zakúmdár (thorn-brake), or Jahannamábád (hell), for all these names are appropriate.

Poetry.

It was reported in these days that Khán-kháná, the commander-in-chief and my preceptor, had composed a *ghazal* in imitation of the well-known verse—

"For one rose the pain of a hundred thorns must be suffered."

And that Mírza Rustam Safawí and Mírza Murád his son had also tried their talents in the same manner. Instantly the following couplet occurred to my mind—

"A cup of wine should be quaffed in the presence of one's beloved.
The clouds too are thick, it is time to drink deep."

Of my courtiers who were present, those who had a turn for poetry composed *ghazals* and repeated them before me. The first-mentioned verse is a very celebrated one, composed by Maulánáa 'Abdu-r Rahmán Jámí. I have read the whole *ghazal;* but except that verse, which is, as it were, a proverb on the tongues of all people, the others are not of any great elegance. They are, indeed, very plain and homely.

Pictures.

This day Abú-l Hasan, a painter, who bore the title of Nádiru-z Zamán, drew a picture of my Court, and presented it to me. He had attached it as a frontispiece to the *Jahángír-náma.* As it was well worthy of praise, I loaded him with great favours. He was an elegant painter, and had no match in his time. If the celebrated artists Abú-l Haí and Bihzád were now alive, they would do him full justice for his exquisite taste in painting. His father, Áka Razá, was always with me while I was a Prince, and his son was born in my household. However, the son is far superior to the father. I gave him a good education, and took care to cultivate his mind from his youth till he became one of

the most distinguished men of his age. The portraits furnished by him were beautiful. Mansúr is also a master of the art of drawing, and he has the title of Nádiru-l Aslí. In the time of my father and my own, there have been none to compare with these two artists. I am very fond of pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist, whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait were finished by several painters, I could mention the names of those who had drawn the different portions of that single picture. In fact, I could declare without fail by whom the brow and by whom the eye-lashes were drawn, or if any one had touched up the portrait after it was drawn by the first painter.[1]

Publication of the Emperor's Memoirs.

As the events of twelve years forming part of the *Jahángír-náma* had been written down, I ordered the *mutasaddis* of my library to make a volume of them, and prepare a number of copies, to be distributed among the chief servants of the throne, and also to be sent to all parts of the country, that great and influential men might make it their study and exemplar. On Friday, one of my writers having finished a copy and bound it, brought it to me. As this was the first copy, I gave it to Prince Sháh Jahán, whom I considered in all things the first of all my sons. On the outside of it I wrote with my own hand that it was presented to him on such a date and at such a place. May he be favoured with the ability of knowing the contents of it, which shall obtain for him God's grace and the blessings of His creatures!

[1] "In his time there were found, in the Indies, native painters, who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals. He was partial to the sciences of Europe, and it was this which attached him to the Jesuits. He caused a church and a residence to be built for them at Lahore."—Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 178. See also Sir T. Roe in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. pp. 279–289.

Executions.

At this date a certain prisoner was brought before me, and I gave orders for his execution. The executioner acted very promptly, carried him to the place of punishment, and gave effect to my order. After a little while, at the intercession of one of my courtiers, I granted his life, but ordered his feet to be cut off. But according to his destiny, he had been beheaded before my orders arrived. Although he deserved death, yet I regretted the circumstance, and ordered that henceforth, in the event of any person being sentenced to death, notwithstanding that the orders might be imperative, yet they should not be carried into effect till sunset, and if up to that time no reprieve should be issued, the punishment should be then inflicted on the criminal.

A Bázár at Court.

On Tuesday night, the 19th, a bázár was held at my own residence. Before this, it was an established custom that the sellers of manufactured goods of the city should bring and expose them for sale in the courtyard of my palace. Jewels, inlaid articles, implements, and all kinds of cloths and stuffs sold in the bázárs, were to be seen on these occasions. It came into my mind, that if the market were held in the night-time, and plenty of lanterns were lighted before each shop, it would be a very pretty exhibition. In fact, when it was done, it was exactly as I had anticipated; it was altogether a novelty. I visited all the shops, and purchased what jewels and ornamented articles and other things appeared good to me.

Drinking.

The climate of this part of the country was not beneficial to my health, and the physicians had advised me to lessen the quantity of wine I usually drank. I deemed this prudent, and began to do so. In the course of one week I reduced the quantity about one cup. Formerly I took six cups every night, each cup containing seven *tolas* and a half of liquor, that is,

forty-five *tolas* altogether;[1] but now each cup contained six and one-third of a *tola*, the whole being thirty-seven *tolas* and a half.

Renunciation of Hunting.

It was one of the remarkable events of my life, that when I was about sixteen or seventeen years, I made at Allahábád a vow to God, that when I should arrive at the fiftieth year of my age, I would leave off shooting, and give no pain to any living creature.[2] Mukarrab Khán, who was one of my most confidential officers, was acquainted with this vow. In short, now that I had arrived at that age, and the fiftieth year had commenced, one day it happened, that through the excess of smoke and vapour, I could not freely draw my breath, and was very much troubled on that account. In this state I suddenly, through divine inspiration, recollected what I had promised, and now I determined to conform to my former resolution. I resolved within myself, that after the lapse of this the fiftieth year, and the expiration of the time I had fixed, I would, under the guidance of Almighty God, go to visit the tomb of my father, and, having invoked the aid of his holy soul, I would entirely abstain from that habit. As soon as these ideas occurred to my mind, I was entirely relieved of pain, and found myself fresh and happy. I immediately indulged my tongue by expressing thanks to the Almighty God, and I trusted that he would assist me in my resolution.[3]

[1] [Rather more than an Imperial pint.]

[2] His passion for shooting is shown by the statement which he makes at the close of the events of the eleventh year. He there says that as the discourse happened one night to turn upon sport, he directed his news-writers and huntsmen to make out a statement, showing how many animals he had killed during his life. It appeared that he had been present, from the twelfth year of his age to his fiftieth, at the death of no less than 28,532 animals, of which 17,168 had been killed with his own hand, *i.e.*, 3203 quadrupeds, comprising, amongst others, 86 tigers, 889 *nílgdos*, 1372 deer, 36 wild buffaloes, 90 wild boars, 23 hares; and 13,964 birds, including 10,348 pigeons, and 156 waterfowl. The number is made up of crows, owls, doves, and other birds, which do not enter into the catalogue of English sport.

[3] [The Emperor subsequently retracted his resolution, and gives his reason for so doing; but it is not consistent with what is here stated to be the cause of his resolve; see *infrà*, p. 384. He frequently went out hunting. In the eighteenth year of his reign, and fifty-sixth of his age, he records that he went out on horseback and shot a tiger.]

A Bridge.

In the next march I crossed the Mahí by the bridge which had been thrown over it. Although in this river there were no boats fit for building bridges, and the water was very deep and flowed forcibly, yet through the good management of Abú-l Hasan Mír Bakhshí, a very strong bridge of 140 yards in length and four yards in breadth was prepared in only three days. By way of testing its strength, I ordered one of my largest elephants with three other female elephants to be taken over it. The bridge was so strong that the weight of the mountain-like elephants did not shake it in the least.

A Comet.[1]

Saturday, 17th Zi-l ka'da. Several nights before this, a little before dawn, a luminous vapour, in the form of a column, had made its appearance, and every succeeding night it arose half an hour earlier than on the preceding night. When it had attained its full development, it looked like a spear[2] with the two ends thin, but thick about the middle. It was a little curved like a reaping-sickle, with its back towards the south, and its edge towards the north. On the date above mentioned, it rose three hours before sunrise. The astronomers measured its size with their astrolabes, and, on an average of different observations, it was found to extend 24 degrees. Its course was in the empyrean heaven, but it had a proper motion of its own, independent of that firmament, as it was retrograde—first appearing in the sign of the Scorpion, then in that of the Scales. Its declination was southerly. Astrologers call such a phenomenon a spear, and have written that it portends evil to the chiefs of Arabia, and the establishment of an enemy's power over them. God only knows if this be true!

Sixteen nights[3] after its first appearance, a comet appeared in

[1] [This passage is the work of Sir H. M. Elliot.]

[2] This word might also be translated a "porcupine."

[3] Literally, "Up to the above date after sixteen nights since the phenomenon arose," to which it is difficult to assign any exact meaning.

the same quarter, having a shining nucleus, with a tail in appearance about two or three yards long, but in the tail there was no light or splendour. Up to the present time, nearly eight years have elapsed since its first appearance, and when it disappears, I shall take care to record it, as well as the effects which have resulted from it.[1]

A Story.

On the way I passed through a field of *juwár*, in which every plant had no less than twelve bunches of corn, while in other fields there is generally only one. It excited my astonishment, and recalled to my mind the tale of the King and the Gardener. A King entered a garden during the heat of the day, and met a gardener there. He inquired of him whether there were any pomegranates, and received a reply that there were. His Majesty told him to bring a cupful of the juice of that fruit, on which the gardener told his daughter to execute that commission. She was a handsome and accomplished girl. She brought the cupful of that beverage, and covered it with a few leaves. The King drank it, and asked the girl why she had put the leaves over it. The girl with much readiness replied, that she had done it to prevent His Majesty drinking too fast, as drinking of liquids just after a fatiguing journey was not good. The King fell in love with her, and wished to take her into his palace. He asked the gardener how much he derived each year from his garden. He said 300 *dínárs*. He then asked how much he paid to the

[1] It was the discovery of a similar phenomenon, namely a new star in Cassiopeia, not fifty years before this, which introduced Tycho Brahe to the notice of the world as an astronomer. The star he discovered, however, only lasted from November, 1572, to March, 1574. The greatest of Grecian astronomers, Hipparchus, is said to have become an observer through the discovery of a similar phenomenon. As Jahángír's star, if it was one, appeared in the Ecliptic, it must have been noticed by European astronomers, especially as the discoveries effected by Galileo's telescope were at that time attracting general observation to the heavens. The statement given in the Extract from the *Ikbál-náma* is much more probable than this. In that there is no mention of its continuance, and merely the effects which were visible for eight years are recorded, according to the superstitious notions of the time.

díwán. He gave answer that he did not pay anything on fruit-trees, but whatever sum he derived from his agriculture, he paid a tenth part to the State. His Majesty said within himself, "There are numerous gardens and trees in my dominions; and if I fix a revenue of a tenth on them, I shall collect a great deal of money." He then desired the girl to bring another cup of the pomegranate juice. She was late in bringing it this time, and it was not much she brought. His Majesty asked her the reason for this deficiency, observing that she brought it quickly the first time and in great plenty, that now she had delayed long, and brought but little. The daughter replied, "The first time one pomegranate sufficed. I have now squeezed several, and have not been able to obtain so much juice." The Sultán was astonished, upon which her father replied that good produce is entirely dependent on the good disposition of the Sovereign; that he believed that his guest was a King; and that from the time he inquired respecting the produce of the garden, his disposition was altogether changed; and that therefore the cup did not come full of the juice. The Sultán was impressed with his remark, and resolved upon relinquishing the tax. After a little time, His Majesty desired the girl to bring a third cup of the same beverage. This time the girl came sooner, and with a cup brimful, which convinced the King that the surmise of the gardener was sound. The Sultán commended the gardener's penetration, and divulged to him his real rank, and the reflections which had been passing in his mind. He then asked to be allowed to take his daughter in marriage, in order that a memorial of this interview and its circumstances might remain for the instruction of the world. In short, the abundance of produce depends entirely on the good will and justice of the Sovereign. Thanks to the Almighty God, that no revenue on fruit-trees has been taken during my reign; and I gave orders that if any one were to plant a garden in cultivated land, he was not to pay any revenue. I pray that the Almighty may cause the mind of this humble creature to entertain good and pure intentions!

Ranthambor.

On Monday, the 3rd De, I went to see the fort of Ranthambor. There are two hills adjacent to each other, one is called Ran, and the other Thambor, and the fort stands on the latter. The name of Ranthambor is formed by the connexion of the two names. Although the fort is very strong, and has much water in it, yet the hill called Ran is still stronger and better situated, and the fort can be taken only from that side.

Fourteenth Year of the Reign.

[The *Nau-roz* of my fourteenth year corresponded with — Rabí'u-l ákhir, 1028 H. (10th March, 1619 A.D.).]

Núr Jahán shoots a Tiger.

[My huntsmen reported to me that there was in the neighbourhood (of Mathurá) a tiger, which greatly distressed the inhabitants. I ordered his retreat to be closely surrounded with a number of elephants. Towards evening I and my attendants mounted and went out. As I had made a vow not to kill any animal with my own hands, I told Núr Jahán to fire my musket. The smell of the tiger made the elephant very restless, and he would not stand still, and to take good aim from a *howda* is a very difficult feat. Mírza Rustam, who after me has no equal as a marksman, has fired three or four shots from an elephant's back without effect. Núr Jahán, however, killed this tiger with the first shot.]

'Abdú-l Hakk Dehlawi.

[Shaikh 'Abdú-l Hakk Dehlawi,[1] one of the most learned and accomplished men of the time, came to wait upon me, and presented to me a book which he had written upon the *shaikhs* of India. He had suffered a good deal of trouble, and was living in retirement at Dehlí, resigned to his lot and trusting in God. He was an excellent man, and his society was very agreeable. I showed him great attention and courtesy.]

[1] [See *suprà*, p. 175.]

Journey to Kashmír.

[1] On Tuesday, the 14th, the royal camp halted at Hasan Abdál. As an account of this road and a description of the stages have been already given in the narrative of my expedition to Kábul, I will not repeat them here; but from this place to Kashmír I will record all occurrences, stage by stage, please God! From the time of my disembarking from boats at Akbarpúr up to reaching Hasan Abdál, I have travelled 178 *kos* during sixty-nine days, in fifty-eight marches and one halt. As there are at this place a fountain, a small cascade, and a basin filled with water of the most translucent clearness, I remained here two days.

On Thursday, the 16th, I celebrated the lunar anniversary, and the fifty-second lunar year of my age commenced, in all gratitude to my Maker, and with every prospect of happiness. As the road I was going to take was full of hills and passes, ravines and ascents, and the royal party would have found it difficult to march all together, it was determined that the lady Maryamu-z Zamání, and the other *begams*, should remain behind a few days, and come on at their ease afterwards; and the Prime Minister, I'timádu-d daula al-Khákání, Sádik Khán Bakhshí, and Sa'adat Khán Mír Sámán, should also come on subsequently with the household and establishments. For the same reason Mírza Safawí and Khán-i 'Azam were sent on with a party of my attendants by way of Púnch, and I myself went accompanied by only a few of my personal friends, and the servants who were absolutely necessary.

On Friday I marched three *kos* and a half to Sultánpúr.[2] Here intelligence was received of Ráná Amar Singh having died a natural death. Jagat Singh, his grandson, and Bhím, his son, who were in attendance upon me, were honoured with *khil'ats*, and it was ordered that Rájá Kishan Dás should convey to Kunwar Karan a *farmán*, conferring the title of Ráná, with a

[1] [Translated by Sir H. M. Elliot.]
[2] This village lies on the southern bank of the Harroh river.

khil'at, and a horse from my own stables, and so do him honour, and congratulate him upon his succession.

I heard from the people of this country that a noise like that of thunder fell upon the ear from a hill in the neighbourhood, though there might be at the time no sign of rain, or cloud, or lightning. They therefore call this hill Garaj. This sound is now to be heard every year, or certainly every two years. I have also heard this matter frequently mentioned in my father's presence. As the story is a very strange one, I have recorded it, but God knows whether it is true.[1]

On Saturday, the 18th, I marched four *kos* and a half to Sahí. During this stage we entered the *pargana* of Hazára Fárígh.[2]

On Sunday, the 19th, we encamped at Naushehra,[3] after travelling three *kos* and three-quarters, where we entered Dhamtaur. As far as the eye could reach, the blossoms of the *thal kanwal* and other flowers were glowing between the green foliage. It was a beautiful scene.

On Monday, the 20th, after a march of three *kos* and a half, I arrived at Sálhar,[4] where Mahábat Khán presented jewels and inlaid arms to the value of 60,000 rupees. In this tract I saw

[1] This is still commonly reported in the neighbourhood, but the sounds are said to have ceased within the last twenty years, since the fort of Srihote was built on the summit of the hill. The mountain is no doubt that which is now called Gandgarh, composed of clay-slate capped with limestone. The name of Garaj is not now known, but the local tradition is, that it was once called Ganjgarh (evidently Garajgarh), but that some Emperor changed it to Gandgarh "the bald," on account of its apparent barrenness. The sounds are said to proceed from a Rákas, or demon, whom Rájá Rasálu, the King Arthur of the traditions of the Upper Sind Ságar, imprisoned in a cavern. He was the son of Sálbáhan, and is said to have built the tope at Phallúr, near Usmán Khátur.

[2] Hazára is not so called from the famous Mughal tribe, as there are none of them in it. The fertility of this valley is celebrated especially for wheat. A local distich runs:—

"Chach Hazára kanaka bhalyán, Dhanne khúbí gáín;
Súr Sikesar te ghore bhale, Ishnor doábe te dháen."

That is, the wheat of Chach Hazára, the cows of Dhanní, the horses of Sikesar (salt range), the rice of Hashtnagar (near Peshâwar), are all excellent.

[3] The village is on the eastern bank of the river Dhor, but the distance between this place and Sultánpúr is greater than here represented.

[4] This place is on the eastern bank of one of the feeders of the same river, under Mount Sirban.

a flower red and fiery, in the form of a *gul khitmí* (marsh-mallow), but smaller. So many flowers were blooming near one another, that it appeared to be all one flower. The tree is like that of the apricot. On the slope of this hill there were many wild violets, of exceeding fragrance, but their colour was paler than that of the usual variety.

On Tuesday, the 21st, we travelled three *kos*, and encamped at Malgallí.[1] On this day Mahábat Khán was despatched to his government at Bangash, and I gave him a *khil'at*, a *postín*, and an elephant from my private stables. During the whole march there was drizzling rain, and it rained also at night. Snow fell in the morning, and as the whole road was muddy and very slippery, the beasts which happened to be at all weak fell in every direction, and were not able to rise again. Twenty-five elephants belonging to the illustrious Government were lost upon the occasion. As the weather was very cloudy, I halted here for two days.

On Thursday, the 23rd, Sultán Husain, the *zamíndár* of Paklí (or Pakhali), obtained the honour of kissing the earth, for here we had entered Paklí. It is an extraordinary thing that, when my father was here, snow also fell as it did on this occasion; whereas for several years past there had been no fall, and rain also had been very scanty.

On Friday, the 24th, I marched four *kos* to Tawádkar. There was much mud on this road also, and the whole way the plum and guava trees were in blossom, and the pine-trees also were ravishing to the sight.

On Saturday, the 25th, I travelled over nearly three *kos* and a half to the neighbourhood of Paklí.

On Sunday, the 26th, I mounted and rode down some partridges.[2] Towards evening, at the request of Sultán Husain, I

[1] Still well known as an encamping ground, more generally called Manglí.

[2] "The Afgháns often ride down partridges in a way which is much easier of execution than one would imagine. Two or more horsemen put up a partridge, which makes a short flight and sits down; a horseman then puts it up again. The hunters

went to his residence, and honoured him much in the eyes of his compeers and friends. My father also visited him. He presented some horses, swords, hawks, and falcons. I accepted some of the birds, and returned the other things.

Sarkár Paklí is thirty-five *kos* in length, by twenty-five in breadth. On the east it has the mountains of Kashmír, on the west Attock Benares, on the north Kator, on the south the country of the Ghakkars. It is said that when Tímúr was returning to Túrán from the conquest of Hindústán, he left some of his followers here. The people themselves say they are by origin Farsís (?), but they cannot tell what was the name of their leader. They are now called Lahorí, and their speech is that of the *Játs*. The same may be said of the people of Dhamtaur. In the time of my father Sháh Rukh was the *zamíndár* of Dhamtaur. His son Bahádur is now *zamíndár*. Although the people of Paklí and Dhamtaur intermarry and communicate freely, yet they are always quarrelling, like other *zamíndárs*, about boundaries. These people have always been well affected towards our family. Sultán Mahmúd, the father of Sultán Husain of Paklí, and Sháh Rukh, both came to visit me before my accession. Notwithstanding that Sultán Husain is seventy years old, he is to all appearance strong; he can ride and take exercise.

In this country *bozah* is prepared from bread and rice, which liquor the people call *sír*, but it is very much stronger than *bozah*. They drink nothing but *sír* with their food, and the oldest is considered to be the best; and when the ingredients are mixed, the people keep it tied up in jars for two or three years in their houses. They then take off the scum, and the liquor is called *áchí*, which can be kept for ten years. If it is kept for a longer period, so much the better; but it should never be less than one year old. Sultán Mahmúd used to take a cup of *sír*, and yet a

relieve one another, so as to allow the bird no rest, till it becomes too tired to fly, when they ride it over as it runs, or knock it down with sticks."—Elphinstone's *Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. i. p. 375.

mouthful is sufficient to create intoxication. Sultán Husain does the same. They brought the very first quality for my use. I took some by way of trial. I had taken some before. It is harsh and bitter to the taste; and it seems that they mix a little *bhang* in it. If you get drunk with it, it occasions drowsiness. If there were no such thing as wine, this might be used as a substitute. The fruits are apricots, peaches, and pears, but they are all sour and ill-flavoured.

They make their houses and dwellings all of wood, after the manner of Kashmír. There is plenty of game here, as well as horses, mules, and horned cattle. Goats and fowls are abundant. The mules are rendered weak and useless, in consequence of the heavy loads which they have been made to carry. As it was reported that a few marches ahead the country was not sufficiently populous to supply food for my retinue, orders were issued to take only the few tents and establishments which were absolutely necessary, to diminish the number of elephants, and to take supplies sufficient for three or four days. A few attendants were selected to accompany me, and the rest were placed under the orders of Khwája Abú-l Hasan Nakhshabí, to follow a few stages after me. Notwithstanding all my precautions and injunctions, it was found necessary to take with me 700 elephants even for the reduced tents and establishments. The *mansab* of Sultán Husain, which was 400 personal and 300 horse, was raised to 600 personal and 350 horse, and I gave him a *khil'at*, an ornamented dagger, and an elephant. Bahádur Dhamtauri, who stands appointed to Bangash, was raised to a *mansab* of 200 personal and 100 horse.

On Sunday, the 29th, I marched five *kos* and a quarter, crossing the bridge and stream of Nain Sukh. This Nain Sukh flows from the north to the south, rising in the hills below the country of Badakhshán and Tibet. As in this place the river is divided into two branches, I ordered two wooden bridges to be made; one was eighteen yards long, and the other fourteen, and the breadth of each was five yards. The following is the mode of making a

bridge in this country. Trees of *sál* are thrown over the river, and their two ends are lashed firmly to the rock; and across these thick planks are riveted strongly with nails and ropes. A bridge so made lasts for several years, with occasional repairs. The elephants were made to ford the stream, but horse and foot crossed over the bridge. It was Sultán Mahmúd who named this river Nain Sukh, which means "the eye's repose."

On Thursday, the 3rd, after travelling nearly three *kos* and a half, we encamped on the bank of the Kishengangá. On this march we crossed an exceedingly high hill; the ascent was one *kos*, and the descent one and a half. They call it Pham Dirang, because in the Kashmírí tongue cotton is called *pham*, and as there were agents here, on account of the Kings of Kashmír, who levied duties on each load of cotton, and as delay or *dirang* occurred on this account, the place became known as Pham Dirang. After passing the bridge, we saw a cascade, of which the water was beautifully clear. Sitting down near it, I drank my usual cups of wine, and arrived in camp at eventide. There was an old bridge over this river fifty-four yards long, and one and a half broad, by which those on foot crossed. I ordered another bridge to be made near it, fifty-three yards long and three broad. As the stream was deep and rapid, I made the elephants pass over without their loads, but horse and foot crossed by the bridges. By orders of my father, a very strong *saráí* was built here of stone and mortar, on the top of a hill to the east of the river.

As only one day remained before the Sun would enter a new sign, I sent on Mu'tamad Khán to select a high and conspicuous spot on which to erect my throne, and make preparations for the festival of the New Year. It so happened that a little beyond the bridge, on the eastern bank of the river, there was an eminence—a charming green spot, on the top of which there was a level surface of fifty yards, just as if the executors of the decrees of God had designed it for such an occasion. It was there that Mu'tamad Khán set up the decorations for the

festival, and managed all so admirably as to call forth my praises and acknowledgments.

The river Kishengangá flows from the north towards the south.[1] The river Behat, flowing from the east, falls into the Kishengangá, taking a northerly course.[2]*

Fifteenth Year of the Reign.

[The Nau-roz of the fifteenth year of my reign fell on the 15th Rabí'u-s sání, 1029 H. (10th March, 1620 A.D.).]

Kashmír.

On Friday, the 27th, I rode out to see the fountain of Vírnág, which is the source of the river Behat. I went five *kos* in a boat, and anchored near Mánpúr. This day I received very sad news from Kishtiwár. When Diláwar Khán, after the conquest of that country, returned to Court, he left Nasru-lla, an Arab, with several other officers, for the protection of the country. This man committed two faults of judgment. He oppressed the *zamíndárs* and the people, and he foolishly complied with the wishes of his troops, who petitioned him for leave to come to Court, with the hope of obtaining the reward of their services. Consequently, as very few men were left with him, the *zamíndárs*, who had long nourished revenge against him in their hearts, and were always lying in wait for him, took advantage of the opportunity, and having assembled from all sides, burnt the bridge which was the only means of his receiving succour, and engaged openly in rebellion. Nasru-lla Khán, having taken refuge in the fort, maintained his position for two or three days with great difficulty. As there were no provisions in the fort, and the enemy had cut off the supply of water, he resolved to die with the few men he had with him, and he gave proofs of the most

[1] The text says the contrary.

[2] It takes a slight turn to the north before joining the Kishengangá; but after the junction, they flow together towards the south.

* [End of Sir H. M. Elliot's translation.]

determined courage. Many of his men were slain, and many captured. When this news reached my ears, I appointed Jalál, son of Diláwar Khán, in whose forehead shone the marks of intelligence and worth, and who had shown much enterprise in the conquest of Kishtiwár, to extirpate the wretched rebels; and having conferred on him the rank of 1000 and the command of 600 horse, ordered the retainers of his father, who were now enlisted among the special servants of the throne, together with part of the Kashmír army, a large body of *zamíndárs*, and some matchlockmen, to reinforce him. Rájá Sang Ram, the *zamíndár* of Jammú, was also ordered to attack with his force from the Jammú hills, and it was now hoped that the rebels would soon be punished.

Conquest of Kángrá.

[On Monday, 5th Muharram, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kángrá arrived. * * Kángrá is an ancient fort, situated in the hills north of Lahore, and has been renowned for its strength and security from the days of its foundation. The *zamíndárs* of the Panjáb believe that this fort has never passed into the possession of another tribe, and that no stranger's hand has ever prevailed against it; but God knows! Since the day that the sword of Islám and the glory of the Muhammadan religion have reigned in Hindústán, not one of the mighty Sultáns had been able to reduce this fort. Sultán Fíroz Sháh, a monarch of great power, besieged it for a long time; but he found that the place was so strong and secure, that it was impossible to reduce it so long as the garrison had provisions. * * When this humble individual ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtazá Khán, governor of the Panjáb, against it with a large force, but Murtazá died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Rájá Bású, was afterwards sent against it; but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up, and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after, the traitor was made

prisoner, and was executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force, and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of Shawwál, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate; but when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, Muharram 1, 1031.]

Saffron.[1]

As the saffron was in blossom, His Majesty left the city to go to Pámpúr,[2] which is the only place in Kashmír where it flourishes. Every parterre, every field, was, as far as the eye could reach, covered with flowers. The stem inclines towards the ground. The flower has five petals of a violet colour, and three stigmas producing saffron are found within it, and that is the purest saffron. In an ordinary year, 400 *maunds*, or 3200 Khurásání *maunds*, are produced. Half belongs to the Government, half to the cultivators, and a *sír* sells for ten rupees;[3] but the price sometimes varies a little. It is the established custom to weigh the flowers, and give them to the manufacturers, who take them home and extract the saffron from them, and upon giving the extract, which amounts to about one-fourth weight of the flower, to the public officers, they receive in return an equal weight of salt, in lieu of money wages; for salt is not produced in Kashmír, and even in the beauty of the inhabitants there

[1] [See *suprà*, p. 304.]

[2] This place still maintains its reputation. Von Hügel tells us, that saffron is produced almost exclusively in the district of Pámpúr, on the right bank of the Jhelam, from three distinct varieties of crocus; the root of one sort continues productive for fifteen years; of another, for eight; of the third, for five.—*Kaschmir*, vol. ii. p. 275.

[3] Mr. Pereira states that one grain of good saffron contains the stigmata and styles of nine flowers; hence 4320 flowers are required to yield one ounce of saffron.

is but very little, *i.e.* they have but little expression.[1] They import salt from Hindústán. * * *

The next day the fortunate camp was pitched at Rájaur. The people of Rájaur were originally Hindús. Sultán Fíroz converted them. Nevertheless, their chiefs are still styled Rájás. Practices which prevailed during the times of their ignorance are still observed amongst them. Thus, wives immolate themselves alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, and bury themselves alive in their graves. It was reported that, only a few days ago, a girl of twelve years old had buried herself with her husband. Indigent parents strangle their female offspring immediately after birth. They associate and intermarry with Hindús—giving and taking daughters. As for taking, it does not so much matter; but, as for giving their own daughters—heaven protect us! Orders were issued prohibiting these practices for the future, and punishments enjoined for their infraction.

Sháh Jahán sent to the Dakhin.

[In these happy days, when I was enjoying myself in hunting and travelling in Kashmír, successive despatches arrived from the Dakhin. When the royal Court left the capital, evil-disposed men in the Dakhin, failing in duty and loyalty, raised the standard of rebellion. They got many of the dependencies of Ahmadnagar and Birár into their power, and the despatches related how they were maintaining themselves by plunder and devastation, and were burning and destroying ships and provender. On the former occasion, when I marched with the Imperial army to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, Khurram, who commanded the advance, arrived at Burhánpúr. The insurgents, with that craft which distinguishes them, made him their intercessor, and abandoned the Imperial territory. They presented large offerings of money and valuables as tribute, and

[1] *Malábat* is the word, and a double meaning is intended. *Malábat* not only means saltness as well as expression, but a dark complexion in opposition to *Labábat*, "fairness." These meanings are not in the dictionaries, though there is some approach to them in Freytag. Nevertheless, they are of common application.

engaged to remain quiet and loyal. At the instance of Khurram, I remained for some days in the palace of Shádíábád at Mándú, and consented to forgive their misdeeds. Now that they had once more thrown off their allegiance, it was my wish to send the Imperial army again under the command of Khurram, to inflict upon them the punishment they deserved, and to make them an example and warning for others. But he was engaged in the siege of Kángrá, and many experienced officers were with him on that service, so that for some days I could not determine what to do.

Letters arrived one after the other, reporting that the insurgents having gathered strength, numbered nearly 60,000 horse, and had occupied many parts of the Imperial dominions. The forces which had been left in occupation had taken the field, and for three months had been operating against the rebels, over whom they had obtained several advantages. But the rebels employed themselves in plundering and laying waste the country about the Imperial forces, and there was no road left open for the supply of provisions, so great want arose. Suddenly they descended from the Bálághát, and stopped at Bálápúr. Emboldened by their impunity, they meditated a raid round Bálápúr. The Imperial forces numbered 6000 or 7000 horse, and in some fighting which occurred, they lost their baggage. Many were killed or taken, and the rebels returned unmolested and plundering to their quarters. Gathering forces from all sides, the rebels advanced fighting as far as Azdú. Nearly 1000 men fell on both sides. They stayed at Bálápúr three months. The scarcity in the royal camp became very great, and many of the men fled and joined the rebels. The royal force retreated to Burhánpúr, and was followed and besieged there by the rebels. They remained for six months round Burhánpúr, and took possession of several districts in Birár and Khándesh, where they by force exacted contributions from the people. The royal forces suffered great hardships and privations, and being unable to endure longer, they came out of

the city (?). This increased the insolence and pride of the rebels. By the favour of God, Kángrá had fallen, and so on Friday, the 4th De, I sent Khurram to the Dakhin, and I conferred upon him ten *krors* of *dáms*, to be collected from the country after its conquest. * * I now turned back on my return to the capital.]

Sixteenth Year of the Reign.

[The Nau-roz of my sixteenth year fell on the 27th Rabí'u-s sání, 1030 H. (10th March, 1621 A.D.).]

Fall of a Meteoric Stone.

One of the most surprising events of the time is the following: On the morning of the 30th Farwardín of the present year, a very loud and dreadful noise arose from the east, in one of the villages of the *pargana* of Jálandhar, and almost frightened the inhabitants to death. In the midst of the noise a light fell on the earth from the sky, and the people thought that fire was going to fall. After a moment, when the noise had subsided, and the people, who were much confounded and alarmed, had come to their senses, they sent a runner to Muhammad Sa'íd, the *'Á'mil* of the *pargana*, and informed him of the phenomenon. The *'Á'mil* immediately rode to the village, and saw the place with his own eyes. The land for about ten or twelve yards in length and breadth was so burnt that not a blade of grass or herbage was found there. The ground was yet warm. He ordered it to be dug, and the deeper it was dug the warmer it was found. At last a piece of iron appeared, which was as hot as if it had been just taken out of a furnace. After some time it became cool. He took it to his residence, and having put it into a bag and sealed it up, he sent it to me. It was weighed in my presence, and found to weigh 160 *tolas*. I ordered Ustád Dáúd to make a sword, a dagger, and a knife from it, and to bring them to me; but he represented that it would not bear hammering, but would break into pieces. I ordered that if that was the case it should be mixed with other iron. Accordingly three parts of the

meteoric iron were mixed with one part of common iron, and two swords, one knife, and one dagger, were made and presented to me. The watering was made on them with the other kind of iron. The sword bent like the genuine *Almási* swords or those of the Dakhin, and again became perfectly straight. I ordered them to be tried before me, and they cut exceedingly well, equal to the best tempered swords.

War in the Dakhin.

[On the 4th Khurdád, letters arrived from Khurram. When the Imperial forces reached Ujjain, a letter arrived from the force which held Mándú, with the information that a rebel force had boldly crossed the Nerbadda, had burnt several villages in sight of the fort, and was engaged in plundering. The commander-in-chief sent forward Khwája Abú-l Hasan, at the head of 5000 horse, to march rapidly and inflict punishment on the rebels. The Khwája arrived at daybreak on the banks of the Nerbadda, but they had got information of his approach, and had crossed over just before he came. The royal forces pursued them for nearly four *kos*, and put many of them to the sword. The rebels retreated to Burhánpúr. Khurram then wrote to the Khwája, directing him to remain on that side of the river until he himself arrived. Shortly afterwards Khurram joined the advanced force, and they marched rapidly to Burhánpúr. On their approach the rebels took to flight, and removed to a distance from Burhánpúr. For two years the royal forces had been shut up in Burhánpúr, and had suffered greatly from want of food and supplies. They were greatly in want of horses. The army remained there nine days to refit, and during that time thirty *lacs* of rupees and many coats were distributed among the Imperial soldiers. They had no sooner begun to move, than the rebels, unable to make any resistance, fled. The royal forces pursued, and put many of them to the sword. Thus giving them no time for repose, they drove them to Khirki, which was the abode of Nizámu-l Mulk and other rebels. But before the royal

army arrived, the rebels carried off Nizámu-l Mulk with all his family and dependents to the fortress of Daulatábád. Some of their men were scattered about the country.

The royal forces stayed three days at Khirki, and so destroyed that town, which had taken twenty years to build, that it will hardly recover its splendour for the next twenty years. Having destroyed this place, it was determined to march to Ahmadnagar, which was besieged by a rebel force, and after driving off the besiegers, and revictualling and reinforcing the place, to return. With this determination they marched to Pattan. The rebel now resorted to artifice, and sent envoys and nobles to express his repentance and ask forgiveness. He promised ever afterwards to remain loyal, and not to depart from the old arrangement, and also to send his tribute and a sum as an indemnity to the Imperial Court. It happened that just at this time there was a great want of provisions in the royal camp, and the news arrived that the rebels, who were laying siege to Ahmadnagar, being frightened at the approach of the royal army, had moved off to a distance. So a reinforcement and some cash to supply his needs were sent to Khanjar Khán (the commandant). Having made every necessary provision, the royal army set out on its return. After much entreaty on the part of the rebel, it was settled that, besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of fifty *lacs* of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury.]

Illness of Jahángír.

[I have before mentioned that on the day of the *Dasahra*, when I was in Kashmír, I was seized with a catching and shortness of breath. This was charged entirely to the moisture of the atmosphere. In the air-passages on my left side near the heart, an oppression and catching was felt. It gradually increased and became fixed. * * A course of warm medicine gave me a little relief; but when I crossed the mountains, the violence of the

malady increased. On the present occasion I took goat's milk for several days, and I bethought me of the camel's milk (I had formerly taken), but neither of them did me any good. [*Treatment by various doctors.*] In despair of obtaining any relief from medicine, I gave up all doctoring, and threw myself upon the mercy of the Universal Physician. As I found relief in drinking, contrary to my habit, I resorted to it in the daytime, and by degrees I carried it to excess. When the weather became hot, the evil effects of this became apparent, and my weakness and suffering increased. Núr Jahán Begam, whose sense and experience exceeded that of the physicians, in her kindness and devotion, exerted herself to reduce the quantity of my potations, and to provide me with suitable and soothing preparations. Although I had before discarded the doctors and their advice, I now had faith in her attention. She gradually reduced the quantity of wine I took, and guarded me against unsuitable food and improper things. My hope is, that the True Physician will give me a perfect cure. * *

When intelligence of my illness reached my son Parwez, he did not wait for a summons, but set off instantly to see me, and on the 14th of the month, that kind and dutiful son came into my presence. I seated him on the throne near me, and although I adjured him and forbad him, he burst into tears, and showed the deepest concern. I took his hand, drew him to my side, and pressed him affectionately to my bosom. I showed him every attention and kindness, and I hope that his life and prosperity may be prolonged.

Journey to Kángrá.

The extreme heat of Ágra was uncongenial to my constitution, so on the 12th Ábán, in the sixteenth year of my reign, I started for the mountain country on the north, intending, if the climate proved suitable, to build a town somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, to which I might resort in the hot weather. If I could not find a place that suited me, I intended to proceed further

towards Kashmír. * * On the 7th De, I arrived at Hardwár on the Ganges, and there halted; but as the climate of the skirts of the mountains was not pleasant, and I found no place appropriate for a residence, I resolved to proceed farther to the mountains of Jammú and Kángrá. * * On the 14th, I arrived at the village of Bahlún, a dependency of Síbá, and as I had a great desire for the air of Kángrá, I left my great camp at this place, and proceeded onwards with a few special attendants and servants towards the fortress.

I'timádu-d daula was ill, so I left him behind with the camp under the charge of Sádik Khán *Mír-bakhshí*. On the following day the intelligence was brought that a change for the worse had come over the Khán, and the signs of dissolution were manifest. Moved by the distress of Núr Jahán Begam, and by the affection I had for him, I could proceed no further, so I returned to the camp. At the close of the day I went to see him. He was at times insensible, and Núr Jahán, who was by my side, made signs and asked if I perceived (his critical state). I stayed by his pillow two hours. Whenever he came to his senses, his words were intelligible and sensible. On the 17th of the month he died, and I felt inexpressible sorrow at the loss of such an able and faithful minister, and so wise and kind a friend.

After this I went on towards Kángrá, and after four days' march encamped on the river Bán-gangá. * * On the 24th of the month I went to pay a visit to the fortress, and I gave orders that the *kází*, the Chief Justice, and others learned in the law of Islám, should accompany me, and perform the ceremonies required by our religion. After passing over about half a *kos*, we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done, such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All this was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able

to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress. * *

A letter from Khurram informed me that Khusrú had died of colic.]

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

[The Nau-roz of the seventeenth year of my reign fell on — Jumáda-l awwal, 1031 (March, 1622).

A despatch arrived from the son of Khán Jahán, reporting that Sháh 'Abbás, King of Persia, had laid siege to the fort of Kandahár with the forces of 'Irák and Khurásán. I gave orders for calling troops from Kashmír, and Khwája Abú-l Hasan *Díwán* and Sádik Khán *Bakhshí* were sent on in advance of me to Lahore, to organize the forces as the princes brought them up from the Dakhin, Gujarát, Bengal, and Bihár, and as the nobles came from their *jágírs* and assembled, and then to send them on in succession to the son of Khán Jahán at Multán. Artillery, mortars, elephants, treasure, arms, and equipments were also to be sent on thither . . . For such an army 100,000 bullocks or more would be needed. * *

Zainu-l 'Ábidín, whom I had sent to summon Khurram, returned and reported that the Prince would come after he had passed the rainy season in the fort of Mándú. When I read and understood the contents of the Prince's letter, I was not at all pleased, or rather I was displeased. I consequently wrote a *farmán* to the effect, that as it was his intention to wait till after the rains, he was to send me the great *amírs* and officers I had placed under his command, especially the Saiyids of Bárha and Bokhárá, the Shaikhzádas, the Afgháns, and Rájpúts.]

Rebellion of Sháh Jahán.

[Intelligence was brought that Khurram had seized upon some of the *jágírs* of Núr Jahán Begam and Prince Shahriyár. He had fought with Ashrafu-l Mulk, an officer of Shahriyár's, who had been appointed *faujdár* of Dholpúr and the country round,

and several men had been killed on both sides. I had been offended by his delaying at the fort of Mándú, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had perceived by his insolence that his mind was estranged. Upon hearing of this further intelligence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the favour and kindness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Rájá Roz-afzún, one of my oldest servants, to inquire into the reasons of this boldness and presumption. I also sent him a *farmán*, directing him to attend to his own affairs, and not to depart from the strict line of duty. He was to be content with the *jágírs* that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Exchequer. I warned him not to come to me, but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahár. If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to repent. * * * When Khurram's son was ill, I made a vow that, if God would spare his life, I would never shoot an animal again with my own hand. For all my love of shooting, I kept my vow for five years to the present time; but now that I was offended with Khurram, I resolved to go out shooting again.

On the 24th I crossed the Jhelam. On the same day Afzal Khán, *díwán* of Khurram, arrived with a letter, in which Khurram endeavoured to make excuses for his undutiful actions. He hoped also that by Afzal Khán's persuasion and plausibility he might obtain forgiveness; but I took no notice of him, and showed him no favour.

Letters arrived from I'tibár Khán and other of my officers whom I had left at Ágra, stating that Khurram persisted in his perverse course, and preferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, had taken a decided step in the road to perdition by marching upon Ágra. For this reason, said I'tibár, I have not deemed it advisable to send on the treasure, but have busied myself in making preparation for a siege. A letter from Ásaf Khán also arrived, stating that this ungrateful son had torn away the veil of decency, and had broken into open rebellion;

that he (the Khán) had received no certain intelligence of his movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had set out alone to join me.

On receiving this intelligence, I crossed the river at Sultánpúr, and marched to inflict punishment on this ill-starred son (*siyáh-bakht*). I issued an order that from this time forth he should be called "Wretch" (*be-daulat*).[1]

On the 1st Isfandármuz, I received a letter from I'tibár Khán, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Ágra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Fathpúr, he found that his hope was vain, so he remained there. He was accompanied by Khán-khánán (Mirzá Khán) and his son; and by many other *amírs* who held office in the Dakhin and in Gujarát, and had now entered upon the path of rebellion and perfidy. * * The rebels took nine *lacs* of rupees from the house of Lashkar Khán, and everywhere they seized upon whatever they found serviceable in the possession of my adherents. Khán-khánan, who had held the exalted dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the seventieth year of his age had blackened his face with ingratitude. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father, at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age—

"The wolf's whelp will grow a wolf,
E'en though reared with man himself."

After I had passed through Sirhind, troops came flocking in from all directions, and by the time I reached Dehlí, such an army had assembled, that the whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Fathpúr, I marched to Dehlí.

In this war I appointed Mahábat Khán commander-in-chief

[1] [Here follows the passage quoted in page 281 *supra*.]

of the army, and 'Abdu-lla Khán to the command of the advanced force of chosen and experienced troops. His business was to go on a *kos* in advance, to collect information, and take possession of the roads. I forgot that he was an old companion of the rebel; but the result was that he communicated information about my army to the rebel.]

Eighteenth Year of the Reign.

[The eighteenth year of my reign commenced on 20th Jumáda-l awwal, 1032 H. (10th March, 1623). On this day intelligence was brought that the rebel had advanced near to Mathurá, and had encamped in the *pargana* of Sháhpúr. * * The next intelligence was that he had deviated from the direct course, and had gone twenty *kos* to the left. Sundar Ráí, who was the leader in this rebellion, Dáráb son of Khán-khánán, and many other *amírs*, had been sent on with the army against me. The command was nominally held by Dáráb, but Sundar was the real commander, and the prop of the revolt. They encamped near Bilúchpúr. I sent forward 25,000 horse under Ásaf Khán, and he was opposed by Kásim Khán and others. * * The Almighty has at all times and in all places been gracious unto me; so when 'Abdu-lla Khán went over to the enemy with 10,000 men under his command, and a great disaster menaced my army, a bullet directed by fate killed Sundar, and his fall made the rebels waver. Khwája Abú-l Hasan drove back the force opposed to him, Ásaf Khán also brought up his division opportunely, and we achieved a great victory. * *

When the rebel passed near Amber,[1] the birth-place and abode of Rájá Mán Singh, he sent a party of men to plunder it, and lay it waste. * * I also learnt that he had sent Jagat Singh, son of Rájá Bású, to stir up disturbances in his native land in the Panjáb. * *

On the 25th Urdíbihisht, I appointed my son Sháh Parwez to the command of the army operating against the rebel. He was to have the supreme command, but Mu'tamadu-d daula al

[1] [In the province of Ajmír.]

Káhira Mahábat Khán was charged with the general direction of the army. Khán-i 'álam, Mahárájá Gaj Singh, Fázil Khán, Rashíd Khán, Rájá Giridhar, Rájá Rám Dás, and others were also sent with him. The force consisted of 40,000 horse, with suitable artillery, and twenty *lacs* of rupees were assigned to it. * * On the 30th, agreeing with 19th Rajab, 1034, I encamped by the tank of Aná-ságar, within sight of Ajmír.

When the Prince's army passed over the mountains of Chándá, and entered Málwá, Sháh Jahán came out of the fort of Mándú with 20,000 horse, 600 elephants, and powerful artillery, with the intention of giving battle. * * Mahábat Khán opened communications with several persons, who, through apprehension or compulsion, had joined the army of the rebel, and they, perceiving that his case was hopeless, wrote to Mahábat, asking for assurances of safety. Sháh Jahán, not daring to risk a general action, and thinking always of his retreat, sent his elephants over the Nerbadda. He then sent his forces against the royal army near the village of Káliya; but he himself, with Khán-kháná and several others, remained a *kos* in the rear. Barkandáz Khán, who had been in correspondence with Mahábat, and had received his promise, when the opposing armies approached each other, seized the opportunity of coming over to the royal army with the body of matchlockmen that he commanded. Rustam also, one of the chief and most trusted officers of the rebel, received assurances from Mahábat, and came over with several other officers. When Sháh Jahán heard of this, he gave up resistance, and, being unable to place reliance upon any one, he determined to fly. With his forces in disorder, he crossed the Nerbadda, and several of his followers took advantage of the confusion to join the royal army.

Sháh Jahán, having crossed the Nerbadda, kept all the boats on his side, and placed strong guards over the fords. Leaving Bairam Beg *Bakhshí* with a force of his most trusty soldiers and men of the Dakhin, and with the artillery drawn up by the river, he himself went off towards the fort of Asír and Burhán-

púr. At this time his men caught a messenger whom Khán-khánán had sent to Mahábat Khán. He sent for the Khán, and showed him the letter taken from the messenger. Khán-khánán endeavoured to excuse himself, but could not give a satisfactory answer. An order was accordingly given that he and Dáráb and his other sons should be kept under arrest.

Rustam Khán, Muhammad Murád, and several others who had abandoned the service of the rebel, and had paid their respects to my dutiful son, according to orders were sent to my Court, and were received by me. Rustam Khán received a *mansab* of 5000, and 4000 horse. Muhammad Murád a *mansab* of 1000, and 500 horse, and prospects of future promotion were held out to them.

When the rebel Sháh Jahán reached Asír, he placed Khán-khánan, Dáráb, and all his other children in confinement in the upper part of the fortress. He remained there three or four days, attending to the victualling and preparation of the fortress, which he placed under the command of Gopál Dás, a Rájpút. * * When he departed, he left some of his women and superfluous things there in charge of Gopál; but he took with him his three wives, his children, and such maids as were necessary. His first intention was to leave Khán-khánán and his children prisoners there; but he changed his mind, and carried them with him to Burhánpúr. * * Mahábat Khán was very desirous to separate Khán-khánán from the rebel, and thus to promote a peace. Sháh Jahán also, in the strait he then was, took Khán-khánán out of confinement, and bound him by oath upon the Kurán to be faithful. To give force to the oath and agreement, he took him into his female apartments, and giving him the privileges of a near relation, presented to him his wives and children, and, with tears and great earnestness, said, "In case of evil falling upon me, I trust myself and the honour of my family to you; something must be done, that I may proceed no further in this wretched and miserable course."

Khán-khánán separated from him, intent upon peace, and pro-

ceeded towards the Imperial army. It was arranged that he should stay on that side of the river to carry on the negociations for peace. But before he reached the bank of the river, some dashing young men of the royal army one night found a place which the rebels had left unguarded, and passed over the river. This caused some dismay, but Bairam Beg gallantly resolved to contest the passage. While he was getting his forces together some more men passed over, and the same night the rebels retreated. Khán-khánán was left in a difficult position, he did not know whether to advance or retreat. But the men of my son's army continually pressed forward, and Khán-khánán was relieved from the trammels of rebellion, and was presented by Mahábat Khán to my son.

Sháh Jahán, when he heard of the defection of Khán-khánán, the passage of the river by the Imperial troops, and the retreat of Bairam Beg, fell back. Notwithstanding heavy rain and inundations, he crossed the river Matí in a wretched state, and went off towards the Dakhin. In the confusion many officers, who willingly or unwillingly had joined him, now separated from him.

On the 9th Ábán, Khawás Khán brought a despatch from Prince Parwez and Mahábat Khán, informing me that they had reached Burhánpúr, but that many men had fallen in the rear in consequence of the violence of the rain. But acting in obedience to orders, they had taken no rest, and had pressed on in pursuit of the rebel across the river (Táptí). The fugitives, on hearing of their arrival, continued their flight in disorder, and lost many of their animals through the heavy rain, and the mud and mire. The royal forces then continued the pursuit to the *pargana* of Ankot, forty *kos* from Burhánpúr. * * The rebel then went on to the territories of Kutbu-l Mulk. When my son Parwez found that the rebel had quitted my dominions, he and Mahábat and all the *amírs* returned to Burhánpúr on the 1st Ábán.

Intelligence arrived that Sháh Jahán, with Dáráb and other fugitives, had passed out of the territory of Kutbu-l Mulk, and

was making for Orissa and Bengal. On the way they had to endure great hardships, and many of the rebel's companions abandoned him when they found opportunity. * * After performing a long march, Sháh Jahán arrived at Machhlí (Masulipatam), which belonged to Kutbu-l Mulk. When his arrival there became known, Kutbu-l Mulk sent one of his people to the fugitive, and gave him every kind of relief and assistance in money and provisions. He also directed his margrave to convoy the fugitive safely out of his dominions, and he further appointed grain-dealers and *zamíndárs* to attend his camp, and supply it with corn and other necessaries. * *]

Nineteenth Year of the Reign.

[The *Nau-roz* of my nineteenth year corresponded with 29th Jumáda-l awwal, 1033 (10th March, 1624).

Intelligence next came that the rebel had reached the confines of Orissa. Upon which I issued a *farmán* to Prince Parwez, Mahábat Khán, and the other nobles who had been sent to support them, with orders to provide, as far as possible, for the safety of that province, and to march towards Allahábád and Bihár. * * Upon the arrival of these orders, the Prince prepared to obey, and to march towards Allahábád, notwithstanding the violence of the rains. On the 6th Farwardín, he marched with the Imperial army from Burhánpúr to Lál Bágh; but Mahábat Khán remained at Burhánpúr, awaiting the arrival of Mullá Muhammad Lárí.

A despatch arrived from Ibráhím Beg Khán, with the information that Sháh Jahán had entered the province of Orissa. The explanation of this was, that between Orissa and the Dakhin there is a difficult pass, on one side of which are mountains, on the other a marsh[1] (?) and a river. In this place the ruler of Golkonda had built a fort, and had armed it with guns and muskets. It was impossible to pass this place without the con-

[1] جهل

sent of Kutbu-l Mulk; but the escort which he had sent to conduct Sháh Jahán had enabled the rebel to pass this fortress and to enter Orissa. * * On hearing of the rebel's approach, Sálih, brother of the late Ásaf Khán, who held the *jágír* of Bardwán, put the fort in a state of defence. * * Ibráhím Khán being frightened, took refuge in Akbar-nagar,[1] where he occupied himself in gathering forces and preparing for resistance.]

[1] [Rájmahál.—Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 186.].

LVI.

TATIMMA-I WÁKI'ÁT-I JAHÁNGÍRÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD HÁDÍ.

THIS work is the completion of the Memoirs noticed in the preceding article. The author is Muhammad Hádí, of whom mention has already been made. In his Preface, however, he omits the title of Kámwar Khán, which he gives himself in his other works. He tells us that he wrote when he was more than sixty years old, after transcribing the Memoirs of eighteen years with his own hand; that after having completed this task, it occurred to him that the "thirsty wanderers in the desert of history" would be dissatisfied, like himself, at reaching to the end of the eighteenth year and finding the work incomplete; and that, as he from his earliest youth had been much devoted to historical studies, he determined to complete the work to the close of Jahángír's reign, and to add an Introduction to the Memoirs, detailing the principal events of Jahángír's life previous to his accession to the throne, availing himself for this purpose of several trustworthy manuscripts. He has done this satisfactorily, but without adding anything to our previous knowledge; for he copies his authorities almost verbatim, and especially the *Ikbál-náma*, from which he has borrowed most largely. At the end of the Introduction, he tells us that he hoped some day to be able to write a brief history of the entire reign of Sháh Jahán from beginning to end, and to append it to the history of Jahángír. He may be considered to have accomplished this task in the *Tárikh-i Chaghatái*.

The copies I have seen of this work are annexed to manuscripts of the authentic Memoirs, and perhaps the continuation

is not to be found separate. [It is so annexed to the Memoirs in the MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society.]

[The work, being a completion of the Memoirs, and appended to them, is taken out of its chronological order. Its exact date is not known, but the author's other work, the *Tárikh-i Chaghatái*, comes down to 1137 A.H. (A.D. 1724).

The Introduction is a brief narrative of the important events in the life of Jahángír prior to his accession, and is borrowed from Mirzá Kámgár and other sources.

The body of the work is almost entirely a reproduction of the *Ikbál-náma;* but the Editor has translated a few passages which the author appears to have derived from another authority. The last Extract is taken from the short chapter at the end on the ministers of Jahángír; the translation of this is by an unknown contributor, but it has been greatly altered by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

The Introduction comprises 28 pages, and the continuation of the Memoirs 88 pages of 17 lines each.

EXTRACTS.

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

[The New Year began on a day corresponding with 29th Jumáda-l awwal, 1033 H. (10th March, 1624 A.D.).

When Sultán Parwez and Mahábat Khán arrived near Allahábád, 'Abdu-lla Khán raised the siege and returned to Jhaunsí. Daryá Khán held the bank of the river in force, and had carried all the boats over to his own side; the passage of the Imperial army was thus delayed for some days. The Prince and Mahábat Khán encamped on the other side of the river. Daryá Khán held the fords, but the *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood showed their loyalty, and collected thirty boats[1] from various parts, and guided the royal forces over at a spot some *kos* higher up. Daryá Khán held his position to contest the passage until he heard

[1] [The phrase here used for boats is *manzil-i kishti*, which seems to be of the same character as *zanjír-i-fil* and *katár-i shutur*. See a note of Sir H. Elliot's in Vol. V. p. 108, where the word *sardí* is used in connexion with ships.]

that the royal army had crossed. He then knew that it was no longer tenable, and fell back to Jaunpúr. 'Abdu-lla Khán and Rájá Bhím proceeded to Jaunpúr, and counselled a movement to Benares; so Sháh Jahán sent his females and attendants to Rohtás, and himself proceeded to Benares. He was joined by 'Abdu-lla Khán, Rájá Bhím, and Daryá Khán, and having arrived at Benares, passed over the Ganges, and halted on the river Túnus. Prince Parwez and Mahábat Khán, having arrived at Damdama,[1] they left Áká Muhammad Zamán Teherání there, while they passed over the Ganges with the intention of crossing over the Túnus. Sháh Jahán, leaving Khán-daurán in charge of his position, crossed the Ganges, and confronted Muhammad Zamán, who fell back to Jhaunsí. Khán-daurán advanced in full confidence, and Muhammad Zamán hastened to meet him. A sharp action followed. Khán-daurán was defeated, and his soldiers abandoned him. Being left alone, he struggled and fought desperately in every direction until he was killed. His head was sent to Prince Parwez. Rustam Khán, an old servant of Sháh Jahán's, now left him and joined Prince Parwez. He said it was a good thing that the traitor[2] (Khán-daurán) had been killed. Jahángír Kulí, son of Khán-i 'azam, who was present, said, "No one can call him rebel or traitor, a more devoted man cannot exist, for he served his master to the death, and what more could he do! Even now his head is raised above all."

Sháh Jahán took his departure from Bengal, and proceeded towards the Dakhin. Mukhlis Khán then went on the wings of haste to Prince Parwez, to send him and his *amírs* on to the Dakhin. * * A despatch arrived from Asad Khán, the *Bakhshí* of the Dakhin, written at Burhánpúr, to the effect that Ya'kúb Khán Habshí, with 10,000 horse, had arrived at Malkápúr, ten *kos* from the city, and that Sarbuland Rái had gone out of the city with the intention of attacking him. Upon this, strict injunc-

[1] [*damdama* means "a battery," but here it would rather appear to be a proper name.]

[2] [*harám-khúr.*]

tions were sent forbidding him to fight until reinforcements arrived.

At the beginning of 1034 A.H. Sháh Jahán arrived in the Dakhin. Malik 'Ambar tendered him assistance, and sent a force under the command of Ya'kúb Khán Habshí to Burhánpúr to plunder. He communicated this movement to Sháh Jahán, who proceeded in that direction, and pitched his camp at Dewalgánw. The Prince then sent 'Abdu-lla Khán to join Ya'kúb Khán, and lay siege to Burhánpúr. He himself followed, and pitched his tent in the Lál Bágh, in the outskirts of the city. Rao Ratan, and other Imperial officers who were in the place, did their best to put it in a state of defence, and took every precaution to secure it. Sháh Jahán ordered 'Abdu-lla to assail the town on one side, and Sháh Kulí Khán on the other. The besieged, by dint of numbers and by hard fighting, held 'Abdu-lla in check; but Sháh Kulí's division breached the walls, and made their way inside.

Sarbuland Rái then left a force to keep 'Abdu-lla Khán in check, and hastened to attack Sháh Kulí. Several of Sháh Kulí Khán's men were scattered in the streets and bázárs, but he, with the few around him, stood fast in the esplanade in front of the citadel. Several of them fell. He then entered the citadel, and closed the gates. Sarbuland Rái surrounded it, and Sháh Kulí, being hard pressed, capitulated.

Sháh Jahán then ordered a second attack to be made; but although great gallantry was exhibited, the assault failed, and several officers of distinction fell. He mounted his horse, and ordered a third assault. Great courage was again displayed, and many officers and men fell, but without success. Saiyid Ja'far received a slight wound in the neck from a bullet, but he was so frightened that he went away. His departure affected all the Dakhinís, who broke up and went away, followed by many men who were disheartened by failure.

Intelligence now arrived, that Prince Parwez and Mahábat Khán, with the Imperial army, had reached the Nerbadda on

their return, so Sháh Jahán retired to the Bálághát. 'Abdu-lla Khán separated from him, and occupied the village (*mauza'*) of Indore. * *]

Twentieth Year of the Reign.

[When the raising of the siege of Burhánpúr was reported to the Emperor, he bestowed great favours on Sarbuland Ráí. He gave him a *mansab* of 5000 and the title of Rám Ráj, than which there is no higher title in the Dakhin. When the siege was raised, Sháh Jahán bent his course to the Dakhin, but he was seized with illness on the way. The error of his conduct now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand, to the effect that if he would send his sons Dárá Shukoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Rohtás and the fortress of Asír, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Bálághát should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this, Sháh Jahán deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, etc., to the value of ten *lacs* of rupees. He wrote to Muzaffar Khán, directing him to surrender Rohtás to the person appointed by the Emperor, and then to come with Sultán Murád Bakhshí. He also wrote to Hayát Khán directions for surrendering Asír to the Imperial officers. Sháh Jahán then proceeded to Násik. * *

It was now reported to the Emperor that Mahábat Khán had married his daughter to Khwája Barkhurdár, the eldest son of Nakshabandí. As this marriage had been contracted without the royal consent, the Emperor was greatly offended; so he sent for the young man, and asked him why he had, contrary to rule, married the daughter of so great a noble. He was unable to give

a satisfactory answer, so he was ordered to be beaten, and sent to prison. * *

The intelligence of Mahábat Khán's daring act having reached Sháh Jahán, he was greatly incensed, and notwithstanding his bodily weakness and want of warlike munitions, he resolved to go to the assistance of his father, and inflict punishment for this presumptuous deed. On the 23rd Ramazán, 1035 A.H. (7th June, 1626 A.D.), he left Násik with 1000 horse, hoping to gather forces as he proceeded. On reaching Ajmír, Rájá Kishan Singh, son of Rájá Bhím, who accompanied him, died, and 500 horsemen of the Rájá's broke up and went away, leaving only 500 men in the suite of Sháh Jahán, and these were in great distress. Unable to carry out his original intention, he resolved to do the best he could under the circumstances, and to go to Thatta, and remain for a while in that obscure place. So he proceeded from Ajmír to Nágor, and from thence through Joudhpúr and Jesalmír.]

From the Memoirs of the Wázírs.[1]

Mirzá Ghiyás Beg was so charitably disposed, that no one ever left his door dissatisfied; but in the taking of bribes he certainly was most uncompromising and fearless. 'Alí Kulí Beg Istajlú, who was educated under the instructions of Sháh Isma'íl the Second, came and entered the service of the Emperor Akbar during the period of his stay at Lahore. He there married Mirzá Ghiyás Beg's daughter, who was born in the city of Kandahár. This individual afterwards entered the service of Jahángír, who honoured him with the title of Sher-Afgan, gave him a *jágír* in Bengal, and directed him to proceed there. The close of his life and his killing of Kutbu-d dín Khán has already been related in its proper place. After he had met with his reward, and proceeded to the desert of annihilation, by the orders of the King, the officers in Bengal sent the daughter of Mirzá Ghiyás Beg, surnamed I'timádu-d daula, to His Majesty,

[1] [This is borrowed with little alteration from the *Ikbál-náma*, see *post*, p. 403.]

who, in the deepest affliction at the death of Kutbu-d dín Khán, placed her on the establishment of Rukíya Sultána, one of his father's wives, on which she continued for a long time without any employment. However, the days of misfortune drew to a close, and the stars of her good fortune commenced to shine, and to wake as from a deep sleep. The bride's chamber was prepared, the bride was decorated, and desire began to arise. Hope was happy. A key was found for closed doors, a restorative was found for broken hearts; and on a certain New Year's festival she attracted the love and affection of the King. She was soon made the favourite wife of His Majesty. In the first instance she received the title of *Núr Mahal*, "the Light of the Palace," and after some days *Núr Jahán Begam*, "the Queen, the Light of the World." All her relations were elevated to the highest offices in the State. I'timádu-d daula became Prime Minister, and her eldest brother, Abú-l Hasan, was appointed Master of the Ceremonies, under the title of I'timád Khán. The King and his relatives were deprived of all power; while the servants and eunuchs of I'timádu-d daula became Kháns and Turkháns. The old servant called Dila Rání, who had nursed the favourite lady of the King, superseded Hájí Koka in the appointment of superintendent of the female servants of the palace, and without her seal the Sadru-s Sadúr would not pay their stipends. Núr Jahán managed the whole affairs of the realm, and honours of every description were at her disposal, and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the reading of the *khutba* in her name.

For some time she sat at the *jharoká*,[1] and the nobles came to make their salutations and receive her commands. Coins were struck in her name, and the royal seal on *farmáns* bore her signature. In short, by degrees she became, except in name, undisputed Sovereign of the Empire, and the King himself became

[1] "Every morning the Mogul comes to a window, called the *jaruco*, which looks into the plain or open space before the palace gate, where he shows himself to the common people."—Sir T. Rowe. In Purchas this is called *jaruco*, in Churchill *jarruco*. It is a Hindí word *jharokhá*, "a lattice."

a tool in her hands. He used to say that Núr Jahán Begam has been selected, and is wise enough to conduct the matters of State, and that he wanted only a bottle of wine and piece of meat to keep himself merry.

Núr Jahán won golden opinions from all people. She was liberal and just to all who begged her support. She was an asylum for all sufferers, and helpless girls were married at the expense of her private purse. She must have portioned about 500 girls in her lifetime, and thousands were grateful for her generosity.

LVII.

IKBÁL-NÁMA-I JAHÁNGÍRÍ

OF

MU'TAMAD KHÁN.

THIS is a valuable history by Nawab Mu'tamad Khán, commonly known as Muhammad Sharíf, who states of himself in one portion of his work that he was appointed to the office of paymaster, received a *mansab* of 1000, and was presented with an elephant by the Emperor as an honorary gift.

The *Ikbál-náma* is divided into three volumes or parts. The first contains the history of the Khákán dynasty, and includes the reigns of Bábar and Humáyún; the second contains the reign of Akbar; the third that of Jahángír. The first two parts are not common, but the third is to be found everywhere.

The third volume gives the entire reign of Jahángír, and the first nineteen years may be considered an abridgment of the Memoirs, which, as has been seen in the article on the Memoirs, Mu'tamad Khán was directed to continue and complete. In the present work he tells us that Jahángír ordered him also to write the *Ikbál-náma*. As may be supposed, therefore, truth is often sacrificed to flattery. The work does not rank very high among the critics of the country, but there is no book more common than this third volume; and as the author held high offices during this reign, and took a part in many of its most important transactions, we cannot refuse to allow that the work is of considerable use.

It is most commonly known by the name of *Jahángír-náma*, and under this title is quoted by Dow as his authority for the transactions of this Emperor's reign. M. Anquetil also speaks

of it as "Djehanguirnameh, ouvrage composé par Nabab Motamet Khan, Général de la Cavalerie de Djehanguir, et le compagnon de ses Voyages."[1] Upon this passage Mr. Marsden observes, "M. Anquetil's expressions imply that the Memoirs of Jahángír were not, in fact, composed by that monarch himself."[2] But M. Anquetil's expressions by no means imply this, and we are here presented with another instance of the confusion which prevails respecting the true Memoirs of Jahángír.

This volume has been translated into Urdú prose by Mazhar 'Alí Khán Wilá.[3] There is a copy in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[3]

The work is in the form of annals, like the authentic memoirs, and the *Ma-ásir-i Jahángírí*. There are occasionally rubrics to the chief occurrences of each year, but so few as not to be worth transcribing. The volume begins with the accession, and closes with the death of the Emperor, the names of the royal family, the ministers, learned men, physicians, and poets of the reign.

The best copy known to me is in the possession of Mirzá 'Alí Akbar, *tahsíldár* of Damoh in the Ságar territory. It was transcribed in the year 1087 A.H. (1676 A.D.).

[The third volume has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The following Extracts comprise some few matters not given in the memoirs, and the whole of the continuation from the nineteenth year of the reign. With three short exceptions, which needed great amendment, the whole translation is the work of the Editor.]

EXTRACTS.

First Year of the Reign.

[On the 9th Safar, the Emperor reached Lahore. Khusrú was then placed upon an elephant, and conducted between the stakes (on which his followers were impaled[4]), so that he might see their punishment, and be warned to abandon his evil course.]

[1] *Zendavesta*, tom. i. p. cclxvii. [2] *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 614.
[3] M. Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litt. Hindoui et Hindoustani*, tom. i. p. 536.
[4] See *suprà*, p. 301.

Second Year of the Reign.

Death of Sher-Afgan, husband of Núr Jahán.

[Intelligence came from Bengal that 'Alí Kulí Beg Istajlú, who had received the title of Sher-Afgan, had killed Kutbu-d dín Khán, and several Imperial officers who were in attendance upon him. 'Alí Kulí had been the table-attendant of Sháh Isma'íl, son of the late Sháh Tahmásp Safawí. Upon the death of Sháh Isma'íl, he came by way of Kandahár to Hindústán, and at Multán he joined Khán-khánán, who was then marching against Thatta. Khán-khánán of his own accord took him into the Imperial service, and during the campaign he displayed ability and courage, and performed good work. On returning victorious from the campaign, Khán-khánán reported his services, and obtained for him a suitable *mansab*. About that time the daughter of Mirzá Ghiyás Beg was given to him in marriage. When the Emperor Akbar marched from Ágra against the Dakhin, and Prince Salím, the heir-apparent, was sent against the Ráná, 'Alí Kulí Beg was appointed to assist him. He rose in favour, and received the title of Sher-Afgan. Upon the accession of Jahángír, his *jágír* was confirmed, and he was sent to Bengal. It was afterwards reported that he was insubordinate, and disposed to be rebellious. When Kutbu-d dín was sent to Bengal, he was directed to look after Sher-Afgan: if he was found to be loyal and dutiful, he was to be maintained in his *jágír;* but if not, he was to be sent to Court, or to be brought to punishment if he delayed to proceed thither. Kutbu-d dín formed a bad opinion of his actions and way of life. When he was summoned to attend upon the viceroy, he made unreasonable excuses, and cherished evil designs. Kutbu-d dín made a report upon his conduct to the Emperor, and the Imperial order was given for sending him to Court; the viceroy was also directed to carry out the instructions he had received, and to bring Sher-Afgan to punishment if he manifested any disloyalty. On receiving this command, Kutbu-d dín immediately proceeded to

Bardwán, which was in the *jágír* of Sher-Afgan. When he approached, Sher-Afgan went forth with two attendants to meet him. Kutbu-d dín's men then gathered round Sher-Afgan. The manner in which Kutbu-d dín had come roused Sher-Afgan's suspicions, so he quietly asked what this kind of proceeding meant. Kutbu-d dín forbad his men to come near, and having joined Sher-Afgan, engaged in conversation with him. Sher-Afgan felt convinced that there was a design against him, so he drew his sword, and before any one could interfere, he ran it into Kutbu-d dín's belly, so that his bowels gushed out. Kutbu-d dín pressed both hands to his belly, and called out with a loud voice not to let the assassin escape. Pír Khán Kashmírí, a brave officer, galloped against Sher-Afgan and struck him on the head with a sword, but Sher-Afgan returned it so fiercely that he killed his assailant at a blow. The other attendants now pressed forward in numbers, and despatched Sher-Afgan with their swords.]

Sixth Year of the Reign.

The Marriage of Jahángír with Núr Jahán.

Among the great events that occurred during this interval was the Emperor Jahángír's demanding Núr Jahán Begam in marriage. This subject might be expanded into volumes, but we are necessarily confined to a limited space in thus describing the strange decrees of Fate. Mirzá Ghiyás Beg, the son of Khwája Muhammad Sharíf, was a native of Teheran. Khwája Muhammad was, first of all, the *wazír* of Muhammad Khán Taklú, governor of Khurasán. After the death of Muhammad Khán, he entered the service of the renowned King Tahmásp Safawí, and was entrusted with the wazírship of Yazd. The Khwája had two sons, Áká Táhir and Mirzá Ghiyás Beg. For his second son the Khwája demanded in marriage the daughter of Mirzá 'Aláu-d dín, who was the father of Áká Mullá. After the death of his father, Mirzá Ghiyás Beg, with two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindústán. On the road, as he was

passing through Kandahár, by the blessing of God another daughter was born to him. In the city of Fathpúr, he had the good fortune to be presented to the Emperor Akbar. In a short time, owing to his devotion to the King's service, and his intelligence, Mirzá Ghiyás Beg was raised to the office of *diwán* or superintendent of the household. He was considered exceedingly clever and skilful, both in writing and in transacting business. He had studied the old poets, and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words; and he wrote *shikasta* in a bold and elegant style. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of poetry and style, and his generosity and beneficence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold and daring. When His Highness the Emperor Akbar was staying at Lahore, 'Alí Kulí Beg Istajlú, who had been brought up under Sháh Isma'íl II., having come from the kingdom of 'Irák, became included among the number of the royal servants, and, as Fate ordered it, married that daughter of Mirzá Ghiyás Beg who had been born in Kandahár. Afterwards, in the reign of Jahángír, he received a suitable *mansab*, and the title of Sher-Afgan was conferred on him. He next received a *jágír* in the province of Bengal, and departed thither to take possession. His murder of Kutbu-d dín Khán and his own death have already been related. After the death of Kutbu-d dín, the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghiyás Beg, who had been exalted to the title of 'Itimádu-d daula, and the King, who was greatly distressed at the murder of Kutbu-d din, entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother. There she remained some time without notice. Since, however, Fate had decreed that she should be the Queen of the World and the Princess of the Time,[1] it happened that on the celebration of New Year's Day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign, her appearance caught the King's far-seeing eye, and so captivated him that he included her amongst the inmates of his

[1] This is but the cream of a long florid passage.

select harem. Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of *Núr Mahal*, "Light of the Harèm," but was afterwards distinguished by that of *Núr Jahán Begam*, "Light of the World." All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth. * * No grant of lands was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Núr Jahán the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription: "By order of the King Jahángír, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Núr Jahán, the Queen Begam." On all *farmáns* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name of "Núr Jahán, the Queen Begam," was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a pass that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Núr Jahán Begam, and would say, "I require nothing beyond a *sír* of wine and half a *sír* of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned.

Eleventh Year of the Reign.

Pestilence.

This year a pestilential disorder (*wabá*) broke out in certain parts of Hindústán, and gradually increased until it raged with great fury. This dreadful calamity arose in the *parganas* of the Panjáb. It reached to Lahore, and a great number of Muhammadans and Hindús lost their lives from it. It then proceeded

towards Sirhind, and through the Doáb as far as Dehlí and the surrounding places. It destroyed many villages and *parganas* in that part of the country. When it was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death. If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal contact. The effect of the epidemic was comparatively more severe upon the Hindús. In Lahore its ravages were so great, that in one house ten or even twenty persons would die, and their surviving neighbours, annoyed by the stench, would be compelled to desert their habitations. Houses full of the dead were left locked, and no person dared to go near them through fear of his life. It was also very severe in Kashmír, where its effect was so great that (as an instance) a *darwesh*, who had performed the last sad offices of washing the corpse of a friend, the very next day shared the same fate. A cow, which had fed upon the grass on which the body of the man was washed, also died. The dogs, also, which ate the flesh of the cow, fell dead upon the spot. In Hindústán no place was free from this visitation, which continued to devastate the country for a space of eight years. * *

Thirteenth Year of the Reign.

On the 16th of De, an hour and a quarter before the dawn of the day, there appeared in the atmosphere a vaporous matter in the shape of a column, and it was seen half an hour earlier every succeeding night. When it appeared in its full form, it resembled the shape of a javelin. It was thin at both ends, and thick and crooked in the middle like a sickle. Its back was towards the south, and its face towards the north. The astronomers measured its size by means of an astrolabe, and upon a comparison of different observations, it was found to extend

over 24 degrees. It moved with the highest of the heavens, but had a proper motion of its own; so that it first appeared in the sign of Scorpio, and in a short time left it, and entered that of Libra. It also had a southerly declination. Astrologers in their books mention such a phenomenon under the name of a javelin. Sixteen nights after its appearance a star was seen in the same direction, the head of which was luminous; but its tail, which was two or three yards long, emitted no light. It was in consequence of its appearance that a pestilential disorder (*wabá o tá'aún*) spread throughout this extensive country of Hindústán, which exceeded everything known and recorded in former ages, nor is there any mention made of such in the authentic works of the Hindús. The pestilence arose in the country one year before the appearance of the phenomenon, and continued to rage for eight years. It was also through the effects of this phenomenon that a misunderstanding arose between His Majesty and the fortunate Prince Sháh Jahán. The disturbances which thus originated lasted seven or eight years. What blood was shed in the country! and what families were ruined!

At this time it was learnt from the petition of Bahádur Khán, governor of Kandahár, that in the environs and dependencies of the city, the mice had increased to such an extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits. With the greatest difficulty, perhaps, only one-fourth of the produce was saved to the cultivators. In the same manner, the fields of melons, and the produce of orchards and vineyards were totally destroyed; and when no fruit and no corn remained in the gardens and in the fields, by degrees the mice all died off.

Nineteenth Year of Jahángír.

Rebellion of Sháh Jahán.

[The nineteenth year of the reign of Jahángír began. The intelligence of the march of Sháh Jahán's[1] army towards

[1] [In this work he is called *Sháhí, 'Alishán Sháhí, Sháh-i giti-sitán*, etc.]

Orissa and Bengal was confirmed. An order was sent to Prince Parwez and Mahábat Khán, to make provision for the security of the Dakhin, and then to march towards Illahábás and Bihár; so that if the governor of Bengal was unable to prevent the advance of the rebel Sháh Jahán, the Prince might be there to oppose him with the Imperial army. The Emperor also sent Khán Jahán to the capital, to watch the turn of affairs, and to take such steps as might seem necessary.

Mahábat Khán sent an ambassador from Burhánpúr to 'Ádil Khán, * * who wrote in reply that he would meet Mahábat Khán at Dewal-gánw, and would send his son to enter the Imperial service. The ambassador also wrote to say that 'Ádil Khán was loyal, and had determined to send his minister, Mullá Muhammad Lárí, to join Mahábat with 5000 horse. In compliance with repeated *farmáns*, the Prince marched for Bengal, notwithstanding the severity of the rains and the difficulties arising from the mud and mire of Málwá. Mahábat Khán, having sent forward the Prince, remained at Burhánpúr, awaiting the arrival of Mullá Muhammad Lárí.

Ahmad Beg Khán, nephew of Ibráhím Khán, and governor of Orissa, had gone forth against the *zamíndárs* of Garha. When he heard of Sháh Jahán's arrival, he retreated in alarm to Pipalí, the residence of the governor, and there collecting his property, he carried it with him to Katak (Cuttack), which is twelve *kos* from Pipalí, in the direction of Bengal. But not feeling himself able to make a stand even there, he went off to Bardwán, and carried the news to Sálih, nephew of Ja'far Beg. * * Sálih received a letter from 'Abdu-lla Khán, which was written for the purpose of winning him over, but Sálih rejected the proposition, and put Bardwán in a state of defence.

Ibráhím Khán, when he received the threatening intelligence, although he had forces scattered at different posts, fled to Akbarnagar,[1] and there collected men and munitions for the conflict. He now received a letter from Sháh Jahán [*proposing an arrange-*

[1] [A name given to Rájmahál.—Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 186.]

ment]; but he wrote in reply that * * he would fight for his master to the death. When the Prince's army arrived at Bardwán, the short-sighted Sálih put forth the foot of ignorance and folly,[1] and made resistance. 'Abdu-lla Khán did not give him much grace, but invested the fort, and soon brought it to extremity. When Sálih perceived that there was no hope of relief, he went out to see the Khán, who led him with a sash round his neck to the Prince. This obstacle being removed, the Prince marched on to Akbar-nagar. It was Ibráhím Khán's first intention to hold Akbar-nagar, but the fort was large, and his force was insufficient for its defence; so he retired to the tomb of his son, which was smaller and more secure. Here he was joined by forces from different stations.

Sháh Jahán's army having arrived at Akbar-nagar, invested the tomb, and death began to be busy both within and without. Ahmad Beg Khán came, and found an entrance into the besieged place, which greatly inspirited the garrison. The wives and families of many of the besieged were on the other side of the river; so 'Abdu-lla Khán and Daryá Khán Afghán crossed over, to commence operations on that side. This movement alarmed Ibráhím Khán, who hastened thither, taking with him Ahmad Khán Beg, leaving others in charge of his fortified post. He sent over before him some war-boats, called in Hindí *niwárá*, to prevent the passage of the enemy. But before the boats arrived, Daryá Khán had crossed over. On hearing this, Ibráhím Khán sent Ahmad Beg over the river against Daryá Khán; but when he landed, a fight began on the banks of the river, and he lost many of his men; so he turned back and rejoined Ibráhím Khán, carrying with him the news of his defeat. Ibráhím sent to the fortress for a reinforcement, and a party of well-mounted horsemen came to his aid. On hearing of this, Daryá Khán retreated some *kos*, and 'Abdu-lla Khán, under the

[1] [This shows when the work was written. Muhammad Hádí follows this work very closely in his continuation of Jahángir's Memoirs; but he has cut out such expressions as this, and writes as a partisan of Jahángir.]

guidance of the landholders, crossed the river some *kos* higher up and joined him. The united forces took up a position, with the river on one flank and a thick jungle on the other. Ibráhím Khán crossed over, and gave battle. * * The advanced force was defeated, * * disorder arose, and many fled. Ibráhím Khán, with a small party of followers, disdained to escape; and although some of his men seized his bridle, and tried to drag him out of the fight, he exclaimed, "My life does not need such a course; what can I do better than die on the field of battle?" He had scarcely uttered the words, when the enemy gathered round and despatched him.

The news of his fall discouraged the garrison, and the besiegers exploded a mine under the fortress. The storming party rushed in, and the place was carried. * * Some of the garrison cast themselves into the river, and others, who were fettered by their families being in the hands of the enemy, submitted to the victor. The children and the property of Ibráhím Khán were in Dacca, so the Prince's army proceeded thither by the river. Ahmad Beg, Ibráhím's nephew, arrived before them; but submission was the only course open to him, and he obtained grace through one of the Prince's attendants. The victors took possession of the property, nearly forty *lacs* of rupees in cash, besides various effects, and elephants.

Dáráb Khán had hitherto been kept in confinement, but he was now released; and after being bound by an oath, was made governor of Bengal; but his wife, a daughter, a son, and a son of Sháh Nawáz Khán, were kept (as hostages). Rájá Bhím, son of Ráná Karan, who had never left the Prince in any of his troubles, was sent forward in command of the advanced force towards Patna. The province of Patna was in the *jágír* of Prince Parwez, and it had been left in charge of Mukhlis Khán, the Prince's *diwán*, and of Iftikhár Khán and Sher Khán Afghán, his *faujdars*. But before even Rájá Bhím arrived, they were frightened; and giving up all hope of support, they did not even set the fort of Patna in order, and wait a few days for the

approach of the army; they abandoned the place, and made off to Illahábás, setting their own safety above the loss of such a country. So. Rájá Bhím entered the fort of Patna, and took possession of the province of Bihár without resistance.

A few days afterwards Prince Sháh Jahán arrived there, and the *jágírdárs* of the province waited upon him, and made their submission. Saiyid Mubárak made over to him the fort of Rohtás. The *zamíndár* of Ujaina also came in and was received. Before advancing himself, Sháh Jahán sent on 'Abdu-lla Khán with an army towards Allahábád, and Daryá Khán Afghán with another force towards Oudh. A few days after, the Prince himself marched, leaving Bairam Beg in charge of Bihár. Before 'Abdu-lla Khán passed over the ford of Jausá,[1] Jahángír Kulí Khán, son of 'Azam Khán Mirzá Koka, who held the government of Jaunpúr, left that place and went to Mirzá Rustam at Allahábád. 'Abdu-lla pursued him hotly, and came up to the town of Jhauńsí on the river Ganges, opposite Allahábád.[2] Sháh Jahán then advanced to Jaunpúr. The war-boats (*niwárá*) had been brought up from Bengal, and 'Abdu-lla now employed them in effecting a passage of the river under a fire of guns and muskets, and pitched his camp in Allahábád.]

Dakhin.

[We must now return to the affairs of the Dakhin. 'Ambar Habshí had sent his envoy 'Alí Sher to Mahábat Khán, to express his obedience and devotion, in the hope that the management of the Dakhin would be entrusted to him. He was at war with 'Ádil Khán, and he hoped to obtain Imperial assistance, and so triumph over his enemy. On the other hand, 'Ádil Khán in the same way hoped to get charge of the province, and so to repel the assaults of 'Ambar. In the end 'Ádil Khán prevailed. Mahábat Khán rejected the proposals of 'Ambar, and decided in favour of

[1] [The *Tatimma* says "Jaunápúr."]

[2] ["Bhím rested at five *kos* from Allahábád."—*Tatimma.*]

'Ádil Khán. 'Ambar was on the road, and Mullá Muhammad, the envoy of 'Ádil Khán, was in dread of him; so Mahábat Khán sent a detachment from the Imperial army to the Bálághát, to escort him to Burhánpúr. When 'Ambar was informed of this, he turned back, vexed and disappointed, and proceeded with Nizámu-l Mulk from Khirkí to Kandahár, on the borders of Golkonda. He sent his children with his wives and attendants to the fortress of Daulatábád, and left Khirkí empty. He gave out that he was going to the frontier of Kutbu-l Mulk, in order to receive his fixed payment (*zar-i mukarrarí*).

When Mullá Muhammad Lárí approached Burhánpúr, Mahábat Khán went forth as far as Sháhpúr to meet him, and received him with great attention. Then they proceeded to wait upon Prince Parwez. Mahábat Khán left Sarbuland Rái in charge of Burhánpúr, with Jádú Rái and U'dá Rám Rái to support him; but he took with him the son of Jádú Rái and the brother of U'da Rám by way of precaution. When Mullá Muhammad Lárí had his interview with the Prince, it was arranged that he should go to Burhánpúr with his 5000 horse, to assist Sarbuland Rái, and that his son Amínu-d dín, with another 5000 horse, should accompany the Prince. * *

A despatch arrived from Fázil Khán, the *bakhshí* of the army of the Dakhin, stating that Mullá Muhammad Lárí had gone to Burhánpúr, and the Imperial commanders felt that the Dakhin was secure. Prince Parwez and Mahábat Khán had therefore marched towards Bihár and Bengal. The commanders having considered the rebellious actions of Khán-khánán, and the fact of his son Dáráb being in the service of Sháh Jahán, resolved that he should be kept under arrest. His tent was to be pitched near that of the Prince, and his daughter Jáná Begam, who had been married to Prince Dániyál, and was an intelligent pupil of her father, was ordered to be detained in the same place with him, and constant guard was to be kept round their tent by trusty men.] * *

Defeat of Sháh Jahán.

[On the 1st of Shahryúr, while the Emperor was at Vírnág in Kashmír, a despatch arrived from Mahábat Khán, reporting that Sháh Jahán's generals held all the passages of the Ganges, and had seized upon all the boats. The Imperial army had consequently been delayed some days in crossing the river; but they had been assisted by the *zamíndárs*, thirty boats had been procured, and the army had crossed forty *kos* above the fords. * * The next intelligence was that a party of *zamíndárs* in the service of Sháh Jahán had carried off all the war-boats, with their guns and equipment, and had fled to Bengal. Sháh Jahán was in the jungle of Kampat, where he had entrenched himself, and had mounted cannons and guns upon his earthworks. But the supply of provisions was small, and scarcity had begun to prevail.

A courier now arrived by *dák chaukí* from Prince Parwez, with a despatch announcing that he had gained a victory over Sháh Jahán, who had gone off towards Patna and Bihár. The particulars of the engagement are as follows: The two armies were in sight of each other, and forming their array for several days. The royal army amounted to 40,000 men, that of Sháh Jahán did not exceed 10,000[1] horse, including old and new troops; and some of the most devoted were averse to fighting.[2] Rájá Bhím, the son of the Ráná, contrary to the opinions of all, was eager for war. He went so far as to say that if they did not fight, they must not reckon upon his support, for such marching and moving about was against the rules of the Rájpúts. His voice prevailed, and the ranks were formed for battle. The guns were taken out of the redoubts, and the battle began. The royal forces encompassed the field on three sides like a bow, and arrows and bullets fell like hail. Rájá Bhím, unheeding the numbers of foes, charged bravely with his Rájpúts * *; but a chosen force which

[1] [The *Tatimma* makes the number only 7000.]

[2] [According to the *Tatimma*, which varies a little here, 'Abdu-lla Khán advised an advance upon Dehlí by way of Oudh and Lucknow, and failing in that, to fall back on the Dakhin.]

attended Prince Parwez and Mahábat Khán fell upon him and cut him down; still he fought fiercely as long as he could draw breath. * * The gunners abandoned their guns and fled, and the guns fell into the hands of the royal forces. * * An arrow wounded the horse of Sháh Jahán, and 'Abdu-lla, who was near him, seized his bridle, and led him out of the fight, when he exchanged his own for the Prince's wounded horse. Sháh Jahán went to the fort of Rohtás,[1] and there stayed his flight.] * *

Dakhin.

[Advices now arrived from the Dakhin. Malik 'Ambar proceeded to the frontiers of Kutbu-l Mulk, to receive the annual payment for the army, which was now two years in arrear. After receiving it, and making himself secure on that side by a treaty and oath, he proceeded towards Bídar. There he found the forces of 'Ádil Khán, who were in charge of that country, unprepared, so he attacked them unawares, and plundered the city of Bídar. From thence he marched against Bíjápúr. 'Ádil Khán had sent his best troops and officers along with Mullá Muhammad Lárí to Burhánpúr, and not deeming himself strong enough to resist the assailant, he shut himself up in the fortress of Bíjápúr, and doing all he could to secure the place, he sent a messenger to recall Muhammad Lárí and his forces from Burhánpúr. * *

When Mahábat Khán and Prince Parwez marched for Allahábád, Sarbuland Ráí was left in charge of Burhánpúr, and was ordered to administer the affairs of the Dakhin in concert with Mullá Muhammad Lárí. The Mullá now became very pressing, and gave three *lacs* of *húns*, nearly equal to twelve *lacs* of rupees, for the payment of the troops. When the Mullá's letters of recall reached Mahábat Khán, he acquiesced, and directed the officials in the Dakhin to hasten with the Mullá to support 'Ádil Khán. Sarbuland Ráí of necessity remained at Burhánpúr with a few men; but he sent Lashkar Khán and * * * all the *amírs*

[1] [He reached there in four marches, and stayed only three days.—*Tatimma.*]

of the Dakhin along with Muhammad Lárí, to oppose Malik 'Ambar. When the Malik received information of this, he wrote to the Imperial officers, asserting his loyalty to the Imperial throne, and asking that Nizámu-l Mulk and 'Ádil Khán might be allowed to settle their old standing differences without interference.[1] No attention was paid to this remonstrance by the *amírs*, who pressed steadily on. He renewed his appeal more earnestly than before; but they displayed their forces, and he was compelled to depart from Bíjápúr, and go to his own territories. Upon the approach of the Imperial forces, 'Ambar endeavoured to conciliate and procrastinate, and spared no effort to avoid war. But Mullá Muhammad Lárí and the Imperial *amírs* followed him, and allowed him no rest. The more submissive and importunate he became, the more Muhammad Lárí tried to humble him, and the harder he pressed him.

He was reduced to extremity, and compelled to take some decided course. So one day, when the Imperial forces were heedless, and were impressed with the notion that he would not fight, suddenly he appeared on the edge of their camp, five *kos* from Ahmadnagar. The battle began with the forces of 'Ádil Khán, and, by the will of Fate, Muhammad Lárí, who commanded them, was killed. His fall threw the Bíjápúr forces into confusion. Jádú Rái and Údá Rám fled without striking a blow, and a perfect rout followed. Ikhlás Khán and twenty-five other officers of 'Ádil Khán, who were the props of his power, were taken prisoners. Of these, Farhád Khán, who had sought the death of Malik 'Ambar, was executed; the others were imprisoned. Lashkar Khán and some other chiefs of the Imperial army were also made prisoners. Khanjar Khán by great exertion escaped to Ahmadnagar, and prepared the fortress for a siege. Ján-sipár Khán went to Bír, which was in his *tuyúl* (*jágír*), and set the fort in order. Of the rest who escaped from the field of carnage, some fled to Ahmadnagar, and some to Burhánpúr.

[1] [The text gives the letter in full, but this is the whole gist of it.]

Malik 'Ambar, successful beyond his hopes, sent his prisoners to the fortress of Daulatábád, and marched to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. But although he brought up his guns and pressed the siege, he met with no success. He therefore left a part of his army to maintain the investment, whilst he marched against Bíjápúr. 'Ádil Khán again took refuge in the fortress, and Malik 'Ambar occupied all his territories as far as the frontiers of the Imperial dominions in the Bálághát. He collected an excellent army and laid siege to Sholapúr, which had long been a subject of contention between Nizámu-l Mulk and 'Ádil Khán. He sent a force against Burhánpúr, and having brought up guns from Daulatábád, he took Sholapúr by storm.

The intelligence of these reverses greatly troubled the Emperor. By advice of Mahábat Khán, he summoned Khána-zád Khán, son of Mahábat, from Kábul, and sent him with his army to join his father. * *[1] A despatch arrived from Mahábat Khan, informing the Emperor that Sháh Jahán had quitted Patna and Bihár, and had gone to Bengal. Prince Parwez, with the Imperial army, was in Bihár awaiting instructions as to his future proceedings. It has already been related how Sháh Jahán had made Dáráb, son of Khán-khanán, governor of Bengal, and having first bound him by an oath, had carried off his wife and son and nephew as hostages. After being defeated, Sháh Jahán placed the wife in the fort of Rohtás, and wrote to Dáráb, ordering him to come in person to the fort. Dáráb improperly and perversely took another view of the matter, and wrote to say that he was unable to come, because the *zamíndárs* had banded together and held him in blockade. When Sháh Jahán found that he must not expect the arrival of Dáráb, and that he had not forces sufficient to carry on the war, he placed Dáráb's son in charge of 'Abdu-lla Khán, and went to Akbar-nagar, where he took all the munitions and baggage which had been left there, and returned to the Dakhin by the way in which he had come. Dáráb Khán had disgraced himself to all eternity by his detest-

[1] [The Emperor at this time arrived at Lahore from Kashmír.—*Tatimma.*]

able conduct, so 'Abdu-lla Khán relieved his own mind by putting Dáráb's son to death; and this he did, although Sháh Jahán had sent to forbid him.

Prince Parwez, having given Bihár in *jágír* to Mahábat Khán and his son, started on his return. He sent notices to the *zamíndárs* of Bengal, who held Dáráb in confinement, warning them not to hurt him, but to send him to the army. He soon arrived, and intelligence of his arrival having been communicated to the Emperor, he issued his mandate to Mahábat Khán, that there was no use in keeping such a worthless fellow alive, and that therefore he was to be beheaded, and his head sent to Court. So Mahábat Khán had him decapitated, and sent his head to the Emperor. * * Strict orders were sent to the Dakhin, forbidding warlike operations until the arrival of reinforcements, and commanding the troops to keep in the fortified places, and make them secure.].

Twentieth Year of the Reign.

[The twentieth year of the reign commenced on the 10th Jumáda-s sání, 1033 H. (10th March, 1624 A.D.), and the Emperor set out for Kashmír.].

As it has been several times asserted, and is especially mentioned in the *Zakhíra Khwárism Sháhi*, that laughter arises from eating saffron,—and that if it is taken in large quantities, there is fear of death supervening,—His Majesty determined on making a trial of its effects, and therefore sent for a condemned criminal from the jail, and giving him a quarter of a *sír* of saffron, equal to forty *miskáls*, made him eat it in his presence. It did not occasion any change in him. On the next day, he gave him double the quantity, but it did not cause him even to smile, much less to laugh. How then can a man possibly die from eating saffron?[1]

[1] Saffron, however, has an effect upon individuals endowed with excessive sensibility. Many aromatics exercise a peculiar influence. Violets have been known to occasion convulsions and apoplexy. See Triller, *Dissert. de morte subita ex nimio violarum odore.*

[Despatches from Asad Khán, *bakhshí* of the Dakhin, brought intelligence that Sháh Jahán had arrived at Dewalgám; that Yúsuf Habshí had invested Burhánpúr with the forces of Malik 'Ambar; that Sarbuland Rái had kept close in his fortifications; and that the besiegers had not been able to accomplish anything. The next intelligence was that Sháh Jahán had reached the La'l-bágh (before Burhánpúr), and had made several assaults upon the place without success. He had been attacked by sickness, and was compelled to go away to Rohangarh in the Bálághát.[1] The forces of Malik 'Ambar, finding their efforts unavailing, raised the siege, and returned to their master. Hoshang, son of Prince Dániyál, and 'Abdu-r Rahím Khán-khánán came in to wait upon Prince Parwez. The former was graciously received and liberally provided for. Khán-khánán expressed sorrow and shame for his actions, and the Prince consoled him, and directed that he should be kept in a suitable place.[2]

Fidái Khán was sent to Prince Parwez, with orders for Mahábat Khán to leave him, and proceed to Bengal. Khán Jahán[3] was to come from Gujarát, and to act as *vakíl* with the Prince. Fidái Khán saw the Prince at Sárangpúr, and wrote to say that the Prince was unwilling either to part with Mahábat Khán or to receive Khán Jahán. * * He (Fidái) had, nevertheless, sent messengers for Khán Jahán, who was hastening to his post. Another *farmán* was then sent to the Prince, warning him not to disobey. If Mahábat Khán was unwilling to go to Bengal, he was to return express to Court, and the Prince was to stay with his *amírs* at Burhánpúr.

On the 19th Muharram, 1035, the Emperor started from Kashmír on his return to Lahore.] * *

[1] [It was at this time that Sháh Jahán begged and obtained forgiveness from his father—a fact which the author of this work has suppressed.—See Extract from the *Tatimma*, p. 397 *supra*.]

[2] [The *Tatimma* says that on the last day of Muharram, 1035, when the Emperor was at Lahore, he ordered two *lacs* of rupees to be sent to Khán-khánán.—MS. p. 860.]

[3] [Khán-Jahán Lodí, from whom the *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* received its name —See Vol. V. p. 67.]

Prince Dáwar Bakhsh presented a tiger, which had an extraordinary affection for a goat, which lived in the same cage with it. They used even to couple and consort together, as if they were animals of the same kind. It was ordered that the goat should be taken away to a distance and concealed; upon which the tiger became disconsolate and uneasy. It was then ordered that a goat of precisely the same colour and size should be placed in the cage. The tiger at first began to smell it, and shortly afterwards seized it in his mouth, and broke its back. A sheep was then placed in the cage, when it was immediately torn and devoured. They then brought the old goat back again, when it was received with undiminished regard. The tiger lay on his back, and took the goat upon its breast, and licked its face. Such a thing was never seen, either among tame or wild beasts, as an animal kissing the mouth even of its mate.

[Mahábat Khán had not as yet sent to Court the elephants obtained in Bengal, and he had realized large sums of money due to the State, and also from *jágírs*. A person called 'Arab Dast-ghaib was therefore sent to collect the elephants, and bring them to Court, also to obtain a settlement of accounts, and to return to Court if the result proved satisfactory.

Intelligence arrived that Khán Jahán had come from Gujarát, and had joined Prince Parwez. A letter arrived simultaneously from Khán Jahán himself, stating that 'Abdu-lla Khán had abandoned Sháh Jahán, and through him had written penitent and submissive letters, begging for forgiveness. Khán Jahán forwarded the letters with his own intercession, and pardon was granted. * *

On the 8th Jumáda-s sání the Emperor began his travels in the direction of Kábul.] * *

Twenty-first Year of the Reign.

[The twenty-first year of the reign began on the 10th Jumáda-s sání, 1035 H. * * An answer to the dutiful letter of Sháh Jahán was written and forwarded, with a mace set with diamonds, valued at a *lac* of rupees, a studded girdle, etc.] * *

Rebellion of Mahábat Khán.

[It has previously been mentioned that 'Arab Dast-ghaib had been sent to Mahábat Khán in Bengal, to bring the elephants, and to summon the Khán to Court. Mahábat Khán, having first sent the elephants, came himself to the vicinity of the royal camp. His recall was owing to the instigation of Ásaf Khán,[1] whose object was to bring him to disgrace, and to deprive him of honour, property, and life. But Mahábat Khán had cleverly seen through Ásaf's designs, and had brought with him 4000 or 5000 Rájpúts, brave men united in one cause. He had also brought the wives and families of many of them, so that, if driven to extremity, they would fight to the last for the lives and honour of themselves and their families.

Although strong observations were made about the manner in which Mahábat Khán had come, Nawáb Ásaf Khán treated the matter with indifference and negligence. When his arrival was reported to the Emperor, a message was sent forbidding him to attend at Court until summoned. The elephants which he had brought were to be forwarded to Court.

Mahábat Khán had, without the royal permission, affianced his daughter to the son of Khwája 'Umar Nakshabandí. The Emperor made a great noise about this. He sent for the young man, and having treated him with great insult and harshness, he gave orders for binding his hands to his neck, and for taking him bare-headed to prison. Fidáí Khán was directed to seize what Mahábat Khán had given to the youth, and place it in the Imperial treasury.

The abiding place of the Emperor was on the bank of the river Behat, and Ásaf Khan, notwithstanding the presence of such a brave and daring enemy, was so heedless of his master's safety, that he left him on that side of the river, while he passed over the bridge to the other side, with the children and women, and the attendants and officers. He sent over also the baggage, the treasury, the arms, etc., even to the very domestics.

[1] [Brother of Núr Jahán.]

[1]Mahábat Khán perceived that his life and honour were at stake, and that he had no resource, for he had not a single friend left near the Emperor. With 4000 or 5000 Rájpúts who had sworn fidelity to him, he proceeded to the head of the bridge. There he left nearly 2000 horsemen to hold it, and to burn the bridge rather than allow any one to pass over. Mahábat Khán then proceeded to the royal quarters. The writer of this *Ikbál-náma* at that time held the offices of *bakhshí* and *mír-túzak;* therefore he had not gone over the river, but passed the night in the antechamber. After prayers, and saying good morning to his comrades, he went round to inspect. A cry arose that Mahábat Khán was coming, and the thought occurred to me[2] that perhaps he had gone to the door of the private apartments. Then it was said that he had left the private apartments, and had come to the state-apartment, to give expression to his feelings. On reaching the entrance of my ante-room, he inquired how matters stood. When his voice reached my ear, I drew my sword, and went out of the tent. When he saw me, he addressed me by name, and asked after His Majesty. I saw that he had with him about 100 Rájpúts on foot, carrying spears and shields, and leading his horse in the midst of them; but the dust prevented me from seeing any one's face distinctly. He hastened to the chief entrance, and I entered the state-apartment by a side door. I saw a few men of the guard in the state-room, and three or four eunuchs standing at the door of the bath-room. Mahábat Khán rode to the door of the state-room, and alighted. When he proceeded towards the bath-room, he had about 200 Rájpúts with him. I then went forward, and in my simplicity exclaimed, "This presumption and temerity is beyond all rule; if you will wait a minute, I will go on in, and make a report." He did not trouble himself to answer. When he reached the entrance of the bath-room, his attendants tore down the boards which the

[1] [The printed text here gives two versions, extending to about a page and a half. The one adopted by the *Tatimma* is here followed.]

[2] [The writer here adopts the first person.]

door-keepers had put up for security, and threw them into the middle of the state-room. The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of this daring action. The Emperor then came out, and took his seat in a *pálkí* which was in waiting for him. Mahábat Khán advanced respectfully to the door of the *pálkí*, and said, "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Ásaf Khán is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon Your Majesty's protection. If I deserve death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence."

The armed Rájpúts now flocked in, and surrounded the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but 'Arab Dast-ghaib, * *. * and a few other attendants. The violent entrance of that faithless dog had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to cleanse the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Mansúr Badakhshí said, "This is a time for fortitude, leave the punishment of this wicked faithless fellow to a just God: a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rájpúts occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach His Majesty. The villain then said, "It is time to go out riding and hunting; let the necessary orders be given as usual, so that your slave may go out in attendance upon you, and it may appear that this bold step has been taken by Your Majesty's order." He brought his own horse forward, and urged the Emperor to mount it; but the royal dignity would not permit him to ride upon his horse. So he called for his own horse, and ordered his riding garments to be taken into the private apartments. But that shrewd villain would not allow him to go inside.

They waited a little until the horse was brought. His Majesty then mounted and rode to two arrow-shots distance from the tents. An elephant was brought forward, and Mahábat Khán said

that there was a crowd and uproar, His Majesty had therefore better mount the elephant, and so proceed to the hunting ground. The Emperor, without any observation or opposition, mounted the beast. One of the most trusted Rájpúts took his seat in front, and two others behind the *howda*. Múbárak Khán now came forward, and to satisfy him, took a place in the *howda* with the Emperor. In the confusion, Mubárak had received accidentally a wound in the forehead, from which a good deal of blood had run, and covered his bosom. One of the personal attendants of His Majesty, who had charge of the wine, and carried the royal wine-cup in his hand, now came up to the elephant. The Rájpúts seized their spears, and with their hands and arms tried to prevent him; but he seized fast hold of the *howda*, and as there was not room for three persons to sit outside, he supported himself by holding the middle of the *howda*. After going about half a *kos*, Gajpat Khán, the master of the elephant stables, brought up the Emperor's own elephant. He was seated in front, and his son behind. Apparently this roused Mahábat Khán's suspicion, and he gave the sign to the Rájpúts for killing these two innocent men.

Dressed as if for hunting, Mahábat Khán led the way to his own abode, and His Majesty went in and stayed there for a time. Mahábat placed his wretched sons around the Emperor. He had taken no thought of Núr Jahán Begam; so it now occurred to him that he would take the Emperor back to the royal abode, and make himself safe on that side also. With this intention, he conducted the Emperor back. But as it happened, Núr Jahán, thinking that His Majesty had gone out hunting, took the opportunity to pass over the river with Jawáhir Khán, the eunuch, to pay a visit to her brother Asaf Khán. When Mahábat discovered the departure of Núr Jahán, he bitterly repented of the blunder he had made in not securing her. He now bethought him of Shahriyár, and saw that it would be a great error to let him be apart from the Emperor. So he made His Majesty mount once more, and carried him to the house of

Shahriyár. Apprehension and fear for his life so distracted the traitor, that his deeds and words were not at all sensible. He neither knew what he said nor what he did, nor what was to be done. Every minute some design or some anxiety entered his mind, and caused regret. His Majesty made no opposition to any of his proposals.

When the bold traitor entered the royal apartments, Jahjú, grandson of Shujá'at Khán, one of the chief nobles of the late Emperor Akbar, was present, and he went everywhere with His Majesty, until he was taken to the abode of Shahriyár. One cannot tell what suspicion or doubt entered the heart of the traitor; but when His Majesty went in, Mahábat directed his Rájpúts to seize Jahjú and slay him, and they soon made a martyr of him.

After Núr Jahán had crossed the river, and reached the house of her brother, she summoned all the chief nobles, and addressed them in reproachful terms. "This," she said, "has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered into the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and advise what course to pursue." With one mind and one voice they all advised that on the morrow the forces should be drawn out, and that they should pass over the river with her to defeat the rebel and deliver His Majesty. This unwise resolution reached the Emperor's ears, and he considered it very wrong. During the night he sent Mukarrib Khán and several others in succession to Ásaf Khán and the great nobles, warning them against passing over the river to give battle, for to do so would be a great mistake, productive of nothing but evil and repentance. With what hope and what zeal could they fight, while he was on a different side of the river. To certify and enforce this counsel, he sent his own signet ring over by Mír Mansúr. But Ásaf Khán suspected that this was done and said at the instigation of Mahábat Khán; so he paid no heed to it, but resolved to carry out the plan they had resolved on.

Fidáí Khán, on being informed of what had happened, mounted his horse, and rode down to the river; but the bridge had been burnt, and there was no means of passing over. Having no other resource, with a few of his faithful followers he rode into the river opposite the royal abode, and tried to cross over by swimming. Six of his men perished in the waters; others, through the coldness of the water, were unable to proceed, and returned to land half dead. The Khán, with seven other horsemen, reached the opposite bank, and made a gallant effort. Four of his companions were killed; and when he saw that the enemy was too strong, that he could not reach His Majesty, and that his effort must fail, he fell back like a block of stone in an iron wall,[1] and repassed the river with the same dash and spirit with which he had crossed it. The Emperor passed that night in the abode of Shahriyár.

On Sunday, the 20th Farwardín, of the Iláhí era, agreeing with 21st Jumáda-s sání, Ásaf Khán, with Khwája Abú-l Hasan, and other grandees, being resolved upon giving battle, determined to pass the river in attendance upon Núr Jahán Begam, by a ford which Ghází, the commander of the boats, had discovered. As it happened, this was one of the worst of fords. Three or four large holes had to be passed, in which the water was deep. In the passage all order was lost, and each party got over as best it could. Ásaf Khán, Khwája Abú-l Hasan, and Irádat Khán, with the elephant-litter of the Begam, landed in front of a strong party of the enemy, which held the bank, with their elephants posted in their front. Fidáí Khán crossed over at a ford about an arrow-shot lower down. Abú Tálib, son of Ásaf Khán, and a considerable number of men, passed at a ford still lower down. At times the horses were obliged to swim, the accoutrements got wet, and the harness disordered. Some of them had reached the shore, and some were still in the water, when the enemy came down upon them, their elephants leading. Ásaf Khán and Khwája Abú-l Hasan were yet in the middle of the river, when

[1] [The author of the *Tatimma* shows his taste by cutting out this simile.]

the men in advance of them recoiled (I was paralyzed at this sight, as if a mill-stone had been revolving on the top of my head). No one cared for or gave ear to another, no one showed any resolution. The first thing to be done was to secure the ford which offered the easiest passage, and to send a force over to occupy the opposite bank, and to keep the enemy off, so that the *amírs* and their men might cross the river without interruption, to support those who had already got over. This was a time for the exhibition of discipline, resolution, and devotion. But now every one who was in front fell back, and those who went on together fell. The officers, in a panic, rushed off in disorder, not knowing whither they went, or where they led their men.

I and Khwája Abú-l Hasan had crossed one (branch of the) river, and were standing on the brink of the second, beholding the working of destiny. Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels, and carriages, were in the midst of the river, jostling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore. At this time a eunuch of Núr Jahán's, whose name was Nadím, came to us, and said, "The Begam wants to know if this is the time for delay and irresolution; strike boldly forward, so that by your advance the enemy may be repulsed, and take to flight." I and the Khwája did not wait to give an answer, but plunged into the water. Seven or eight hundred Rájpúts, with a number of war-elephants in their front, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank, in a broken and disordered condition. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the water, and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood. The Begam Núr Jahán had in her litter the daughter of Shahriyár, whose *anka*[1] or nurse was the daughter of Sháh Nawáz Khán. The *anka* received an arrow in her arm,

[1] [Here, as frequently in other works, we have the word *atka* instead of *anka*, foster-father instead of foster-mother. See note, Vol. V. p. 271. The *Tatimma* does not mention the nurse, but says it was the child who was wounded.]

and the Begam herself pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. The elephant on which the Begam was riding received two sword-cuts on the trunk; and when he turned round, he was wounded two or three times behind with spears. The Rájpúts pushed after him with their drawn swords, and his drivers urged him on into the deep water. The horsemen then had to swim, and becoming afraid of being drowned, they turned back. The elephant swam to shore, and the Begam proceeded to the royal abode. Khwája Abú-l Hasan and I were together. He left me and made haste to the Begam's abode, and I remained with forty of my men by the side of the river. They kept up a discharge of arrows, and the Rájpúts made no attempt to cross to our side. Ásaf Khán now came in sight; his companions were scattered, and his plan had failed, so he departed. I sought and shouted for his followers, but could not find them or any trace of them.

When Khwája Abú-l Hasan left me, he went off at a sharp pace, and in his distraction and alarm, he rode into the river. The water was deep, and the stream was running strong. While the horse was swimming, he fell off; but he clutched the saddle-bow with both hands. The horse went under several times, and was drowned; but the Khwája never let go the saddle-bow. A Kashmírí boatman made his way to him, and saved his life.

Fidáí Khán, with a party of the Emperor's servants, and some of his own men who had been long attached to him, passed the river, and attacked the force which he found opposed to him. He drove back the enemy, and reached the house of Shahriyár, where the Emperor then was. The interior of the residence was full of men, both horse and foot; so Fidáí Khán stopped at the entrance, and sent a discharge of arrows inside. Some of the arrows fell in the courtyard of the private apartments near His Majesty, when Mukhlis Khán placed himself before the throne, and made his body a shield for the protection of the Emperor. Fidáí Khán persevered for some time in his efforts, but several

of his followers were killed, others were severely wounded, and the Khán's own horse received four wounds. When he found that he could not succeed, and that there was no chance of reaching the Emperor, he passed through the camp, and went up the river. Next day he crossed the river, and repaired to his sons, who were in Rohtás. * * Ásaf Khán, who was the cause of this disaster, and whose folly and rashness had brought matters to this pass, when he found that he could no longer make any resistance to Mahábat Khán, fled with his son Abú Tálib, and 200 or 300 horse, *bárgírs*, and servants, to the fort of Átak, which was in his *jágír*, and closed the fortress. * * Mahábat sent a large party of the royal *ahadís* (guards), with some of his own followers, and the *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood, under the command of his son Bihroz and a Rájpút, to invest Átak. They reduced the fort, and Ásaf Khán bowed to Fate, and bound himself by promise and oath to uphold Mahábat. When the Emperor crossed the river at Átak, Mahábat Khán, having received the royal permission, went into the fort, brought out Ásaf Khán and his son Abú Tálib, and gave it into the charge of his own adherents. [*Several of A'saf Khán's followers executed.*] The royal camp rested for a while at Jalálábád, * * and on the 21st Sha'bán arrived at Kábul, and the Emperor visited the tombs of his ancestors. * * A party of Rájpúts turned out their horses to graze in the hunting ground near Kábul, and a contention arose with the keepers, in which an *ahadí* was killed. * * The *ahadís* sought redress, * * and, dissatisfied with the answer they received, * * attacked the Rájpúts, and killed 600 or 700 of them.]

Death of Malik 'Ambar.

[Intelligence now arrived of the death of 'Ambar the Abyssinian, in the eightieth year of his age, on the 31st Urdíbihisht. This 'Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory (*kazzákí*) warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *bargi-girí*.

He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence. [1]

The Emperor, with Núr Jahán Begam,[1] while at Kábul, went to pay a visit to Sháh Ismá'íl. It was now reported that Sháh Jahán had departed from the frontiers of Nizámu-l Mulk, and proceeded through Málwa to Ajmír. But he made no stay there, and had gone on by way of Jesalmír to Thatta. On the 1st Shahryúr, His Majesty started from Kábul for Hindústán. At this time intelligence was brought of the serious illness of Prince Parwez. He was first attacked with colic, then he became insensible, and after medical treatment, fell into a heavy sleep. The doctors cauterized him in five places on the head and forehead. His illness was attributed to excessive drinking; the same malady of which his uncles Sháh Murád and Sháhzáda Dániyál had died.]

Escape of the Emperor.

[His Majesty, in his good nature and gentleness, had now become reconciled to Mahábat Khán, and showed him great favour and kindness, so that Mahábat felt quite secure on that side. * * Whatever Núr Jahán Begam said to the Emperor in private, he unreservedly repeated to Mahábat Khán, and he bade him beware, for the Begam had a design against him. He also told him that the daughter of Sháh-nawáz Khán, who was married to Sháyastah Khán, son of Ásaf, had threatened to shoot him whenever she got an opportunity. By these means he set Mahábat's heart at rest, and removed that doubt and suspicion with which Mahábat had at first regarded him. Mahábat became less watchful, the guard of Rájpúts which he used to bring with him to surround the palace was diminished, and the bands of control were relaxed. Besides, he had lost some of his best men in the fight with the *ahadis* in Kábul.

[1] [It is not stated when the Begam rejoined the Emperor.]

Núr Jahán Begam worked against him both in private and in public. She maintained a number of followers, and attached them to herself by money and promises. In time Hushiyár Khán, her eunuch, in compliance with her letters, got together about 2000 men in Lahore, and proceeded to meet her. A considerable number of men had also been got together round the royal escort. When he was one march distant from Rohtás His Majesty determined to hold a review of the cavalry. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should form in two lines from the royal abode as far as they would extend. He then directed Buland Khán, one of his attendants, to go to Mahábat Khán, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Begam's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, lest words should pass between the two parties and strife ensue.[1] After Buland Khán, he sent Khwája Abú-l Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahábat to go on a stage. The Khwája, by cogent reasons, prevailed upon him; and, casting off all insolence and improper exercise of power, he went on first. His Majesty followed close after, and making no stay at the first stage, he made two stages into one, and passed over the river to Rohtás, where he found a Court ready to receive him.

The Emperor now sent four written orders to Mahábat Khán. 1. That as Sháh Jahán had gone to Thatta, he was to follow and assist in settling matters there. 2. To send Ásaf Khán and his son Abú Tálib to Court. 3. To send Tahmúras and Hoshang, sons of the late Prince Dániyál, who had been placed in his charge. 4. To send also Lashkarí, son of Mukhlis Khán, who was

[1] [From this point the text is somewhat obscure. The *Tatimma* alters the wording, and says, "After Buland Khán he sent Khwája Abú-l Hasan, to enforce the proposal with suitable arguments. He (Mahábat) acted accordingly, and did not come to wait upon the Emperor. Next day a number of royal adherents assembled at the Emperor's tents. He then directed Mahábat Khán to go on a march in advance; and, although the Khán was aware of what was passing, his mind had been so shaken by the fight with the *ahadís*, that he did as he was ordered, and marched forwards. The Emperor then mounted, and hastened onwards. Mahábat Khán could not recover himself, but went on again from the first stage, and crossed the Behat.]

his surety, and had not yet come to Court. He was warned that if he made any delay in sending Ásaf Khán, an army should be sent after him.

Afzal Khán brought the sons of Prince Dániyál; but in the matter of Ásaf Khán, he brought a message from Mahábat, saying that he was going to Thatta, but that he was not safe as regarded Núr Jahán. He was afraid that if he let Ásaf Khán go, an army would be sent after him. Therefore, with all due submission, he would keep Ásaf Khán till he had passed Lahore, and would then set him at liberty. This answer greatly enraged the Begam, who sent Afzal Khán back to report what he had seen and heard, to say that there must be no delay in sending Ásaf Khán, and to beware of giving further provocation. Mahábat Khán was overawed by this message. He sent for Ásaf Khán, apologized, and bound him by an oath and promise. Then having shown him much attention, he sent him to Court. But, for the reason above stated, he detained Ásaf's son, Abú Tálib, for some days. He then marched as if it was his intention to proceed to Thatta. * *

When the Court arrived at Lahore, Ásaf Khán received the *súbadárí* of the Panjáb. He was also appointed prime minister, and the order was given for him to preside permanently over the administration of all affairs, revenue and political. * *

Mahábat Khán did not proceed far in the direction of Thatta, but turned off, and went towards Hindústán to push his fortune. Information came in that twenty-two *lacs* of rupees was coming to him from Bengal, and that the convoy had arrived near Dehlí. A party was sent out to seize upon this treasure, and they fell in with it near Sháhábád. The men in charge with their cart loads of money took refuge in a *saráí*, barricaded it, and showed a determination of holding out to the last. After a good deal of fighting, the royal troops set fire to the *saráí*, and got possession of it, when its defenders fled.] * *

News from the Dakhin.

[Prince Parwez died on the 6th Safar, 1035 A.H. His age was thirty-eight solar years.

Intelligence arrived from the Dakhin that Ya'kúb Khán, the Abyssinian, who, in that country, was next in rank to Malik 'Ambar, and during his life even had held important commands, had now determined to make his submission to the Imperial throne. * * Khán Jahán wrote to Ya'kúb in warm and assuring terms, and directed the *amírs* to receive him with all hospitality and respect, and to bring him to Burhánpúr.]

Sháh Jahán.

[It has already been mentioned that Sháh Jahán, with a small party of adherents, had proceeded to Thatta. In former years he had kept up friendly relations and correspondence with Sháh 'Abbás of Persia, and in his present difficulties he entertained the idea of going to him, hoping to receive a friendly reception, until by some means he got over his troubles. On approaching Thatta, Sharífu-l Mulk, the governor of the country, and a devoted servant of Shahriyár's, came forward arrogantly with 3000 or 4000 horse, and 10,000 infantry, collected from the country, to oppose Sháh Jahán's progress. The Prince had with him only 300 or 400 horse; but Sharífu-l Mulk was afraid to attack them, and retired into the fortress of the city. The fortress had been lately repaired, many guns had been mounted, and chosen parties of men held the various bastions, prepared to make a vigorous defence. Sháh Jahán forbad any attempt upon the fort, and desired to avoid a sacrifice of life from the fire of the fortress. A party of his brave fellows, not heeding his prohibition, made an attack; but the works were too strong, and the fire too heavy, so they were repulsed. Some days later another party, unable to repress their ardour, made another attack. The ground round the fortress was level and open, with not a mound, a wall, a tree, or any kind of shelter. So they placed their shields in front

of them, and rushed forward. They came upon a broad and deep ditch, which was full of water. To advance was impossible, to return still more so. Trusting in Providence as their fortress, there they stayed. Sháh Jahán sent to recall them, but they did not retire. Some of his most devoted servants went to bring them back; but each one that went took part with them, and choosing the road to death, never returned.

Various events now occurred to prevent Sháh Jahán from proceeding to Persia. Prince Parwez was very dangerously ill, and the attempt to subdue Thatta seemed futile, so he determined to return by way of Gujarát and the country of Bihára (Birár?) to the Dakhin. Being weak and ill, he was obliged to travel in a *pálki*. He now received intelligence of the death of Prince Parwez, and this hastened his movements. He pursued the route which Mahmúd of Ghazní had taken when he conquered Somnáth. Passing by Rájpiplíya, he arrived at Násik Tirbang in the Dakhin, where he had left his stores and equipage.]

The Dakhin.

[Nizámu-l Mulk, in concert with Fath Khán, son of Malik 'Ambar, took hostile measures, * * so Khán Jahán placed Lashkar Khán in charge of Burhánpúr, and marched to Khirkí to frustrate his attempts. * * Nizámu-l Mulk was in the fortress of Daulatábád. He made Hamíd Khán, an Abyssinian slave,[1] his commander-in-chief, and delivered over to him the general management of his State. Nizámu-l Mulk was thus kept under control like a bird in a cage; out of doors by the Abyssinian, and indoors by his wife.

When Khán Jahán's approach became known, Hamíd Khán took three *lacs* of *húns*, and went to meet him: The Abyssinian's

[1] [The text gives an account of the "strange history" of this Abyssinian slave. He married a poor woman who served in the female apartments of Nizámu-l Mulk. She made herself useful in supplying the King secretly with wine, and as a procuress in bringing "wives and daughters" for his gratification. By these means she obtained such an ascendancy over him, that she was mistress inside the palace, and her husband became master outside; but it must be added that he was a man of ability.]

wiles and the temptation of the money, led Khán Jahán from the course of rectitude. He agreed to take the money, and to restore all the country of the Bálághát, as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar, to Nizámu-l Mulk. Shame upon this faithless man, who forgot his duty and his loyalty, and bartered such a territory for three *lacs* of *húns*! Khán Jahán wrote letters to the commandants of the various posts, ordering them to give up the places to the officers of Nizámu-l Mulk, and to return to Court.

One of these letters was sent to Sipahdár Khán, the commandant of Ahmadnagar. When Nizámu-l Mulk's officers went there, the Khán said, "Take possession of the country, for it belongs to you; but I will not surrender the fort without a royal *farmán*." The representatives of Nizámu-l Mulk did their utmost to persuade him, but it was all in vain; he never swerved from his determination, and he busied himself in laying in provisions, and putting the fortress in a state of defence. Other commandants weakly surrendered the country of the Bálághát at the command of Khán Jahán, and repaired to Burhánpúr.

At this time died, in the seventy-second year of his age, Khán-khánán, son of Bairam Khán, one of the greatest nobles of the reign of the late Emperor Akbar, who had rendered honourable services and gained important victories. * *

Mahábat Khán, when he turned off from the road to Thatta, sent his men to meet the convoy of treasure which was on its way to him, and either to bring it after him, or bear it out of the Imperial territory. He concealed himself for some time in the hills of the Ráná's country, and then sent persons to Sháh Jahán to express his contrition. The Prince received his apologies kindly, called him to his presence, and treated him with great favour and kindness.[1] * *

[1] [According to the *Tatimma* he had nearly 2000 horse with him when he joined Sháh Jahán at Junír.]

Twenty-second Year of the Reign.

[While the Emperor was staying in Kashmír, his illness increased, and he daily became weaker. He was unable to ride on horseback, but was carried about in a *pálki*. His sufferings were great. * * He lost all appetite for food, and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of wine of the grape.

Just at this time, Sultán Shahriyár inopportunely fell ill. The "fox's disease"[1] robbed him of his honour; for all his hair, his whiskers, his eyebrows, and his eyelashes fell off. Nothing that the doctors prescribed was of any benefit; so he returned covered with shame to Lahore.]

Death of the Emperor.

[The Emperor also started on his return to Lahore. When he reached Bairam Kala, his love of sport, which has been so often mentioned in these pages, revived. * * The country people drove the deer near to the place where His Majesty was seated. He raised his piece and fired, and the stricken animal bounded off to its females, and fell. [*A man who followed it fell down a precipice, and was killed.*] The fate of the poor man greatly affected the Emperor. It seemed as though he had thus seen the angel of death. From that time he had no rest or ease, and his state was entirely changed. The journey was continued two marches to Rájaur. Towards close of day he started from thence. On the way he called for a glass of wine; but when it was placed to his lips, he was unable to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and he died early on the following day, the 28th Safar, 1037 A.H., in the 22nd year of his reign.

Ásaf Khán, the chief personage in the State, in concert with Khán-i 'azam (Irádat Khán), brought Dáwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrú, out of confinement, and held out to him the prospect of his becoming king. But he did not believe them, and placed

[1] [*Dáu-s salab*, "scald or loss of hair."]

no confidence in their proposals till they had bound themselves with stringent oaths. Then they placed him on horseback, raised the royal canopy, and proceeded towards the royal quarters. Núr Jahán Begam sent several persons to bring her brother to her; but he made excuses, and did not go. Ásaf Khán now sent off Banárasí, a swift runner, to Sháh Jahán, with intelligence of the death of Jahángír; and as there was no time for writing, he sent his signet ring as a guarantee. Next day the royal retinue came down from the mountains to Bhimbar. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent on under escort to Lahore, where it was interred in a garden which Núr Jahán had made.

When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Ásaf Khán had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dáwar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Sháh Jahán, and that Dáwar was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Ásaf Khán, and did whatever he said. So the *khutba* was read in Dáwar Bakhsh's name near Bhimbar, and then they started for Lahore. * * Ásaf Khán was not at ease in respect of Núr Jahán, so he kept watch over her, and would allow no communication with her. The Begam's wish was to raise Shahriyár to the throne. Shahriyár was in Lahore when he heard of the Emperor's death, and, urged on by his intriguing wife, he assumed the royal title. He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to every one what he asked for, and in the course of one week he distributed seventy *lacs* of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his position. Mirzá Baisinghar, son of the late Prince Dániyál, on the death of the Emperor, fled to Lahore, and joined Shahriyár. He took the command of the forces, and led them over the river. * *

On the other side Ásaf Khán advanced, Dáwar Bakhsh being seated upon one elephant, and he upon another. Thus they marched to action, and the opposing forces met about three *kos* from Lahore. * * At the first attack Shahriyár's mercenaries,

unable to face the old and loyal servants of the State, broke, and fled. Shahriyár, with 2000 or 3000 horse, was in the vicinity of Lahore, awaiting the course of events. A Turkí slave brought him the intelligence of the rout. Unable to understand his position and danger, Shahriyár fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived, and sat down before the fort. Some of his followers had an interview with Ásaf Khán, and made terms. 'Azam Khán entered the fort at night, and next morning let in the other *amírs*. Shahriyár fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late Emperor. A eunuch brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Dáwar Bakhsh. After making the regular bows and homage, he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded. * * Tahmúras and Hoshang, sons of Prince Dániyál, were also taken and confined. Ásaf Khán wrote to Sháh Jahán, informing him of the victory.

Banárasí, the runner, left Jangazhatí, in the mountains of Kashmír, and in twenty days, on the 19th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1037 A.H., he arrived at Junír, on the frontiers of Nizámu-l Mulk. The runner went to the abode of Mahábat Khán, who had just before been received by Sháh Jahán. Mahábat Khán sent word into the private apartments of the Prince, who came out and received from the runner the signet ring of Ásaf Khán. * * After observing the proper rites and term of mourning, he commenced his journey on the 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal, and proceeded by way of Gujarát.[1] * *

Khán Jahán, after his treaty with Nizámu-l Mulk, and the surrender of the territory of the Bálághát, was joined at Burhánpúr by most of the *jágírdárs* and nobles. Sipahdár Khán, in Ahmadnagar, rejected all the commands of Khán Jahán and the demands of Nizámu-l Mulk's officers, and vowed that he would not give up the fortress without a royal order, even if it

[1] [He took the Gujarát road because he had not received any communication from Khán-Jahán Lodí, the "Názim of the Dakhin."—*Bádsháh-náma.*]

should cost him his head. * * Khán Jahán was joined by Daryá Rohilla and by others at Burhánábád. * * Then he proceeded to Mándú, and took possession of several parts of Málwá, after which he returned to Burhánpúr. * *

Sháh Jahán sent a *farmán* to Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán, to the effect that it would be well if Dáwar Bakhsh the son, and (Shahriyár) the useless brother,[1] of Khusrú, and the sons of Prince Dániyál, were all sent out of the world. * * On the 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, 1037 A.H., agreeing with 10th Bahman, in the twenty-second year of the reign of Jahángír, by general consent Sháh Jahán was proclaimed at Lahore, and the *khutba* was read in his name. Dáwar Bakhsh, whom the supporters of Sháh Jahán had deemed it advisable to set up in order to prevent disturbances, was now cast into prison. On the 26th Jumáda-l awwal, Dáwar,[2] his brother Garshásp, Shahriyár, and Tahmúras and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Dániyál, were all put to death.

On reaching the boundaries of the Ráná, Sháh Jahán was waited upon by Ráná Karan at Kokanda, who, as well as his father Ráná Amar Singh, had shown great loyalty. He offered his tribute, and received great gifts and honours. The new Emperor now celebrated his thirty-eighth birthday (solar reckoning). On the 19th Jumáda-l awwal he reached Ajmír, and, according to the practice of his great ancestor, paid a visit on foot to the tombs of the saints. * * Mabábat Khán, commander-in-chief, solicited and obtained Ajmír in *jágír*. On the 26th Jumáda-l awwal, Sháh Jahán reached Ágra, and encamped outside in the gardens. Next day he entered the city, and was universally recognized as King.]

[1] [Here, as elsewhere, Shahriyár is designated *ná-shudaní*, "fit for nothing."]

[2] [He was also called Buláki, and the *Bádshdh-náma* says "Buláki, who had only the name of king, and was in fact fettered and helpless, was placed in safe confinement." According to Elphinstone, he escaped to Persia, and was there seen by the Holstein ambassadors in 1633. Olearius' *Ambassador's Travels*, p. 190.]

LVIII.

MA-Á'SIR-I JAHÁ'NGÍRÍ

OF

KÁ'MGÁ'R KHÁ'N.

THIS is the name given to the work of Khwája Kámgár Ghairat Khán by Gladwin, who has abstracted from it copiously in his "History of Jehangir," printed at Calcutta in the year 1788. He calls the author Kámgár Husseiny. The author of the "Critical Essay on Various Manuscript Works," and James Fraser, in his abridged Moghul History, prefixed to his life of Nádir Sháh, also call it the *Ma-ásir-i Jahángírí*, and Muhammad Tahír 'Ináyat Khán, in his Preface to the History of Sháh Jahán, says the author calls it by that name; but the author himself gives no name to the work, and native writers, as in the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* and the *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, usually speak of it simply under the name of *Jahángír-náma*.

Khwája Kámgár informs us that in consequence of the incompleteness of the Emperor's autobiography, he had long contemplated supplying its deficiencies by writing a complete life himself; when he was at last induced to undertake it at the instigation of the Emperor Sháh Jahán in the third year[1] of his reign, A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630–1).

Khwája Kámgár was son of Sardár Khán, who came to Court in the fourteenth year of Jahángír's reign, and received a *tuyúl* of Hájípúr in Mungír and some *parganas* in Bihár. He was nephew, by the brother's side, of 'Abdu-lla Khán Bahádur Fíroz

[1] Dating the commencement of the reign from Jahángír's death in A.H. 1037.

Jang, was in the third year of Sháh Jahán's reign invested with the *mansab* of 1000 and 400 *sawárs*, and in the fourth year of the reign rose to higher honours in consequence of his concern in the pursuit of the gallant Khán Jahán Lodí.

Khán Jahán, after he had risen in rebellion in the Dakhin, was soon overwhelmed by the defeat of his allies, as well as by the pestilence and famine which were ravaging the land. He therefore determined to take refuge with the Afgháns of Peshawar, where all the north-eastern tribes were at that time in arms. With this view he crossed the Nerbadda, near the frontier of Gujarát, and traversed Málwa into Bundelkand, where he hoped to revive the spirit of insurrection; but the Rájá turned against him, and cut off his rear-guard under his faithful friend Daryá Khán.[1]

Khwája Kámgár, in company with his uncle 'Abdu-lla Khán, pursued him with an army composed principally of *saiyids*, at the head of whom was Saiyid Muzaffar Khán Bárha, and so hotly was the pursuit maintained, that the fugitives were several times compelled to turn upon the Imperialists, and try the fortune of an engagement. Khán Jahán tried to force his way into Kálinjar; but after the loss of his son and several of his adherents, he was forced to relinquish that object.

About forty miles from Kálinjar, he ventured his last desperate engagement, on the 1st of Rajab, A.H. 1040, when he and all his followers were cut to pieces by an advance-guard under Mádhú Singh, son of the Hádá chief of Búndí,[2] before either 'Abdu-lla Khán or Muzaffar Khán could come up.

'Abdu-lla Khán, upon reaching the scene of action, sent the heads of Khán Jahán, of 'Azíz his son, and of Ímál Khán, to the Emperor, by the hands of Khwája Kámgár, who arrived at Court while His Majesty was engaged in a sporting excursion on

[1] Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 358; see also Dow's *Hindustan*, vol. iii. pp. 133–147.

[2] This is according to the statement of Kewal Rám in the *Tazkiratu-l Umará*, s.v. "Khán Jahán Lodí." Sháh Nawáz Khán, in the *Ma-asiru-l Umará*, gives, as might be expected, all the credit to the Bárha Saiyids.

the river Taptí. The Emperor was overjoyed at the news, invested the Khwája with a robe of honour, gave him the title of Ghairat Khán, and increased his *mansab* by 500 personal and 200 *sawárs;* and as the Khwája was a man of sound intellect, considerable experience, and long tried service, he shortly was advanced to still higher honours.

In the tenth year of the reign, the Khwája was promoted to the office of governor of Dehlí, which had become vacant by the dismissal of Asálat Khán, and a *mansab* of 2500 and 2000 *sawárs* was at the same time conferred upon him.

In the twelfth year of the reign, the superintendence of the Dehlí canal and foundation of the city of Sháhjahánábád were committed to his care.

On the 9th of Muharram, 1049 H., the first plan was altered. A new one was substituted in its stead, of which the Khwája had just laid the foundation with the materials that he had been able to procure during the short time he had been at Dehlí, when, being made *súbadár* of Thatta, and a *mansabdár* of 3000, he was obliged to relinquish the work, and set out for his new charge. He had not long entered upon it, when he died at the seat of his government in A.H. 1050 (A.D. 1640-1).[1]

The *Ma-ásir-i Jahángírí* is divided into chapters devoted to the different years of the reign, there being but few other rubrics throughout the rest of the volume. The author of the *Critical Essay*[2] observes of it, that it resembles the *Ikbál-náma* in its paucity of minute details. About one-sixth of the volume is devoted to the proceedings of Jahángír previous to his accession, upon which portion Sháh Nawáz Khán remarks that it is very independent and free-spoken in its tone, affording a favourable contrast to the *Ikbál-náma*, which was written for the purpose o courting Imperial favour; but the manner in which the murder of Abú-l Fazl is spoken of in one of the following extracts scarcely bears out the encomium. The fact is admitted, but

[1] These details are chiefly taken from the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará*. The *Tazkiratu-l Umará* differs in some of the dates.

[2] Vide p. 39.

every kind of palliative which courtly flattery could suggest is resorted to in order to hide the infamy of the deed.

[Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. is an octavo of 382 pages, 11 lines to the page.]

EXTRACTS.

When the King of Kings (Jahángír) was residing in the city of Allahábád, before he succeeded to the throne, a body of seditious and turbulent people, who had the privilege of addressing the Emperor Akbar in his paradisaical Court, were in the habit of spreading false reports openly and clandestinely against that ornament of the crown the Prince Salím. Sometimes they represented that he had conferred upon his servants the titles of Khán and Sultán, and at other times they said that he had ordered coins to be struck in his name. By such misrepresentations they every day attempted to excite the alarm of the Emperor, who, being endowed with a very enlightened and noble mind, was but little affected by their insinuations. In truth, in the relation of father and son, there were those ties of love and affection between the Emperor and the Prince which existed between Jacob and his son Joseph.

One of the events of those days was the murder of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, who, by his superior wisdom and vast learning, was the most distinguished of all the Shaikhs of Hindústán. The following is a detailed account of this event. The Shaikh, intoxicated by the wine of fortune, and vain of the influence he had obtained over the Emperor's mind, had lost his senses, and having suffered the thread of wisdom and the knowledge of self to drop from his hands, had become proud of his position, and acted with rancour and animosity against his master's son. He often said to the Emperor, both publicly and privately, that he knew none but His Majesty, and would never entreat or flatter any person, not even the eldest Prince. He had well assured the Emperor of the firmness of his sentiments in this particular. In those days, when the Prince was at Allahábád, some designing

people constantly made statements which excited the displeasure of the Emperor against him. If at any time any of the nobles of the Court advanced any excuses, or volunteered any defence in behalf of the Prince, His Majesty would consider that they said it through ill-will towards himself, or too much partiality towards the Prince. But in defiance of all that he heard, he considered that the Shaikh was his friend, and that he was also cordially disposed towards the Prince. A *farmán* was therefore sent to him, ordering him to leave his son with the army he had under his command in the Dakhin, and to come alone and unattended to the Court.

When this news reached the Prince, that master of prudence and scholar of the supreme wisdom at once reflected, that if the Shaikh should ever arrive at Court, he would certainly estrange His Majesty's mind from the Prince by his misrepresentations. He reflected also that he would never be able to find his way to Court, so long as the Shaikh should remain there, and that he would necessarily be excluded from the enjoyment of that consummate happiness. Under these circumstances, it was expedient to take measures to arrest the evil before it could occur. Finding that the only remedy depended entirely upon the Shaikh's destruction, he called Rájá Nar Singh Deo, son of Rájá Budhkar, whose territory lay on the road which the Shaikh must take, and who was one of the servants of the throne, and told him that the Shaikh was about to proceed unattended to the Court, and that if he would put an end to his existence, he should obtain great rewards and favours. The Rájá willingly undertook the task, and hastily marched in that direction. Assisted by the divine power, he soon waylaid the Shaikh, while he was passing through his territory. After a short skirmish, the Shaikh's attendants were dispersed, and he himself was slain. His head was sent to Alláhábád by a confidential servant, who communicated all that had transpired. Great fear and consternation prevailed in men's minds in consequence of this transaction, and as for the Emperor, although it excited his highest indignation,

yet the deed done by Nar Singh Deo enabled the Prince to visit his father without any apprehension, and in a short time His Majesty's sorrow wore off, and he received the Prince with kindness. * * *

Twenty-first Year of the Reign.

[When the Prince Sháh Jahán heard of the rebellious proceedings of Mahábat Khán, he resolved that he would hasten immediately to the Emperor his father, although he was unprepared for war, and was in a very feeble state of health. He stated his design to Khán Jahán and to Rájá Nar Singh Deo, and endeavoured to gain their support; but they did not incline to his proposals, and made excuses. The Prince put his trust in God, and started with a small force from Násik, trusting that he might find assistance on the road, and collect a force. He passed through the pass of Chánda, although Prince Parwez, with all the Imperial army, was at Burhánpúr. Passing about twenty *kos* from Burhánpúr, he crossed the Nerbadda, in the territory of Mándú. Upon reaching Ajmír, Rájá Kishan Singh, son of Rájá Bhím, who had accompanied him from Násik with 500 horse, was taken ill, and died. His followers then dispersed. Only 400 or 500 men then remained with the Prince, and with such a small force it was impossible for him to carry out his design of going to the Emperor. It then occurred to him that he would go to Thatta, which is in a remote corner, and there wait patiently for a while. From Ajmír he proceeded to Nágor, and from thence to Joudhpúr. From thence he travelled to Thatta by the route which the Emperor Humáyún had fled to Sind when driven from his throne. This route was very arid and destitute of water, and his journey was attended with great hardship. When he reached the country of Thatta, Sharíf Mulk, who held the place for Prince Shahriyár, did his best to put the town in a state of defence, and the Prince was thwarted in his designs by obstacles which it would be tedious to relate.

He was greatly affected by his ill-success, and many of his most devoted followers were disabled. Just at this time a letter reached him from Núr Jahán, informing him that his march had alarmed Mahábat Khán, whose forces had been driven away and dispersed, and that the Prince had better return to the Dakhin, and await a change of fortune. The advice of the Begam seemed good, so the Prince determined to return to the Dakhin by way of Gujarát.]

LIX.

INTIKHÁB-I JAHÁNGÍR-SHÁHÍ.

This is the name ascribed to a work, of which a few Extracts are given at the close of one of the copies of the twelve-year Memoirs in my possession. The extracts consist of only forty pages, of thirteen lines, and evidently belong to a larger work, because the author speaks of his having related, in another part of the volume, a detailed account of the proceedings of Bikramájít and of 'Usmán in Bengal; and neither of these passages occurs in these extracts.

It may perhaps be the same work as is mentioned in No. 345 of Sir W. Ouseley's Catalogue, under the name of "Historical Anecdotes of Jahángír;" but neither the name of the compiler nor the nature of the anecdotes is given.

The author of the *Intikháb* was evidently a contemporary and a companion of Jahángír, for he mentions his visit to Shaikh Dúlá, a religious enthusiast, residing at Siálkot, who had attracted the notice of Jahángír, and imposed upon the credulity of the common people, as well as His Majesty, by expending large sums upon the maintenance of beggars, the repairs of mosques and tombs, and the erection of buildings, one of which at "new Gujarát," in the Panjáb, could not have cost less than 15,000 rupees; and all this without any available sources of supply, for the offerings that were made to him chiefly consisted of raw or refined sugar. In another place the author mentions that when Sháh 'Abbás sent from Isfahán an ambassador with a complimentary letter to Jahángír, His Majesty, who was then at Ajmír, was pleased to insert in his reply a verse composed by the author, to the effect that "though the explanation given be

not true, yet the probability of it affords pleasure." But there is no allusion to this in the autobiography of that Emperor.

The work does not appear to be so much a continuous history as a collection of anecdotes, most of them taken from the common histories of Jahángír noticed above; but he gives information not to be found in those works, and the entire manuscript would be worth recovery.

The author of the *Tabakát-i Sháh-Jahání* mentions a work written by Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahháb, entitled the *Akhlák-i Jahángírí*. This may possibly be the work now under notice, for the nature of the stories admits of their being classed under this title. The Shaikh is represented to have been an elegant writer, both in poetry and prose. He died A.H. 1032 (A.D. 1622–3).

[The following Extracts were translated by a *munshí*, and revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

Four or five persons were appointed, through whose agency money or land was distributed to the people. Kází Aslam of Kábul was appointed to introduce the people of that province; Shaikh Sikandar Gujarátí to introduce the people of Gujarát; 'Azmat Khán of the Dakhin to introduce the people of the Dakhin; and Shaikh Mu'ínu-d dín of Rájgír to introduce the people of Bengal. Those who came from Lahore, Dehlí, and the places in their vicinity, were brought before His Majesty by Saiyid Ahmad Kadrí; and the elephant-drivers were introduced by Gujat Khán, the superintendent of elephants. It was strictly ordered that if any person should fall in with a deserving man, he should not neglect to bring him into His Majesty's presence. Hájí Koka Begam was maintained in the superintendence of the affairs connected with the seraglio, and she was now ordered to discharge her duties with more diligence. After a few days, the petitioners for rent-free land came forward in such numbers, that some of the ministers of the empire took the

opportunity of representing that if His Majesty's liberality extended much further, there would in a few years be no land left to yield revenue to the State. The Emperor replied that these petitioners were like an army to pray for him, and that as the remonstrants were the ministers of the Crown, they should all endeavour to increase this army. May the Almighty preserve the stream of the life of this generous Emperor to flow in this world till the end of time! No King was ever more generous and kind to beggars than Jahángír. My object in writing these particulars is to show that, although there is no comparison between a king and a beggar, yet the Emperor's whole attention was devoted to those things which pleased the hearts of the people. * *

The King indemnified every person who had been plundered on the road-side by Sultán Khusrú in his flight. For instance, the Sultán had given a note of hand addressed to His Majesty in favour of a person who had been robbed of his horses, and the King satisfied the demand. The Prince himself used to say, that one night during his flight, he was much overcome by drowsiness and fatigue, and was obliged to alight in a forest, and lie down on the earth like a dead man. No one of the party took the slightest heed of his comrade. The horses also lay neglected on the ground. After a short time, a jackal came and seized hold of his foot, but his boots saved him from injury.

His Majesty ordered Prince Khusrú to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him, that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Ágra; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians of Persia, Hakím Sadrá by name, undertook to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also

became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to His Majesty, who showed the physician great favour, and honoured him with the title of Masíhu-z Zamán.

During the space of three years and some months, while at Ajmír, His Majesty devised some excellent rules for the tranquillity and well-being of his subjects, and determining to devote each day of the week to some particular pursuit, on that day attended to no other business. On all the festivals observed on Thursdays, which was called by His Majesty *Mubárak-shamba*, no other business was transacted but that of merriment and festivity, including the granting of promotions, and visiting gardens and fountains. On Fridays, it was ordered that about 1000 men, who were the strict and constant followers of the Muhammadan religion, should be called before His Majesty, and food of all kinds, such as was suited to destitute persons, should be distributed amongst them to such an extent as to leave them fully satisfied. The Emperor was of a very good disposition. While they were taking their dinner, he always ordered curds to be given to them, that they might be able to eat more, and fix their minds on the worship of the Creator of the world. A countless number were fortunate enough to get their fill at those feasts. On Saturdays, His Majesty used to see the elephants fight, and the contests of the swordsmen. At this time, those brave men who firmly stood their ground while witnessing the elephant fights were enlisted among the nobles. On Sundays, a large number of invalids, the lame, the maimed, and the blind, were collected under the *jharoka*, and the Emperor Jahángír distributed large sums of money among them with his own hand. After a time, he would order one of the courtiers to count what each man had received; and it was one of the wonders of the works of God, that those who were blind were found always to have received more than others. The intelligent Emperor was much surprised at this, and observed to his followers that those who had no eyes placed entire dependence

upon the disinterested liberality of God, hence it was that they got more than others. It was ordered on Mondays, that a party of young nobles and the army should practise archery, and some of the nobles were ordered to play at *chaugán*,[1] and the offerings presented on that day, which were beyond calculation, were bestowed upon Háfiz Nád-i 'Alí.[2] On Tuesdays, leopards hunted deer, and dogs chased foxes and rabbits. Those rabbits and foxes which were not caught during the hunt were carried off, and set free in the jungle. The elephants and other animals were also allowed to fight on this day, on which also criminals were executed. Wednesdays were very disagreeable to His Majesty. It happened that the Emperor Akbar died on this day, and the daughter of Sháh Jahán, whom Jahángír had himself brought up, and loved more than his own life, expired in Ajmír on a Wednesday. Hence it was that His Majesty had called it *Kam-shamba*.[3] Those against whom the King was incensed were sent on this day to prison, or ordered to be scourged. On all the days of the week His Majesty never ceased to disregard the pursuit of his own gratification. From noon till midnight the Emperor was chiefly occupied in granting the prayers of his subjects.

Shahriyár, who was the most beautiful of all the princes, got a pain in his eyes, and Mukarrab Khán was ordered to cure him. He used many appropriate remedies, and succeeded in his endeavours. When his recovery was reported, His Majesty asked

[1] See this game described in Ouseley's *Travels in Persia*.

[2] We find a similar indulgence conceded to Háfiz Nád-i 'Alí on the first Monday of the 11th Julús. Jahángír calls him his spy—one of the old servants of the Court—and that he bestowed upon him all the *peshkash* of money and goods which was offered on that day. (*Memoirs*, eleventh year.) Here he is said to receive the offerings of every Monday.

[3] Respecting these assigned names, the Emperor himself observes, "As several peculiarities attended this Thursday, first, that it was the anniversary of my accession; second, that it was the night of the festival of *Barát*; third, that it was the day of the festival of the *Rákhí*, which I have before described as being held in great estimation by Hindús:—on account of these three fortunate coincidences, I denominated this day "the blessed *Shamba*." As Wednesday, on the contrary, had proved unfortunate, I called it the *Kam-shamba*, and may it continue *Kam* (little) to the end of time."—*Memoirs* of the twelfth year.

Mukarrab Khán after the Prince's health; and when the Khán replied that his eyes were quite well again, the Emperor said, "Yes, they will no doubt continue quite well, if they be not deprived of light by his brothers." The Almighty God had embellished the person of the Emperor Jahángír with all external and internal excellences, and had given him the light of His own knowledge, for ofttimes circumstances came to pass just as he had previously predicted.

One day at Ahmadábád it was reported that many of the infidel and superstitious sect of the *Seoras* (Jains) of Gujarát had made several very great and splendid temples, and having placed in them their false gods, had managed to secure a large degree of respect for themselves, and that the women who went for worship in those temples were polluted by them and other people. *Seora* is a sect of people in whose religion to be always barefooted and bareheaded is considered as one of the modes of worship; and to drink always warm water, and to pull out the hair of their head and beard, is reckoned as one of the deeds of virtue. They wear no other dress than a shirt of cloth. The Emperor Jahángír ordered them to be banished from the country, and their temples to be demolished. Their idol was thrown down on the uppermost step of the mosque, that it might be trodden upon by those who came to say their daily prayers there. By this order of the Emperor, the infidels were exceedingly disgraced, and Islám exalted. * * *

At this time the influence of Núr Jahán Begam had attained such a height that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her hands. Mahábat Khán thought proper therefore to represent as follows. That to His Majesty and all the world it is well known that this servant Mahábat Khán was brought up only by His Majesty, and that he has no concern with anybody else. Every one knows, added he, that Mahábat Khán presumes much upon His Majesty's kindness; and he now begs truly and faithfully to represent what he thinks proper, instigated by his loyalty, and for the sake of His Majesty's good name. His Majesty must have read, he observed, if in any of

the histories of the ancient sovereigns, there was any king so subject to the will of his wife. The whole world is surprised that such a wise and sensible Emperor as Jahángír should permit a woman to have so great an influence over him. Not looking to the present, let us think, continued he, "What will the kings of the future time say?" He gave utterance to many such sentiments as these, and established them by the most irrefragable proofs. He also added, that in his opinion it was now very advisable to liberate Prince Khusrú from prison, and deliver him to one of the confidential servants of the throne. He also said that His Majesty must recollect that this servant Mahábat Khán had with his own hands deprived the Prince of his sight; and had been the cause of his being imprisoned. His Majesty should reflect that affairs had now assumed a new aspect, and the safety of His Majesty's person, and the tranquillity and peace of the country seem to depend upon the life of the Prince. On this the Emperor ascertained upon oath the truth of his declarations from other nobles, and Khán Jahán and Khán 'Álam both confirmed what Mahábat Khán had asserted. The next day the Emperor ordered that the Prince should be given in charge to Khán Jahán, to be kept in his custody, that he should receive surgical treatment, be allowed to come to pay his respects, and that a horse should be given to him to ride on. On Mahábat Khán's representations, the Emperor for some days became more reserved in his demeanour towards the Begam. On the day the Khán took his leave from the camp at Pakhalí, he again said that he had represented what fidelity and gratitude had suggested to him; and that His Majesty might listen to his counsel or not, as he thought best. The Emperor acted in some measure upon the advice of Mahábat Khán, till he arrived at Kashmír; but the influence of Núr Jahán Begam had wrought so much upon his mind, that if 200 men like Mahábat Khán had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.

LX.

SUBH-I SÁDIK

OF

SÁDIK ISFÁHÁNÍ.

THIS voluminous history is by the celebrated Sádik Isfahání, and is of high repute in Asia.

Muhammad Sádik says of himself, "that being in the habit from early youth of reading histories, I took the opportunity of abstracting as I went on, and devoted a part of my life solely to produce this work, which I hope will prove as a wise minister to kings, and teach them how to govern their subjects, to conquer their enemies, and to make preparation for war or peace, or for whatever besides which concerns a government. It will be like an experienced tutor to wealthy and learned persons who have to deal with kings; it will also be a faithful friend both to those who lead a public life, and those who prefer retirement, as well as the means of preserving my name in the world. I therefore called this work *Subh-i sádik*, or 'Dawn of Day.'"

Book I.—Preface, and Eight chapters. The Pre-Adamites, Prophets, Ancient Kings of Persia, Philosophers, Muhammad, the Khalífs, Imáms, 'Ummayaides, 'Abbásides.

Book II.—Six chapters. The first five respecting the Muhammadan Kings of Persia, Changíz Khán, Tímúr, the Safawí Kings, the Kings of Rúm, Shám, and others. Chapter Six comprises a history of the Muhammadan Kings of India, down to the reign of Sháh Jahán.

Book III.—Twelve chapters. Celebrated men of the first ten centuries. Chapter Twelve relates to the author himself and some of his friends.

Book IV.—Alphabetical list of the names of nations, countries, chief cities, seas, rivers, mountains, islands, etc. This book also gives a geographical account of the world, of the latitude and longitude of the chief cities, of the productions of different countries, and of their manners and customs. This book is in reality only an Alphabetical Index of the preceding three books.

The passages in this work relating to India contain no information not exhibited elsewhere.

Size.—Four volumes in folio.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

ON THE EARLY USE OF GUNPOWDER IN INDIA.[1]

To the passage at p. 219 *suprà*, where it is said that the elephant of the Hindú prince became unruly from the effect of the naphtha balls, Major-General Briggs adds the following note:

"This passage is differently written in the various manuscripts I have seen; and, in some, the word *tope* (gun) has been written for *nupth* (naphtha), and *toofung* (musket) for *khudung* (arrow). But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention, A.D. 1317, long after which it was first applied to the purpose of war. It appears likely also, that Bábar was the first invader who introduced great guns into Upper India, in 1526, so that the words *tope* and *toofung* have been probably introduced by ignorant transcribers of the modern copies of this work, which are, in general, very faulty throughout. It is a remarkable fact, that the words *guns* and *muskets* occur in the India House manuscript, which was copied in 1648, and it may, therefore, probably be no error of the transcriber; the fact, however, appears impossible."

A confirmation of this reading of *tope* and *tufang* is given by Wilken, who observes, that the two copies which he consulted have the same words, and that even the *roar* of the cannon is spoken of. He considers it not improbable that Greek-fire was used by Mahmúd. Dow boldly translates the word as *guns*.[2]

It does not appear on what authority Firishta rests his statement. The *Táríkh-i Yamíní*, the *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh* of Rashídu-d dín, the *Táríkh-i Guzída*, Abú-l Fidá, the *Tabakát-i Násirí*, the *Rauzatu-s*

[1] [This note is reprinted from the old edition. The alterations and additions (excepting those in brackets) are entirely the work of Sir H. Elliot.]

[2] Wilken, *Mirchondi Historia Gasnevidarum*, p. 169.

Safá, the *Táríkh-i Alfi*, and the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, though almost all of them notice this important engagement, in A.D. 1008, between the Hindús and Muhammadans, and mention the capture of thirty elephants, yet none of them speak of either *naft* or *tope*.

But, ten years after this, we find express mention made of the use of naphtha in a naval action near Multán, between Mahmúd and the Jats of the Júd Hills. On this occasion Mahmúd built 1400 boats, each of which was armed with six iron spikes, to prevent the enemy boarding, and in each were twenty archers and five naphtha-men, to attack and set fire to the enemy's flotilla. The Jats opposed him in 4000 boats, but were completely defeated, many of their vessels being set on fire by the naphtha.[1]

We may therefore conclude that, if any combustibles were used in action near Peshawar, they were composed of naphtha, and that it must be an error to read either *tope* or *tufang* in the passage under consideration. This probability is greatly increased by the fact, that the country where both these transactions are recorded to have taken place abounds with naphtha. Near Mukeya Ghát, on the Indus, it oozes out from parts of the Khyssore range. The natives are ignorant of its commercial value, and use it only as a cure for sores on their camels' backs; and at Kohát, thirty miles from Peshawar, it is also abundant.[2]

"Amír Khán sent into the mountains for some mineral liquor, which he told me was collected by dipping cotton into places where it oozed through the ground."[3]

At Narr Topa, near Khánpúr, there is a copious spring of asphaltum.[4] I have seen petroleum near Jabba, about ten miles east of the Indus. It exudes from the rocks at the head of the Kathá-nadi, which falls into the Indus a few miles below Márí, and floats on the surface of the water. The natives call it sulphur-oil, and burn it in their lamps. They also apply it medicinally in diseases of cattle. They would not acknowledge the name, but called it *lalírá* and *kálá-páni*. It is chiefly used for dissolving

[1] Reinaud, *Rel. des Voyages*, vol. i. p. lxi.
[2] Burnes' *Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 259.
[3] Vigne's *Ghazni*, etc. p. 62.
[4] Capt. J. Abbott's *MS. Reports*.

resins, caoutchouc, etc., by virtue of the naphtha it contains, which it yields by distillation.[1]

In the Yúsufzáí country there is a basin situated to the east of Dhyr, where a fire has burned from time immemorial, and is at present maintained under a cupola in charge of a Guebrian woman.[2] Sulphur is found in Sind.[3]

When Sikandar, the Iconoclast, who subverted the Hindú religion in Kashmír, ordered all the places of worship throughout the kingdom to be razed, a temple to Jag Deo, in the Panj-hazára district, on being levelled with the ground, emitted from its foundations volumes of fire and smoke, which the Hindús declared to be an emblem of the wrath of the deity,—but which more sober inquirers may safely attribute to an asphaltine fire-pit.

Capt. A. Cunningham has gone further than this, and in his valuable paper on Arian Architecture in the Asiatic Society's Journal, has considered that Sikandar must have used gunpowder in the progress of his demolition. He observes:

"Most of the Kashmirian temples are more or less injured, but more particularly those at Wantipur, which are mere heaps of ruins. Speaking of these temples, Trebeck[4] says: 'It is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of man, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt; earthquakes must have been the chief agents in their overthrow.' I have quoted this passage to show the utter confusion that characterizes the ruins of the Avantipura temples. In my opinion their *overthrow* is too complete to have been the result of an earthquake, which would have simply *prostrated* the buildings in large masses. But the whole of the superstructure of these temples is now lying in one confused heap of stones totally disjointed from one another. I believe therefore that I am fully justified in saying, from my own experience, that such a complete and *disruptive overturn* could only have been produced by gunpowder. I have myself blown up a fort,

[1] Dr. A. Fleming's *Report on the Salt Range*, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1848.
[2] M. Court, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. viii. p. 312.
[3] Burton's *Unhappy Valley*, vol. ii. pp. 185, 209.
[4] *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 245.

besides several buildings both of stone and of brick; and I have observed that the result has always been the entire *sundering* of all parts, one from another, and the capsizing or *bouleversement* of many of them. Neither of these effects can be produced by an earthquake. It seems also that Trebeck and Moorcroft would most likely have attributed their destruction to the same agency, had they not believed that the use of gunpowder was unknown at that time: for, in speaking of a traditional attempt made by Sháh Hamadán to destroy Martand, they say, 'It is fortunate he was not acquainted with the use of gunpowder.' I admit that this destructive agent was most probably unheard of in Kashmír so early as the reign of Sháh Mír Sháh, of Hamadán; but the destruction of the Kashmirian temples is universally attributed both by history and by tradition to the bigoted Sikandar, whose idol-breaking zeal procured him the title of *But-shikan* or 'Ikonoklastes.' He was reigning at the period of Tímúr's invasion of India, with whom he exchanged friendly presents, and from whom I suppose that he may have received a present of the 'villainous saltpetre.' This is not at all unlikely, for the furious Tamerlane was as great an idol-breaker as Sikandar himself. Gibbon, it is true, denies that either the Mughals or the Ottomans in 1402 were acquainted with gunpowder; but as he points out that the Turks had *metal* cannon at the siege of Constantinople in A.D. 1422,[1] I think it is no great stretch of probability to suppose that gunpowder itself had been carried into the East, even as far as Kashmír, at least ten or twenty years earlier, that is about A.D. 1400 to 1420, or certainly during the reign of Sikandar, who died in 1416.[2]

"Even if this be not admitted, I shall still adhere to my opinion that the complete ruin of the Avantipura temples could only have been effected by gunpowder, and I would then ascribe their overthrow to the bigoted Aurangzeb. Firishta[3] attributes to Sikandar the demolition of *all* the Kashmirian temples save one, which was

[1] *Decline and Fall*, chap. 65, note 93.

[2] Even in 1401 against Bajazet, Tímúr had only wild fire on his elephants, which were taken to display his Indian successes; but Ibn Arab Sháh mentions the *thunder* and lightning at the siege of Damascus from the machines *madáfi'*.—Calcutta edition, p. 223.

[3] Briggs, vol. iv. p. 465.

dedicated to Mahadeva, and which only escaped 'in consequence of its foundation being below the surface of the neighbouring water.' In A.D. 1380–90, however, Abú-l Fazl[1] mentions that some of the idolatrous temples were in 'perfect preservation;' and Firishta himself describes many of these edifices as being in existence in his own time, or about A.D. 1600.[2] Besides, as several of them are still standing, although more or less injured, it is certain that Sikandar could not have destroyed them all. He most likely gave orders that they should all be overturned; and I have no doubt that many of the principal temples were thrown down during his reign. For instance, the tomb of his own Queen in Srinagur is built upon the foundation, and with the materials of a Hindú temple; likewise the wall which surrounds the tomb of his son Zeinu-l Abidin was once the inclosure of a Hindú temple; and lastly the entrance of a *masjid* in Nowa-Shehra of Srinagur, which, according to its inscription, was built during the reign of his son Zeinu-l Abidin, is formed of two fluted pillars of a Hindú peristyle. These instances prove that at least three different temples in the capital alone must have been overthrown either by Sikandar or by one of his predecessors. But as the demolition of idol-temples is not attributed to any one of the earlier kings, we may safely ascribe the destruction of the three above mentioned to Sikandar himself."

The points mooted in the preceding quotations invite us to a consideration of the general question respecting the invention and introduction of gunpowder. A work upon this subject which has lately been jointly published by MM. Reinaud and Favé, entitled *Histoire de l'Artillerie; du Feu Grégeois*, etc., Paris, 1845, has increased the interest of the inquiry, though, it must be confessed, there are many doubtful points which are left in almost as great uncertainty as before. It shows that among the Arabs of the thirteenth century, many receipts were in use for the mixture of sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in different proportions; that there is strong reason for supposing that these were obtained originally from the Chinese, about the ninth century; that they improved their knowledge during the three following centuries; that they

[1] *Áínin-i Akbarí*, vol. ii. p. 124.
[2] Briggs, vol. iv. p. 445.

again derived more instruction on this subject, after the Mughal irruption of the thirteenth century; that as "China snow" and "China salt" are the names given by the oldest writers to saltpetre, its discovery originated with that nation; and that in the history of the Sang dynasty, as early as A.D. 1259, there is distinct mention of a projectile by means of fire; for that in the first year of the period *Khaiking*, a kind of fire-arm was manufactured, called "impetuous fire-dart;" a nest of grains (case of chick-peas?) was introduced into a long tube of bamboo,[1] which, on being ignited, darted forth a violent flame, and instantly the charge was projected with a noise like that of a *pao*, which was heard at about the distance of 150 paces.[2] There are, however, some anecdotes which militate against the probability of the Chinese being so early in possession of this destructive power; but there is no occasion to notice them here. These authors consider that Greek fire never became extinct, that it was gradually improved upon, till the name was lost, and that by progressive transitions it reached its maximum effect by conversion into gunpowder.

It is not intended, however, to introduce in this place a disserta-

[1] Hence is probably derived the name of *bamboo*, "vox a sono ficta," as in *βομβος*, *bombarda*, *bombanum*, *bombe*, and *bomb*. The name is usually ascribed to the early Portuguese, who, on first burning this reed, were astonished at the noise occasioned by the expansion and escape of the air between the joints, and gave it a name significant of this peculiar property. Either way, it derives its name from its explosive faculties. There is perhaps the same sort of connexion between the Hindi *bán*, "a rocket," and *báns*, "a bamboo." The word "cannon" is derived from *canna*.—Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 191; Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 413; Humboldt differs, see *Cosmos* (Sabine), vol. ii. note 143.

[2] *Du feu Grégeois*, p. 192. In the review of this work in *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1846, there is a ludicrous mis-translation of this passage, where it is said, "the nest of grains was projected with a noise, like to that of a *peacock*;" but the *pao* here mentioned is a warlike machine. Father Gaubil says, "Par le moyen de plusieurs *pao*, ou catapultes;" "Les Mangous se servirent alors de *pao* (ou canons) à feu;" "On avait dans la ville des *pao* à feu;" and in a note he adds, "Je n'ai pas osé traduire par *canon*, les caractères *pao*, et *ho-pao*; un de ces caractères a à côté le caractère *ché*, *pierre*, et c'était une machine à lancer des pierres. L'autre caractère est joint au caractère *ho*, *feu*, et je ne sais pas bien si c'était un canon comme les nôtres. De même, je n'oserais assurer que les boulets dont il est parlé se jetaient comme on fait aujourd'hui."—*Histoire de Gentchiscan*, p. 69; D'Ohsson, vol. ii. p. 461; *L'Univers. Pitt.* vol. i. p. 357; *Univ. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 315, vol. iv. pp. 191, 232–3, 258; Rampoldi, vol. viii. p. 562, vol. x. p. 496; Chesney's *Fire-arms*, pp. 22, 27; Mill's *Hist. Muham.* p. 210.

tion on a subject which has occupied so many able and discriminating pens. I will confine myself to a few remarks having special reference to India, and to some illustrations, most of which have not been noticed by authors who have entered upon this interesting inquiry.[1]

When the Muhammadan connexion with India first commenced, we find, according to the ancient and authentic historians, that the powerful engine called *manjaník* was brought into use as a propelling machine. It was a favourite implement with the Arabs, and was used by them in A.H. 9, when Muhammad besieged Táif;[2] but it was known to them much earlier: for Ibn Kotaibah says that it was first used by Jazymah, the second King of Hyrah, who flourished about A.D. 200. The Arabs ascribe its invention to the Devil, and say that he suggested it to Nimrod, when he persecuted Abraham.[3] Whether the word be derived from *machina*, or *manganum*, the substitution of the soft *j* for the harsher consonant, and the circumstance that this warlike engine was first used in Hyrah, render it probable that the Arabs received the *manjaník* from the Persians, and not directly from the Greeks.

Biláduri gives us the following account of Muhammad Kásim's

[1] Those who wish to ascertain what has been said upon this subject may consult the following works and articles, which for the most part treat the question with copious reference to other authorities: M. L. Dutens, *Œuvres*, tom. i. pp. 194–199; *Histoire des Mongols*, tom. i. pp. 132–137, 284–292; *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xx. pp. 265–7; *Journal des Savants*, Feb. 1847, pp. 87–93, March, 1847, pp. 140–150, April, 1847, pp. 209–223; Wilkinson's *Engines of War*, pp. 44–70, 132–150; Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, fourth edition, pp. 482–512, 533–539; M. Eusebe Salverte, *Philosophy of Magic*, translated by A. T. Thomson, M.D., vol. ii. pp. 197–242; Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, vv. Bombarda, Canones, Ignis Græcus, Muschetta, and the *Encyclopædias*, vv. Artillery, Bow, Cannon, Gunpowder, Greek-fire; Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 509–511; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. pp. 14–18, vol. xii. pp. 62–64; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.*, vv. Asious, Barud, Bondok; Rampoldi, *Ann. Mus.*, vol. iii. p. 354; Chesney's *Fire-arms*, pp. 17–72; Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, *passim*; Grose's *Military Antiq.*, vol. i. pp. 387–401; Tacitus, *Hist.*, lib. iii; *Shajratu'l Atrak*, pp. 160, 166, 242; D'Ohsson, i. 267, 276, 289, etc.; Thomas's *Pathán Sultans*, p. 202; *Calcutta Review*, no. xxiii. p. 515; Edwardes's *Panjab*, vol. i. p. 405; Grote's *Greece*, vol. v. p. 156; Thucydides, iv. 100; "Biblical Antiq." *in Encyc. Metr.*; *Hist. of Assassins*, p. 167; *Journ. des Sav.*, Jan., 1851; Maurice's *Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 443; Crawfurd's *Researches*, vol. ii. p. 149. *Tabakát-i Násirí*, Text, pp. 343, 346, 350–1–6.

[2] Hájí Khalfa, vol. i. p. 394; Jannabi, *apud* Gagnier, v. Gibbon, chap. L. note 143, and chap. LI. note 60.

[3] *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. ix. p. 81.

proceedings at the port of Daibal, in A.H. 93 (A.D. 711–12), in which the *manjaník* plays an important part:

"[As soon as Muhammad Kásim] arrived at Daibal, he dug an entrenchment, and defended it with spearmen, and unfurled his standard; each band of warriors was arranged under its own standard, and he fixed the *manjaník*, which was called 'The Bride,'[1] and required the power of 500 men to work it. There was at Daibal a lofty temple, surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red cloth, which, when the breeze blew, was unfurled over the city."[2]

Shortly afterwards he continues:

"A letter came from Hajjáj to Muhammad to the following effect, 'Fix the *manjaník* and shorten its feet (foot),[3] and place it on the east; you will then call the *manjaník*-master, and tell him to aim at the flagstaff, of which you have given a description.' So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken; at which the Infidels were sore afflicted."

On the capture of the town, Biládurí continues to say, the carnage endured for three days, and the priests of the temple were massacred, Other authors say that Muhammad Kásim caused every Bráhmin, from the age of seventeen and upwards, to be put to death; and that the young women and the children of both sexes were retained in bondage.

Later writers, in speaking of this period, tell us distinctly that fiery projectiles were used in the capture of Alor, which fell shortly after Daibal.[4] Mír Ma'súm Bhakkarí, in his History of Sind, and Haidar Rází, in his General History, both in the same terms mention fire-playing machines (*átish-bází*), "which the Arabs had seen in use with the Greeks and Persians;" and again, when Rájá Dáhir was mounted on an elephant, the Arabs took vessels filled with fire-works (*hukkahá-e átish bází*), and threw them upon the seat, which was fixed on the back of the elephant; upon which the affrighted

[1] "'*Urús.*" I doubt if this means "bride" here. It is evident from many passages that '*urús* was also a generic term. The word has more connexion with "funis." See Khusrú's *Ghurratu-l Kamál.*

[2] [See Vol. I. *suprà*, p. 120.]

[3] See pedes of a ship in Ramsay's *Antiquities.*

[4] Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, p. 236.

animal became ungovernable,[1] ran off, and, breaking the ranks of the Hindús, endeavoured to throw itself into the river. This, if true, is the first account we have of the use by the Arabs of the incendiary preparations of the Greeks, which has hitherto not been dated earlier than from the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 1099.[2]

This is also related in the *Chach-náma* and *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*;[3] but in one of the best copies of the *Chach-náma* I have seen, while there is mention of the catapulta called "The Bride," which required 500 men to work it, there is no mention of engines throwing fire. Dáhir's elephant is distinctly mentioned to have taken flight at an arrow of naphtha, which the Arab general ordered one of his strong naphtha-throwers to aim at the elephant-seat of Dáhir.[4] If we except the *Chach-náma*, these later testimonies are of little value against the silence of Biládurí, and we must reject the story of the projectiles, the *hukkahá-e átish bází*, though we may admit, on the authority of the *Chach-náma*, that a naphtha-arrow was used. The place of action offers the same probability as to the use of such a weapon, as it does in the case of Mahmúd the Ghaznivide, mentioned above.

A few years later, we find one of Muhammad Kásim's successors using a battering ram:

"And Junaid fought against Kíraj, which had revolted, and he took a battering ram with horns of great power, and demolished with it the walls of the city. He entered the breach, and slew, imprisoned, and pillaged the inhabitants. He then sent his officers towards the Nermada, Mandavi? Jhand? and Baroach.[5]

Passing over three centuries, we come to the period of Mahmúd, to which allusion has already been made. Throughout his reign,

[1] The alarm with which elephants view fire is frequently a marked feature of Indian warfare, and was never better exemplified than in the gallant night-sally of the Portuguese Governor of Damán upon the camp of Aurangzeb, when an army of 40,000 men was put to flight by the consternation of the elephants at the fireworks incessantly playing upon them. On this occasion, it is said, the Emperor came to a resolution never to attack Europeans any more.—*Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, part ii. p. 289; Niebuhr's *Lectures*, vol. i. pp. 1–36.

[2] *Biog. Dict.* (L. U. K.), vol. i. p. 76.

[3] See *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 307, and vol. x. p. 189.

[4] [See Vol. I. p. 170.] There is an important passage in two copies which I have consulted, which says that Muhammad Kásim had 900 naphtha-throwers who discharged naphtha from bows (p. 145).

[5] [See Vol. I. *supra*, p. 125.]

and the whole of the Ghaznivide reigns, we find no single author alluding to such implements; but it is incidentally mentioned that Altún Tásh received a *manjanik* when in India.[1]

Nearly two centuries after that, a little before A.D. 1200, we come to the Dynasty of the Ghorians, and though no mention is made by the Muhammadan writers of any incendiary preparations used in the wars between the Muhammadans and the Hindús, yet if we are to believe the contemporary Hindú bard, Chánd, we shall find even cannon-balls to be in use at that time. But it appears to me evident that the passages where they are mentioned are spurious, and interpolated to accommodate the poem to the knowledge of subsequent ages.[2] In the 150th *chhand* or stanza of the *Kanauj-Khand*, Tátár Khán says to Muhammad Ghorí, "Oh! chief of Gajní, buckle on your armour, and prepare your fire-machines." Another meaning may be given to the passage, which, however, would be forced and unnatural.

A'tish is a Persian word, and *Káfir* and *Sultán* used in the same stanza, are also of foreign stamp; though they no doubt were among the first words of Muhammadan extraction which were introduced into India. The use of *A'tish* renders the passage suspicious. In other respects the verse in which it occurs does not bear the appearance of modern manufacture. In the 257th stanza, it is said, that "The calivers and cannons made a loud report, when they were fired off, and the noise which issued from the ball was heard at a distance of ten *kos*."[3] The two lines in which this passage occurs

[1] Prose authors give no information, so we must have recourse to poets. Sa'd Salman gives long descriptions of Indian battles, yet never alludes to the use of anything like gunpowder, but notices fire at the siege of Ágra. Badar Chach notices *manjaniks* at Nagárkot, in Muhammad-Tughlik's time. In the *Táju-l Ma-ásir* there is not the remotest allusion, though every kind of fancy is indulged in describing swords, arrows, and spears, and other weapons of war. Nor are *manjaniks*, or any such implement, mentioned, though there is a description of the capture of many forts. There is a very late mention of the use of *manjaniks* in India in Ahmad Yádgár's *Afghán History*, p. 183 [*suprà*, Vol. V. p. 45].

[2] [Mr. Beames, B.C.S., who has paid special attention to Chánd, informed me, when he was in England, that he had not found these passages in the MSS. he had consulted.—Ed.]

[3] Froissart beats this with his marvellous *bombard* at Audenarde, which made such a noise at night, even at the distance of ten leagues, that all the devils of hell could not exceed it. "Et quand cette Bombarde decliquoit, on l'ouoit par jour bien de

are evidently a modern interpolation, and the lines which precede and follow them are of doubtful antiquity. The words used in the middle lines, though Hindí, seldom occur in ancient authors, and the introduction of *tope* is decisive as to the period of composition.

In the 416th *chhand*, we have: "The *zambúr* lodged in his breast and he fainted away: thus fell Rái Govind, the strength of Dehlí."

Zambúr is used in this and in the preceding extract. It is now usually applied to a camel-swivel. It used also to be applied to an arrow, and like *musquet, baston, bombarde,* and some other words, continued to signify an offensive weapon introduced under the new system of artillery, which followed the invention of gunpowder. The use of the word, therefore, is equivocal, and cannot be pronounced decidedly to mean a fire-arm; though, to be sure, if an arrow were meant, there was no occasion to resort to a foreign word. In other respects, the passage is not open to suspicion.

Wild fire was used against Changíz Khán at Bámián,[1] and the *Jahán-kushá* tells us, that in his siege of Khwárizm, Changíz Khán was compelled to use the wood of the *top*.[2]

In A.D. 1258, we find the *wazír* of the King of Dehlí going out to meet an ambassador from Hulákú, the grandson of Changíz Khán, with 3000 carriages of fireworks.[3] The same word, *Á'tish-bází*, being applied to pyrotechnic displays, as well as artillery, leaves the meaning of the passage ambiguous.

Khusrú, who died in 1315 A.D., is full of illustrations, and leaves no manner of doubt that nothing like gunpowder was known to him; though there is an attempt in the *háshiya* of the *Kiránu-s Sa'dain* (p. 49), to make out *garárá* to be a cannon ball.

In A.D. 1368, we have seen (*suprà*, p. 230) Muhammad Sháh Bahmaní I. possessing himself, amongst other spoil, of 300 gun-carriages, upon which the translator of Firishta observes in a note, as follows:

cinq lieues loing, et par nuit de dix, et menoit si grande noise au decliquer, que il sembloit que tous les diables d'enfer fussent au chemin."—*Chronicle*, tom. ii. p. 214. See also Meyrick, v. Bombard; D'Ohsson, vol. ii. p. 36; Taylor's *Hist. of Moham.*, p. 260.

[1] *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 155.

[2] The *Khuláṣatu-t Tawárikh* says, that *tops* were used at Autore in 1303.

[3] Firishta, Lith. Ed. vol. i. p. 128.

"If any reliance is to be placed on Moolla Daud Bidury, the author of the *Tohfutu-s Sulatín*, guns were used at this time by the Hindús, and in a subsequent passage it is remarked that the Muhammadans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Muhammadans might have procured guns from the west in 1368, because they are said to have been used eighteen years previously by Edward III. at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable; and Firishta, in stating it to be the first time the Muhammadans employed them, also observes, that Turks and Europeans skilled in gunnery worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by Faria-e-Souza."[1]

In the same author we find a *manjaník* used for a horrible purpose in A.D. 1371.[2]

It is remarkable that 'Abdu-r Razzák gives no hint of gunpowder at Bíjanagar; there the pyrotechnists are naphtha-throwers. This would seem to show that gunpowder must have been subsequent to his time. The *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*, however, in one passage speaks of *múshksáz* (squib-making).

The testimony as to the skill of the natives in the use of fire-arms, upon the first arrival of the Portuguese, is somewhat contradictory.[3] Maffei, who may be considered an abridger of Juan de Barros, says that the Indians far excelled the Portuguese.[4] He also states that "Bador," at the siege of Chitor, had four balistas of so large a size that each was drawn by 100 yoke of oxen, so that the ground trembled beneath them. Another author, quoted by Bohlen, speaks of a certain Indian king being in the habit of placing several pieces of brass ordnance in front of his army.[5]

[1] Briggs, vol. ii. p. 432.

[2] Briggs, vol. ii. pp. 303, 404.

[3] Mickle's *Camoens*, p. 79; Introd., pp. 82, 90.

[4] Jamque Indici sclopi, seu ferreæ fistulæ et sulphureus pulvis longo intervallo Lusitanicis antecellunt.—*Histor. Indic.*, p. 26.

[5] *Das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 63. Rex magnum numerum secum trahit tormentorum æneorum in prælium, quæ solet collocare in fronte exercitûs.—Hayus, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 698. This may be the same work that is quoted elsewhere as the *Historica Relátio*, Antwerp, 1605.—Bohlen, *ib.* vol. i. p. 102, vol. ii. p. 69; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. vi. pp. 7,-192.

There is certain testimony to the use of cannon in Gujarát before the arrival of the Portuguese; which is easily accounted for by the constant communication at that time with the Turks of Egypt and Arabia.[1] In A.D. 1482, Mahmúd Sháh I. of Gujarát is mentioned as fitting out a fleet against the pirates of Bulsar, on board of which he embarked gunners and musketeers from Kambay. Two years after, we find him using cannon to breach the walls of Champanír. and even firing shells at the palace of the Rájá. It is curious that one of the first applications of gunpowder amongst Muhammadan Indians was in the manufacture of shells. A few years later, Sher Sháh met his death by the explosion of one in his own batteries, when besieging Kálinjar.

Castanheda, in describing Vasco de Gama's entrance into Calicut in 1498, says, "The procession again set out, preceded by many trumpets and sacbuts sounding all the way; and one of the Nayres carried a *caliver*, which he fired off at intervals."[2] Two years afterwards the Zamorin cannonaded the Portuguese vessels.[3] In Castanheda's work, two Milanese lapidaries are said to have deserted, in 1503, to the Zamorin, for whom they offered to make ordnance, resembling that of the Portuguese, "which they afterwards did, as will appear in the sequel of this history, and for which service they were highly rewarded."[4] "This caymal had a force of 3000 Nayres, 700 of whom were archers, and forty were armed with matchlocks. He had likewise several paraws provided with ordnance, with which he was supplied by the Zamorin."[5]

Vertomann says that the Portuguese who entered into the service of the native princes taught them the art of using cannon.[6]

[1] See *Notices des MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 420.

[2] Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 364. The original has *espingarda*, "que leuaua hũa *espingarda*, com que tiraua de quando au quando."—*Historia do descobrimento*, etc., vol. i. p. 96. This cannot be the *espringal* which in Grose's *Mil. Antiq.* (vol. i. p. 17) is described as throwing large darts called *muchette*. See Du Cange s.v.; also "Gun-barrels," in *Ency. Metr.* There is an English translation of Castanheda, dated 1582, noticed in Beloe's *Anecdotes*, vol. vi. p. 263, and *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, Preface.

[3] Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul Mujahidin*, p. 81.

[4] Kerr, p. 454. The fate of these men is shown in the same *Collection*, vol. vii. p. 128.

[5] *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 459.

[6] *Ib.* vol. ix. p. 403. See Vertomann in *Hakluyt*, vol. iv. pp. 576, 577, 591, 600.

Faria-e-Souza speaks of a Gujarát vessel in A.D. 1500 firing several guns at the Portuguese;[1] of the Indians of Calicut using fire-vessels in 1502; and of the Zamorin's fleet carrying in the next year 380 guns.[2]

In 1511, the Portuguese are opposed at Malacca by a people using cannon, who defend their streets by mining with gunpowder. At sea, they employed floats of wild fire. Muhammad, King of Java, brought 3000 guns to bear, out of the 8000 which he possessed.[3]

If we come to later times, we find Bábar mentioning that the soldiers in Bengal were expert artillerists; for which of course they were indebted to the Portuguese. He himself had in his own camp large cannon, which fired huge stones, and took a long time to load. He had also several pieces which he styled *Feringís*, showing their European origin.[4] Arrows were also used in this action. In another part of his Memoirs, Bábar speaks of cannon being cast at the capital in his days; but the fact of the welding system being adopted at Dacca in the days of Sháh Jahán, does not say much for the efficiency of Bengal artillery a century previous.[5] At the battle of Pánípat also, A.D. 1526, Bábar had used artillery, "chained together according to the custom of Rúm, with twisted bull-hides."[6] He alludes no doubt to the victory gained by Salím over Sháh Ism'áíl in 1514, in which this method had been found very effective. Bábar appears to have had no light pieces, for here also arrows were used in skirmishes.[7] Between every two gun-carriages were

[1] Faria-e-Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, tom. i. part i. chap. 5.

[2] *Ib.* chap. 7.

[3] *Ib.* tom. i. part ii. chap. 7.

[4] Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs of Bäbar*, pp. 413-416.

[5] *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, 1847, p. 590.

[6] [See *suprà*, Vol. IV. p. 251.]

[7] Gibbon shows the use of ancient and modern artillery at the siege of Constantinople. See also *P. Cyclo.* "Artillery," and other Encyclopædias for this matter. Indeed, the superiority of the bow over the musket was for a long time insisted on.

> "The whole faith of historie cannot show
> That e'er the musquet yet could beat the bow."
> —Alleyn's *Henry VII.*

Grose's *Mil. Antiq.*, vol. i. pp. 141, 151, shows the bow long maintained its place, and the same with projectile machines, *ib.* p. 381; likewise Greek-fire, p. 390. See Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, vol. iii. pp. 50, 78; Briggs, vol. iii. pp. 50, 129, 411.

six or seven *túbras*,[1] or movable breast-works. The matchlock-men stood behind these guns and *túbras*, and discharged their matchlocks.[2]

Shortly after this, we begin to have frequent mention of the use of rockets. Indeed, there is much reason to suppose, that as in the west, so in the east, rockets preceded cannon: yet it is strange that they should now be regarded in Europe as the most recent invention of artillery. Under the Emperor Leo the philosopher, who lived at the close of the ninth century, the soldiers of the lower empire used to carry within their shields light tubes (χειροσιφωνα), which were filled with artificial fire, and rushed through the air with extreme velocity. These were made under Leo's own directions.[3]

In A.D. 1232, the Chinese defended themselves against the Tartars by the use of rockets.[4]

In modern Europe there are proofs of their use as early as A.D. 1380.[5] Bombshells also appear early in Europe. Stowe's *Chronicle* says that Peter von Collet, in the year 1543, "made certaine hollow shot of cast yron, to be stuffed with fire-werke," etc.[6]

[1] *Túbras* are nose-bags, but 'Abdu-l Kádir Badáúní makes the meaning plain, by saying they were *filled with earth* (*Tárikh-i Badáúni*, fol. 136). The same author says that 800 of these gun-carriages were prepared in one day (*Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh*, MS. fol. 67). The sacks used by Sher Sháh as temporary fortifications on his march towards Rájpútána were *túbras* (v. sup. Vol. IV. p. 405); Erskine's *Memoirs of Bábar*, vol. i. p. 433.

[2] *Calc. Rev.*, no. xiii. 83. See quotations from De Barras, at p. 34 of Chesney's *Fire-arms*; see also p. 35. Gamelli Curari, in 1695, observes that even in Aurangzeb's time, most of the soldiers had bows and arrows, and "the swords made in that country being apt to break, the English furnish them with such as are made in Europe." "All the artillery, especially the heavy, is under the direction of Franks or Christian gunners, who have extraordinary pay, especially the Portuguese, English, Dutch, German, and French, who go from Goa, or run away from aboard ships. Some of them formerly had 200 roupies a month, but now the Moguls have learnt somewhat of the art, they have less."—*Churchill*, vol. iv. pp. 236-7. Chesney's *Fire-arms*, p. 60. Baldæus has given us, in chap. ii., a copy of a *farmán* from "Mír Chaasjan (Sháh Jahán) to Miersia Arep, his Governor of Suratte," in which the following passage occurs: "You shall endeavour to list ten Christian constables, well versed in their art, into our service; and you shall spare no cost to have some great cannon cast for our use."—*Churchill*, vol. iii. p. 520.

[3] *Leonis Tactica*, ap. Meursii Op. vi. 19, 57; *Journal des Savants*, 1847, p. 149.

[4] A *Danduli Chronicon*, ap. Muratori, xii. 448.

[5] Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* iii. 1197, xv. 769; Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Lat.* v. Rocheta.

[6] Stowe, p. 584 (quoted in Meyrick, vol. ii. p. 293); *Penny Cyclo.* v. "Artillery." On grenades, see Meyrick, vol. iii. p. 68.

Yet we are informed by the best authorities,[1] that rockets were first used in warfare at the siege of Copenhagen in 1807. Even in the modern history of India, we cannot fail to be struck with the frequent mention of rockets. Every page of the native historians abounds with notices of their use from Akbar to Sháh 'Alam.[2] The iron work of one has been found to weigh thirty pounds.[3]

It is probable that the indications which we have of the early use of fiery missiles in ancient Indian warfare, refer more to rockets than cannons, and we will now proceed to consider the nature of these weapons.

Manu, quoted by Elphinstone, prohibits the use of fire-arrows.[4] The passage most commonly quoted to show the early use of fire-arms in India is extracted from the Code of Gentoo Laws, where we have the following prohibition: "The magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any kind of fire-arms." Halhed, commenting on this passage, says: "The reader will probably from hence renew the suspicion which has long been deemed absurd, that Alexander the Great did absolutely meet with some weapons of that kind in India, as a passage in Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain. Gunpowder has been known in China, as well as Hindústán, far beyond all periods of investigation. The word "fire-arms" is literally the Sanskrit *agniaster*, "a weapon of fire;" they describe the first species of it to have been a kind of dart, or arrow tipt with fire, and discharged upon the enemy from a bamboo. Among several extraordinary properties of this weapon, one was, that after it had taken its flight, it divided into several separate streams of flame, each of which took effect, and which, when once kindled, could not be extinguished; but this kind of *agniaster* is now lost."[5] He then goes on to say, that

[1] *Penny Cyclopædia*, v. "Rocket." They were used in the attack on Boulogne in 1806.

[2] Gladwin's *History of Jahángír*, p. 25; *Autob. of Jahángír*, p. 55 [*suprà*, pp. 333, 344]; Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 244. Shells and rockets are spoken of in the *Táríkh-i Táhirí* about 1591 A.D., but some European was concerned, and, according to Ahmad Yádgár, they were used earlier still in Bahlol's reign. See Ma'súmí also.

[3] Moor's *Hindú Pantheon*, p. 299; A. Hamilton in *Pinkerton*, vol. viii. p. 427.

[4] Manu, Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 47.

[5] Halhed, *Code of Gentoo Laws*, Introduction, p. lii. See also the *Amara Kosha* and *Sabda Kalpa Druma*, vol. i. p. 16.

cannon is called *shataghnee*, or weapon that kills one hundred men at once,[1] and that the *Poorán-shásters* ascribe the invention of these destructive engines to Viswacarma,[2] the Vulcan of the Hindús,—a name which M. Eusebe Salverte[3] is tempted to believe furnished the etymology of the French word *vacarme*;—which is about as reasonable as to suppose, that Charivari comes from Chakravarti, because it is a title exclusively devoted to those who have made a considerable noise in the world.

The submarine fire *urva*, in the drama of the Sakuntalá, where it is called "the mysterious fire which burns in the depth of the seas," has been supposed to allude to a composition similar to Greek-fire; but M. Langlois, appealing to an episode from the Harivansa, entertains the much more probable opinion, that a submarine volcano is alluded to.[4] Viswámitra, who is represented in the Rámáyana as giving different kinds of weapons to Ráma, speaks of one as *ágneya*, another as *shikhara*.

Carey and Marshman, who render *shikhara* as a combustible weapon, deduce from this passage that the ancient Hindús were acquainted with gunpowder. The passage, however, seems to contain a mere poetic fiction. The author there speaks of numerous kinds of weapons, some of which were evidently imaginary, as, for instance, the *váyava* or *airy*.[5]

[1] It may well admit of doubt if this was really a cannon. In the *Raghuvansa* it is distinctly said, that the "Dæmon laid his iron-headed *sataghni* upon Ráma, as Kuvera laid his celebrated *club* upon Jamráj."

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 264.

[3] *Philosophy of Magic*, vol. ii. p. 235.

[4] See M. Chézy, *La Reconnaissance de Sacountala*, p. 213. Wilson, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, *Sabda Kalpa Druma*, vol. iii. p. 2489, and Eusebe Salverte, *Occult Sciences* Eng. trans. vol. ii. p. 223, where, in allusion to this passage, it is said, "The fire which burns and crackles on the bosom of the waves denotes that the Greek-fire was anciently known in Hindústán under the name of *barrawa*."

[5] [The Mahábhárata represents the sage Bharadwája as bestowing the *ágneyástra*, or weapon of fire, upon Agnivesa, son of Agni, the deity of fire, who afterwards delivered it to Bharadwája's son Droná. The manner in which this weapon is spoken of might justify the supposition of its being some special unique weapon of supernatural origin. Wilson, in a note to the passage, says, "Fiery arms or rockets were possibly employed by the Hindús in remote antiquity, as well as in recent times: whence came the notion of certain mysterious weapons framed of the elements, and to be wielded only by deities and demigods. These make a great figure in the battle-scenes of the Mahábhárata. For a further account of these weapons, see translation of the Uttara Ráma Charitra."—Johnson's *Selections from the Mahábhárata*, p. 1.—Ed.]

The Harivansa speaks of the fiery weapon thus:

"King Sagara having received *fire-arms* from Bhárgava,[1] conquered the world, after slaying the Taljanghas and the Haihayas."

Again, the same:

"Urva, having performed the usual ceremonies on the birth of the great-minded (prince), and having taught him the Vedas, instructed him in the use of arms; the great-armed (Urva) (presented him) the fiery weapon,[2] which even the immortals[3] could not stand."

The following lengthy description in the *Srí Bhágavat* of the discharge of the *brahmástra*[4] is somewhat peculiar.

"The murderer of the princes (Aswattháma), seeing him advancing from a distance, was much alarmed, and fled for his life in his car, like Brahma running away for fear of Siva, as far as it was possible to go on the earth. When his horses being fatigued, he considered himself without help, the Brahmin's son looked upon the *brahmástra* as his only refuge. Accordingly, having washed his hands, and fixed his mind, he adjusted, and discharged it, though he did not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. Arjuna, seeing a glaring light flaming on all sides, and considering his life in danger, spoke to Krishna: 'O Krishna! Krishna! thou great-armed! thou who makest thy followers fearless! thou art the only deliverance for those who burn in the world. Thou art the first Being, absolute God, superior to Prákriti itself. Thou dwellest in the spirit alone by the power of intellect, giving up *Máyá*. Thou ordainest by thine own power the righteousness and well-being of all people, whose minds are blinded by *Máyá*. Even now thou art incarnate, in order to bear the burden of the world, and even to help thine own people, who

[1] M. Langlois observes that these fire-arms appear to have belonged to the Bhárgavas, the family of Bhrigú.—*Harivansa*, p. 68.

[2] M. Langlois translates it *arme de feu*, in this and the preceding passage. The whole legend of Urva and Aurva will be found in the *Harivansa*, vol. i. p. 211, where the translator considers that some kind of Greek-fire is alluded to.

[3] It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between the fights of Demons and Immortals in the Shástras and the wár of the Titans against Saturn, and of the Giants against Jupiter; and in nothing is it more striking than in the use of fiery weapons and thunders. It is worthy of remark that those contests are of late importation into Greek mythology. Homer and Hesiod are silent on the subject, on which so many later writers have employed their imagination.

[4] Wilson, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v., calls it "the Brahma weapon, a fabulous weapon originally from Brahma."

think of no body else. Oh God of Gods! I know not whence this is, or what it is. I see a fearful light coming from all sides.' Krishna's answer:—'Know this to be the *brahmástra* of the son of Drona. He does not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. He has no other counteracting weapon. Thou art well skilled in arms; destroy the force of this by the power of thy arms.' Súta continued: 'Arjuna, the destroyer of hostile chiefs, having heard Krishna's language, and having washed his hands, discharged his *brahmástra* against that of his antagonist. The fury of the two fiery darts acting against each other, overspread the heavens and earth, and waxed strong like the burning rays of the sun. The three worlds were illuminated by the great light of the two weapons; the inhabitants were all burnt, and believed the end of the world to be at hand. Arjuna observing the calamity which befell the world and the distress of the people, drew in both weapons agreeably to Krishna's wishes."

In a note on the subject of the *brahmástra*, the Rev. Krishna Mohan Bánerjea, to whom I am indebted for the preceding reference, observes in his excellent work the "Encyclopædia Bengalensis," that the *brahmástra* was probably a piece of musketry, not unlike the modern matchlock.[1]

The *Srí Bhágavat* makes mention also of Aswatthámа's discharging his *brahmástra* against Uttara while she was with child, with a view to destroy her embryo; and Krishna, the constant friend of the Pándavas, is represented as saving her by his superhuman power. The *Devi Purána* says that Brahma made the instrument for the purpose of killing Náráyan.[2] The curious part in the preceding description is the drawing the missile back.[3] In this respect it has some resemblance to the *boomerang* of the Australian savages. An account of this magic stick, which returns to the persons who throw it, is subjoined.[4]

[1] *Encycl. Beng.*, vol. iii. p. 21. The Hindí Prem Ságar, which is founded upon the tenth chapter of the *Bhágavat*, represents the guards of Krishna as seizing their weapons and firing their muskets (*lage tupak chhorne*).—End of chap. iv.

[2] *Sabda Kalpa Druma*, vol. iii. p. 839.

[3] Was not the *chakra* drawn back by a thong?

[4] This instrument is a flat curved piece of hard wood, about eighteen inches long, three inches wide in the middle, tapering off towards the extremities, and nearly half an inch thick; the native ones are very roughly finished, and vary in size considerably; which is of no importance: it is used either to bring down birds in their

In the *Mahábhárata* we read of a "flying ball emitting the sound

flight, or to arrest the progress of men or animals until they can be despatched by other means; but its singular property is that of returning to the thrower, which has often excited the astonishment of travellers, and the incredulity of those who have only heard of it, until it has now become quite familiar. This curious fact has been related in such a manner as to render it much more extraordinary than it really is when correctly stated; for if it touch any object in its flight, it will not return, although, by some, it has been supposed capable of killing an animal, and then returning to the thrower.

The principle on which it acts merits some investigation: and I think I shall be able to prove that this peculiar property does not depend wholly on its form, although the one adopted may be the most convenient for the purpose. Any thin flat body, whatever may be its form, will exhibit the same phenomenon, provided a rapid rotation round its centre of gravity be communicated at the same time that it is projected forward at a considerable angle of elevation. The natives are, of course, perfectly ignorant of the principles, and, like all other savages, confine their knowledge to effects.

Many familiar instances of rotation causing bodies to return, after being projected forward, may be adduced. A hoop, for example, will return, if thrown forward with a sudden jerk inwards from the upper part of its circumference. A billiard ball, struck with force and dexterity just below its centre, may be made to pass from one end of the table to the other and return without having touched the cushion. The blow in this direction gives the ball a rapid rotation towards the striker, and at the same time drives it forward, not rolling, but sliding along the cloth, and revolving in an opposite direction; the moment the friction has overcome the projectile force, the ball rolls back by virtue of the original revolving motion communicated to it by the stroke of the queue.

Another instance less known I have already mentioned in a former part, namely, that of a bullet discharged from a crooked barrel, being thrown at long distances, in an opposite direction to the curvature.

The *boomerang*, however, is influenced by different causes. To exhibit the phenomenon properly, it must be thrown into the air with great force, at an angle of 50° or 60° of elevation, and by an inward motion of the wrist (difficult to describe, and not easy to execute), a rapid spin must be communicated to it, otherwise it will not return. I have repeatedly thrown it forward, upwards of forty yards, and it has returned backwards over my head, and fallen fifteen or sixteen yards behind me. If pieces of card be cut in various forms, rectangular, oval, circular, and semi-circular, all of them will return across a room, more or less, when projected from the fingers at a considerable angle of elevation, with a rapid rotary motion; and it is immaterial whether the rotation be from right to left, or the contrary; the only effect of the rotation being to keep them nearly in the same plane of air as that in which they were propelled, and thus prevent them from obtaining an horizontal position to which they always incline from the situation of the centre of gravity; thus, if left to themselves, they would present their broad surfaces to the air, and descend nearly in a perpendicular direction as soon as the projectile force ceased to operate, if unaccompanied by rotation; but the rotation, continuing after the projectile force has ceased, causes them to slide down the inclined plane of air up which they were thrown, merely because it is *the line of least resistance;* that is, they cannot descend perpendicularly, because their broad surfaces are opposed to the resistance of the air in that direction, while their edges are inclined to the same angle as that in which they were

of a thunder-cloud," which Bopp considers to apply to a meteor, though the scholiast is express in referring it to artillery.[1]

In this place observation may be drawn to the very singular relation of a combustible, which occurs in the Extract from the *Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh* (*suprà*, Vol. I. p. 107), where we read that the Bráhmans counselled Hál to have an elephant made of clay, and to place it in the van of his army, and that when the army of the King of Kashmir drew nigh, the elephant exploded, and the flames destroyed a great portion of the invading force.[2] Here we have not only the simple act of explosion, but something very much like a fuze, to enable the explosion to occur at a particular period. The testimony is valuable, for the work was translated as early as A.D. 1126 from the Arabic, which had been translated a century previous from a Sanskrit original, even then acknowledged to be very old.

We have other Eastern stories, all bearing much the same character, and all composed long before the invention of gunpowder; and, therefore, the writers had no opportunity of applying modern knowledge to the history of a more remote era.

Firdúsí, who died A.D. 1020, tells us that the troops of Sikandar (Alexander the Great) were greatly terrified at the sight of the two thousand elephants which Fúr had brought into the field, and that some philosophers were requested to consult together to contrive some means of counteracting this tremendous force. They suggested the construction of an iron horse, and the figure of a rider, also of iron, to be placed upon wheels like a carriage, and filled with naphtha; so that, on coming in contact with the elephants, the whole

projected. These are the principles on which the *boomerang* acts, for if it be thrown forward at a small elevation, or horizontally, the rotation has no tendency to cause its return; it therefore proceeds forward, cutting the air always in that direction which opposes the least resistance, exactly in the same manner as any other body having a thin edge in one direction and extent of surface in another: for which reason it often winds round and performs a variety of curious and amusing gyrations in the air, which depend on the relative degrees of projectile and rotatory force communicated to it and the currents of air through which it moves: but in these instances, although it may describe a semi-circle, or even return within the line in which it was thrown, it never returns to the thrower.—Wilkinson, *Engines of War*, pp. 290–294; see Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 135.

[1] Bopp, *Anmerkungen zu Ardschuna's Himmelreise*, p. 74; Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 66; see also Theodore Benfey, *Indien*, p. 239.

[2] Reinaud's *Mem.* p. 62.

engine might explode.[1] The monarch approved of this invention, and collected all the blacksmiths and artizans in the country, to construct a thousand machines of this description with the utmost expedition. The consequence was, that when Fúr advanced to attack, the combustibles were fired by the Grecians, and the horses exploding, many of the elephants were burnt and destroyed, and the rest, together with the army, fled away in confusion.[2]

M. Eusebe Salverte[3] gives the same story from the lately discovered life of Alexander by J. Vactrius,[4] referring to the *Biblioth. Univers. Litt.* tom. vii. pp. 225, 226.

It is not improbable that the *rolling horses*, mentioned in a Chinese account of India, were used for a similar purpose. "The Indians are timid in battle; their weapons are the bow and arrows, and shield. They have also, like the Chinese, flying, or winged ladders; and according as the ground will permit, they follow the rules of the *wooden oxen* and *rolling horses*."[5]

[1] This reminds us of Plancarpin's story of Prester-John. The Tartars informed the monk that Prester-John, when attacked by the son of Changíz Khán, led against his assailants figures of bronze, mounted on horseback. The inside of these figures was filled with fire, and behind each there was a man, who threw something within them, which immediately produced an immense smoke.—*Voyage de Plancarpin*, v. 42, ap. *Phil. of Magic*, vol. ii. p. 236.

[2] *Shâh-nâma*, Turner Macan's edit., vol. iii. p. 1308; see *Mírkhond.* Mohl's version of this passage is as follows: "Ils firent un cheval de guerre en fer, son cavalier était de fer, et de fer la bride; ils rattachèrent les jointures avec des clous et *de la soudure* de cuivre, polirent le cavalier et son cheval, et les trainèrent sur les rous devant Iskender, après en avoir rempli et noirci tout l'intérieur avec du naphte. Iskender vit leur invention et elle lui plut. Le roi intelligent sut en tirer parti et ordonna que l'on fabriquait en fer plus de mille chevaux et cavaliers semblables. . . . On alluma le naphte qui remplissait les chevaux *de fer* et les Indiens se frappèrent le front d'étonnement. Le feu alluma le naphte noir et ébranla toute cette troupe de fer; l'armée indienne poussa un cri immense, on rendit furieux les éléphants par les coups *de crochets;* mais quand ils saisirent avec les trompes *ces cavaliers en* flammes leurs conducteurs restérent confondus. Toute l'armée des Indiens recula, et les éléphants de guerre qui portait haut la tête quand ils furent ainsi repoussés par ces *hommes de fer*, se retirèrent en tout hâte avec les troupes."—*Le Livre des Rois*, tom. i. p. 50.

[3] *Phil. of Magic*, vol. ii. p. 223.

[4] A great error has been committed here in the name, which should be Julius Valerius. The error is, I fancy, Salverte's. The whole story will be found in Müller's edit. (Didot) of *Pseudo-Calisthenes*, p. 97, to which "versionis loco" J. Valerius's work is appended. Respecting these fabulous histories, see Niebuhr's *Lect. on Anc. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 351.

[5] Ma-twam-lin, *Deep Researches into Ancient Monuments*, translated in *As. Journal*, 1836, vol. xx. p. 218.

Kazwíní, writing at the close of the thirteenth century, says, in his Chapter on the Islands of the Indian Sea, that the inhabitants of a certain island petitioned Alexander to free them of an enormous dragon, who used to require two bulls for his daily sustenance, and if he did not get them, he would take his revenge by laying waste the fields and killing men and women: "which when Alexander heard, he ordered the hides of two bulls to be brought, and stuffed them with pitch, sulphur, lime and arsenic, together with iron hooks, and then directed that they should be placed where the dragon used to come for his daily food. The dragon came, and devoured them as usual; but, as he was retiring towards his den, a flame was kindled in his belly, and the hooks adhered to his entrails, so that he died."[1]

The *Rauzatu-s Safá* speaks of Alexander's meeting Porus with explosive machines. Western authors also connect Alexander's name with many anecdotes relating to the use of incendiary preparations in warfare. These accounts, combined with those given by Oriental writers, make it difficult to believe that the ancient Indians did not possess a knowledge of some substances which had much the same power and effect as gunpowder. Philostratus says: "Had Alexander passed the Hyphasis, he never could have made himself master of the fortified habitation of these sages. Should an enemy make war on them, they drive him off by means of tempest and thunders, as if sent down from heaven. The Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus made a joint attack on them, and by means of various military engines attempted to take the place. The sages remained unconcerned spectators, until the assault was made, when it was repulsed by fiery whirlwinds and thunders, which, being hurled from above, dealt destruction on the invaders.[2]

Themistius also mentions the Bráhmans fighting at a distance, with lightnings and thunders.[3]

Alexander's use of incendiary compositions is a favourite topic with the early romancists. One was furnished to him by a certain Alcays, with which he fired the city of Tyre from a mangonel. No

[1] Görres, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, vol. ii. p. 387; see Edrisi, vol. i. pp. 198, 200.

[2] Philostrati *Vit. Apollon.* lib. ii. c. 33, G. Olearius, p. 86.

[3] *Orat.* xxvii. p. 337, ap. Dutens, *Origine des découvertes attribuées aux Modernes*, p. 196; Maurice, *Mod. Hist. of Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 144; Weston's *Fragments*, p. 58.

doubt this instructor is the same as the Keyd of the *Sháh-náma*, the Kefend of the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*, and the Kend of Mas'údí.[1]

In the famous treatise of Marcus Græcus, entitled *Liber ignium ad comburendos hostes*, we find recipes headed,—"Ignis quem invenit Aristoteles, quando cum Alexandro rege ad obscura loca iter ageret;" and again, "Sequitur alia species ignis, quo Aristoteles domos in montibus sitas destruxit incendio." The use of fire, however, is so obvious an auxiliary, that we are surprised it is not more often mentioned. Thucydides speaks of it at the siege of Platæa (ii. 77). Livy mentions the use of πυροβολοι by the Ætolians (xxxviii. 6). And Æneas, the tactician, who lived about the time of Aristotle, enjoins its use in his valuable *Commentarius Poliorceticus* (J. C. Orelli, Leipzig, 1818). Josephus also slightly mentions it (iii. vii. 9).[2] Some other early instances are adduced in Note A., Vol. V. p. 550.

In the apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle, we find mention made of the terrific flashes of flame, which he beheld showered on his army on the burning plains of India. Dante has immortalized the tradition, which, according to Landino, he obtained from Albertus Magnus:

> Quali Alessandro in quelle parti calde
> D'India vide sovra lo suo stolo
> Fiamme cadere infino a terra salde,
> Perch' ei provvide a scalpitar lo suolo
> Con le sue schiere, perciocchè'l vapore
> Me' si stingueva, mentre ch' era solo;
> Tale scendeva l'eternale ardore.—*Inferno*, xiv. 31-7.

Ctesias says that the Indians manufactured an oil on the banks of the river Indus, inclosed in earthen jars, and that on being shot out against woodworks, a flame was kindled, which could only be extinguished by a quantity of mud, thickly laid on it; that it was manufactured solely for the king; and no one else was allowed to have it in his possession.[3]

Ælian, while he quotes Ctesias, at the same time improves upon this relation. He says that the oil has such strength, that it not only

[1] *Histoire de l'Artillerie*, p. 48; *Fragments Arabes*, p. 45; *Shâh-nâma*, vol. iii. p. 1290; Reinaud's *Mem.*, p. 62; Spiegel, *die Alex.*, 20, 53; Thomas, in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* N.S. vol. i. p. 453.

[2] See Potter's *Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 47.

[3] Ctesiæ *Indica Excerpta*, xxvii. ed. Baer, p. 356.

burns up wood, but men and animals, and, indeed, anything it touches; that the king of the Indians takes cities by its means; that no battering-ram, or other poliorcetic machine, can resist it; earthen jars are filled with it, and thrown upon city gates; the jars being fractured, the oil spreads, and is inextinguishable and insatiable, burning both arms and fighting men.[1]

Philostratus, speaking of the same, says, there is in the Hyphasis an insect which looks like a white worm, producing an oil, from which issues a flame of such a nature, that it can only be extinguished by mud.[2] This insect is the King's sole property, and is used by him in destroying the walls of besieged towns; for, the moment it touches the battlements, it is said to kindle such a flame as cannot be put out by any of the ordinary means for extinguishing fire.[3]

These three authors concur in representing that this oil is procured from a worm, σκώληξ, which must be a pretty large one, as it is seven cubits long, and of proportionate breadth. However fabulous may be the origin of this product, we cannot entertain a doubt that it was something highly inflammable and destructive. This river worm is described as having two teeth, one above and one below, and with them devouring whatever comes within its reach. During the day it burrows in the mud, but at night emerges on the land, and carries off oxen, and even camels. It is taken with a large hook, to which a goat or sheep is fastened with an iron chain. When captured, it is hung up for a month, with vessels placed underneath, into which runs as much oil as would fill ten Attic cotylæ. Professor H. H. Wilson considers that the alligator is alluded to. He is not, however, aware, that oil is extracted from the alligator; but, at the dissection of one at which he assisted, "enormous masses of yellow fat were found under the skin, which might have been converted into oil."[4] But there can be no doubt

[1] *De Naturâ Animal.* lib. v. cap. 3.

[2] πηλοῦ. The edition of Olearius reads ὑελοῦ, which is followed by Berwick, who translates it: "only to be contained in a glass vial,"—which is very forced and unnatural; besides, the former is used both by Ctesias and Ælian.—*Philostratarum qua supersunt omnia*, Lipsia, 1709, fol. p. 93. Much the same property is ascribed to Greek-fire in the monkish lines quoted in Grose's *Mil. Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 389.

[3] *Script. Vet.* by Dr. Schauffelberger, p. 48.

[4] *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 61.

about alligator—or rather, when referring to India, crocodile—oil; for almost all the native works on Materia Medica notice it, and ascribe wonderful properties to it, Even in the crocodile's products live the wonted alarms which its natural voracity inspires. Happy the man in whose frail bark its oil, or fat, burns! Him will not assail the croak of frogs, when—

mali culices ranæque palustres
Avertunt somnos.—*Horat.*

from those unhappy mortals not similarly provided.[1] Let it even be mixed with wax, let even the rains be the season of their operations, and their eternal croaking, while it may be distracting the ears of his next neighbours, is as inaudible to him as if he were in Seriphus or Sicendus.[2] Happy the he-goat on whose forehead it is rubbed! for he can put to flight all competitors. Happy the city which has its skin! for if drawn round the walls and suspended from the entrance gate, no hail will fall within it, or blast the tender crops of its inhabitants:[3]

nec illos
Expectata seges vanis eludet aristis.—*Georg.* i. 226.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that fire-arms of some kind were used in the early stages of Indian History; that the

[1] The Greeks attributed this miraculous effect to the burning of *any* lamp. Africanus says:

Βάτραχοι σιωπήσουσι κράζοντες, ἐὰν λύχνου ἅψας θῆς πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην.

[2] See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. c. 58, and Tzetzes, *Chiliad*, 8.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Múminín*; see also Muhammad Husain's *Makhzan-i Adwiya*, Hooghlí edit. vol. i. p. 425.

The prescription in the text affords another curious coincidence between Asiatic and European superstitions. The value of the crocodile's skin in averting hail was well known to the Greeks and Romans, and the same mode of circuit and suspension was adopted.

Grandini creditur obviare, si quis crocodili pellem vel hyænæ vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat, et in villæ aut cortis suspendat ingressu, cum malum viderit imminere.—Palladius, *De Re Rustică*, lib. i. tit. 35; *Cod. Justin.*, lib. ix. title 18, quoted in Hutchinson on *Witchcraft*, p. 202.

Again, an unknown author in the Geoponical Collection of Cassianus Bassus says:

Πάλιν ἐὰν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ περιαγάγῃς ὑαίνης ἢ κροκοδείλου ἢ φώκης δέρμα, καὶ τουτο πρὸ πυλῶν τῆς δικήσεως ἀναρτήσῃς, οὐ πεσεῖται χάλαζα.—*Geoponicorum*, lib. i. cap. xiv.

[4] From the annexed extract it will be seen that the subject has been discussed by the person most competent to illustrate it.

June 17.—Prof. Wilson in the chair.—The Director, Prof. Wilson, read to the Asiatic Society a paper written by himself, "On the Military Science of the Ancient

missiles were explosive; and that the time or mode of ignition was dependent on pleasure; that projectiles were used which were made to adhere to gates, buildings, and machines, setting fire to them from a considerable distance; that it is probable that saltpetre, the principal ingredient of gunpowder, and the cause of its detonation, entered into the composition, because the earth of Gangetic India is richly impregnated with it in a natural state of preparation, and it may be extracted from it by lixiviation and crystallization

Hindús." The paper began with the observation, that although the Hindús had always been inferior to their foreign invaders in practical warfare, they were probably superior to them in its theory. A supplementary portion of their Vedas, or Sacred Institutes, was devoted to the science of war, under the denomination of *Dhanuk Veda*. This original treatise is probably lost; but many interesting particulars are derivable from the *Agni Purána*, the *Mahábhárata*, and other of their standard works. The bow appears to have been their chief weapon (as is demonstrated by the word *dhanuk* "a bow," in the name *Dhanuk Veda*); but other missile arms, as the discus, javelins, short iron clubs, etc., were used. The troops were also generally armed with swords, maces, axes, and spears, and defended by helmets, quilted jackets, and coats of mail. Their armies were theoretically arranged in bodies of relative proportions, consisting of elephants, chariots, horse, and foot—the former being equal in number, and the latter in the proportion of three horsemen and five footmen for each chariot. The number of chariots and elephants is the great characteristic of Hindú warfare; and it is remarkable that in their heroic poems the heroes are generally represented as riding in a chariot, and never on a horse. In a few cases they are mentioned as coming to battle on an elephant; but in the course of time horses have entirely superseded chariots in India as in Britain, where the chariot once played so important a part in battle. The paper proceeded with a description of the various sorts of bows, arrows, and other weapons used by the ancient Hindús. The question as to the knowledge of gunpowder, or any similar explosive substance, by the ancient people of India, said the Professor, is one of great historical interest. It is clear from their medical works that they were acquainted with the constituents of gunpowder, and possessed them in great abundance: and our acquaintance with their literature is as yet too imperfect to warrant a reply in the negative because we have not met with a positive account of the invention. Their writings make frequent reference to arms of fire; and rockets—which appear to be an Indian invention, though not mentioned by name in Sanskrit writings—had long been used in their armies when Europeans first came in contact with them. Tactics also were not omitted in Hindú military science. The division of the army into centre, flanks, wings, and reserve, is laid down; and rules for the order of march, the modes of overcoming obstacles, the choice of a position, and the different kinds of array, are given, and illustrated by quotations from the *Agni Purána*. The subject of encampment received attention; in illustration of which the paper concluded with a quotation from the *Mahábhárata*, describing in considerable detail the pitching of Yudhishthira's camp upon a level and fertile spot on the banks of the Himávati, agreeably to the precepts laid down for the regulation of the practice.—*Athenæum*, *July* 8, 1848. [The paper of which this was a summary seems to have remained in MS.—Ed.]

without the aid of fire; and that sulphur may, for the same reason, have been mixed with it, as it is abundant in the north-west of India.

This destructive agent appears to have fallen into disuse before we reach authentic history, and, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary, there seems reason to suppose that, at the time of the Muhammadan invasion, the only inflammable projectiles which were known were of a more simple nature, composed chiefly, if not entirely, of bituminous substances,—from naphtha, the most liquid, to asphaltum, the most solid of them,—and that, whether from cumbrousness or "ineffectual fires," they were very rarely brought into action.

It is not to be gathered for certain that the natives of Southern India were superior in the use of artillery to the Portuguese on their first arrival; but, even if they were, they might easily have acquired their skill from Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, with which during the period of Muhammadan supremacy there was constant communication; so that there is nothing in the testimony of either native or foreign witnesses sufficiently positive to lead to the conclusion that, in modern times at least, the knowledge of fire-arms was indigenous in India, and antecedent to their use in Europe.

Note B.

'ABDU-L HAKK DEHLAWÍ.

These Extracts are from a treatise by 'Abdu-l Hakk Hakkí Dehlawí,[1] containing memoirs of certain famous philosophers and poets of Dehlí, with notices of some of their writings, and a catalogue of the works composed by himself in Arabic and Persian, which was compiled in the reign of the Emperor Núru-d dín Jahángír. Translated from a copy in the possession of Nawab Zíáu-d dín Khán of Lohárú by (Major) A. R. Fuller, Artillery.

EXTRACTS.

As soon as[2] these eternal lights, by reflecting the effulgent rays of Muhammad (on whom be the choicest of favours and the greatest of blessings!), illumined every quarter and corner of Hindústán, they shone on the metropolis of Dehlí also, which is the centre of the circle of sanctity and holiness, and the true tabernacle of faith and religion. For a vast host and multitude of all classes of men professing the creed of Islám, and consisting of august *shaikhs*, learned sages, and eloquent orators, repaired to this city from all quarters of the globe, both from Arabia and Persia, and took up their illustrious residence in it. They then enlightened and civilized with the lustre of religion and wisdom all parts and bounds of this realm, which had previously been shrouded and enveloped in the gloom of paganism and ignorance.

The writer of these lines (may the Lord preserve his fortunes from calamity and disaster!) introduced memoirs of Kings and

[1] [The title of the work is not given. But it is evidently a distinct work, and not a portion of the same author's History. The note, *supra*, page 181, is therefore not quite accurate.]

[2] Referring to the men of eminent sanctity and learning who immediately succeeded the Prophet.

nobles into his history of this realm, which is a work entitled *Zikru-l Mulúk* (The Chronicle of Kings), and abounds with historical matter; while he gave a full account of virtuous *shaikhs* in his book called *Akhbáru-l Akhyár* (Reminiscences of the Good), which is stamped with the brand of publicity and renown. After fully making up his mind, however, he was unable to write the memoirs of the best of the philosophers and poets, notwithstanding that they were numerous enough, inasmuch as scarce a trace remained of their names and lineage, and hardly any vestiges of their compositions were extant. * * * Nevertheless, there are some few whose names are mentioned, and whose literary labours are quoted and described. One of those learned men, who flourished in the august age of Sultán Násiru-d dín, the son of Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh (may the Lord brighten his judgment!), whom they style Sultán Nasíru-d dín Ghází, was Kází Minháj Júzjání, the compiler of the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, a history dedicated to the aforesaid monarch, which he wrote and left behind as a monument of his genius. Although he had not a perfect mastery over the art of pure and elegant writing, yet his style, from its brevity and conciseness, was not wanting in the requisites of boldness and vigour. A few of the particulars regarding him, detailed in the memoirs of the aforesaid shaikhs, are given in the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, and may God's mercy be upon him!

Another one was Zíá Barní, the author of the *Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, who continued the history from the commencement of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban's reign, where the *Tabakát-i Násiri* leaves off, down to the occurrences of the seventh year of Fíroz Sháh; besides which, he wrote other works and treatises as well. He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizámu-d dín Aúlia's (may the Lord sanctify his tomb!), and in the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár* some of his sayings and doings are also recorded (God have mercy upon him!). After him came another individual, who wrote all the rest of the annals of Sultán Fíroz's reign, as well as those of the Gujarát sovereigns, under the title of *Táríkh-i Bahádur Sháhí*.

Táríkh-i Muhammadí is likewise the name of an historical work that somebody composed, and the *Siráj-i 'Afíf*[1] is another. One of

[1] [The *Táríkh-i Firoz Sháhí*, of Shams-i Siráj 'Afíf, *suprà*, Vol. III. p. 269.]

those who are famous for their literary efforts, both in prose and verse, is Zíá Nakshabí, who lived in Badáún. Although his works scarcely possess merit enough to make them worthy of remark, yet as he was a man who had retired into the nook of asceticism and solitude, he was callous to the world's praise or blame, acceptance or refusal, and confidence or mistrust, and gave free vent to his own opinions. Mention has been made of him likewise in the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, and a few extracts from the *Silk-i Sulúk*, which, of all his publications that touch upon the sentiments of this class of mankind, is, to my mind, the most pleasing, have been introduced. There was also a person in Badáún called Shaháb Mahmarah, of whom mention has been made in Amír Khusrú's poems, where he says, "It cast a tremor over Shaháb Mahmarah's grave," from which it is evident that the individual in question had formerly flourished, though at the present time none of his works are extant.

Táj Reẓah, too, was an inferior poet, who cultivated his talents under the tuition of Shamsu-l Mulk, who was *Sadr* (Prime Minister) in the time of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. Most of the learned men of that age, indeed, studied under this individual, and even Shaikh Nizámu-d dín Auliá (may the Lord purify his tomb!), in the course of his education, read the *Makámat-i Harírí* with him, and has said in his writings :—

> "Now the *Sadr* has succeeded according to the best wishes of his friends,
> For he has become prime minister of the realms of Hindústán."

During the time of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Dehlí was the great rendezvous for all the most learned and erudite personages; for, notwithstanding the pride and hauteur, the neglect and supercilious-ness, and the want of kindness and cordiality, with which that monarch treated this class of people, the spirit of the age remained the same.

Among the philosophers and poets of those times, the cleverest and most renowned were Mír Hasan and Mír Khusrú (on both of whom be mercy and forgiveness!). Mír Khusrú, however, is the Prince of Poets and the First among Philosophers, for he was one of those steeped in spiritual wisdom, and such skill as he possessed in every kind and manner of literary composition, both in the use of ordinary or unusual phraseology, and of plain or dubious

terms, has seldom been allotted to any one. He wrote a great many verses, but made no choice selection from them; and he compiled and arranged several *díwáns* (books of odes). With respect to the aggregate number of his own verses, he made this mirthful remark by way of a puzzle and enigma: "My verses are fewer than 400,000, but upwards of 300,000." As for Mír Hasan, although he has written but little poetry, yet what he has written is musical and pleasing. The illustrious Shaikh's opinion, however, respecting the difference between their two styles, is sufficient; for he declared that our Khusrú is the salt ocean, and Hasan a sweet stream.

After the close of 'Alá's reign, the high standard of wisdom and erudition began to sink to an inferior level, and literature assumed quite another complexion; for, although Sultán Muhammad Tughlik fully appreciated all sorts of learning, yet there was not such a number of learned men flourishing in his time as had congregated together under 'Aláu-d dín's rule.

One of the most famous sages and philosophers of the city was Mauláná Muaiyyanu-d dín 'Umráni, the author of sound and instructive commentaries on the *Kanz*, *Mínár*, *Husámí*, *Talkhís*, and *Miftah*. Sultán Muhammad despatched him to Shiráz with an invitation for Kází 'Azdu-l Millat wa-d dín Alíchí, and a request that the latter would prepare and publish a suitable work (or the work called *Muákif*), dedicated to his royal person. As soon as Mauláná reached the Kází's dwelling, he began persuading him to an excursion into Hindústán, and acquainted him with all that Sultán Muhammad required of him; whereupon the monarch of that period called upon Kází 'Azd, and made him an offering of the whole realm and sovereignty. The Kází, therefore, in obedience to the dictates of modesty and sound sense, dismissed the idea of travelling to Hindústán from his mind, and resolved upon remaining at the court of his own monarch.

In the reign of Sultán Fíroz, also, there were many sages, philosophers and lawyers, who held a place on the throne of study and erudition; and *Tátár Khání*, which is a lengthy and copious work on law and religion, was composed in the time of that auspicious monarch, and dedicated to Tátár Khán, one of his chief officers of

state, by the author Maulánà 'Álim Á́ndapathí. This Tátár Khán, however, in whose name the work in question is published, is said by some to have been one of 'Alá(u-d dín)'s nobles, but God only knows if such be the case. One of the learned men of Fíroz Sháh's time was Maulánà. Khwájagí, the preceptor of Kází Shahábu-d dín Daulatábádí. Maulánà Ahmad Thánesárí and Kází 'Abdu-l Muktadir Shaníhí were also distinguished literary characters of that period; and the latter, besides possessing vast knowledge, could compose excellent poetry, his Arabic verses being even superior to his Persian. The most talented and clever authors of Persia and Arabia having agreed upon trying to write something equal to the *Lámiatu-l 'Ajam*, which is a celebrated elegy, he also made an attempt to rival it, and came out of the trial with great *éclat*. Maulánà Ahmad Thánesárí likewise wrote poetry in the Arabic language, and his noble elegies, the whole of which are copied into the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, bear convincing testimony to his eminent talents and genius. Subsequently to the auspicious time of Fíroz Sháh, whom they call the last of the sovereigns of Hind, inasmuch as after him the monarchy of this country came to an end, and, like as in the neighbouring kingdoms, an independent ruler sprung up in every district. During Sultán Ibrahím Sharkí's time, a prince who ruled in the direction of Jaunpúr, there flourished Kází Shahábu-d dín Záwalí Daulatábádí, who is both a shining star and a brilliant luminary of this realm. He used to be called the "King of Sages" by his contemporaries; for although there were many more learned men in existence at that time, yet none of them enjoyed the popularity and fame that he had acquired. He is the author of several works that have been stamped with the die of general favour and celebrity, such as *Hawásh Káfiah*, which is the cleverest of his writings, *Irshád*, *Badíu-l Bayán*, etc. He has also written an unfinished commentary on the *Pazhdání*, and an exposition in Persian entitled *Bahr-i Mawwáj*. But in preserving the due rhythm of his sentences, he exhibits laborious exertion; and to that end has made use of many awkward and inapplicable words and expressions. With the exception of this drawback, however, it is a useful and profitable book, and well adapted for affording enlightenment and instruction.

After Kází Shahábu-d dín's demise, Maulánú Shaikhu-l Hadád Jaunpúrí, who was a pious and unaffected divine, began plying his pen in literary composition. He made notes to the Kází's Commentaries, and further wrote expositions of the *Hidáyah*, *Madárik*, and *Pazhdání*, though his questions are evidently more powerful than the replies. Many more people of that country likewise made notes on the Kází's Commentary; but in comparison with them, those of Míánu-l Hadád are much clearer and more pertinent. The literati of that country paid no attention to the subjects of grammar, syntax and scriptural law, together with its rudiments; while as for the other reasoning sciences, they were seldom or rarely studied, and became as it were totally extinct. One of the poets of Sultán Fíroz's reign, or even of an earlier period than that, was Muttahar Kurrah, whose style is by no means wanting in grace and elegance. He is the author of a *díwán* (collection of odes), and several elegies, the latter of which are extremely scarce, and in fact not to be procured anywhere in the present day. In the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár* are introduced several lines of his description of Shaikh Nasíru-d dín Mahmúd, may the Lord sanctify his tomb!

Within the same brief period of time, too, there lived an individual called Mughís Hánsaví, who held a high position in the literary world from his discourses on practical and metaphysical subjects. He is the author of a treatise, which enjoys no great publicity, however, and mention of him has been made in the notices of Shaikh Nasíru-d dín Mahmúd's life.

Another one was Zahír Dehlawí, to whom Shaikh Jamálí used to apply the epithet of Zahír, on account of the want of freshness in his style. This same Shaikh Jamálí, in the time of Sultán Sikandar Lodí, and Nasíru-d dín Humáyún Bádsháh, ranked among the chief nobles of the city. He is the author of a *díwán*, which comprises both elegies and odes, as well as of a *masnaví* (book of moral doctrine in verse) entitled *Mihr-ó-Mah* (Sun and Moon). After him, his son displayed eminent genius and a cultivated understanding, and had he lived in the present times, would undoubtedly have been the paragon of the age in poetry. They say that he wrote a history, which was compiled and published under the patronage of Salím

Sháh, but it is not now extant. In later times, just before the present age, the writer's father, Shaikh Saifu-d dín, flourished, who used to bear the literary soubriquet of Saifí, and was distinguished among his contemporaries in Hindústán for the perspicuity of his style and the elegance of his diction. The shock that your humble servant endured on that august individual's demise is ably portrayed in the lines which Amír Khusrú indited, as his father's funeral dirge.

"The sword has passed over my head, and my heart is left split in two;
The running stream has flowed by, and the orphan pearl remains behind." [1]

He owns several treatises on the subject of theology and the Unity of God, and his verses were very numerous, insomuch, that had he been bent on collecting and publishing them, they would have made up a complete *díwán*. The carelessness and indifference of his disposition to the compliments of popularity, however, made him pay no heed to the matter; for his mind was absorbed in the contemplation of eternity and the Unity of God. A few of the events of his life are given at the conclusion of the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, from whence the true scope of his genius can be detected, of which it is otherwise impossible to gain an idea.

Your humble servant's illustrious uncle, too, who owned the literary soubriquet of Shaikh Rizk'u-lla, was one of the wonders of the age, a perfect and upright character, and a follower of the right road. He was also an ardent votary of love and devotion, and wrote some very pleasing things both in Persian and Hindí; his compositions in the latter language having gained considerable celebrity. The *Táríkh-i Wáki'át-i Mushtákí*, containing the adventures of Sultán Bahlol Lodí and others, is also by him; for in Persian he uses the soubriquet of Mushtákí, and in Hindí that of Rágan to write under.

Maulánà Hasan Nakshí, Shaikh Táju-d dín, and Maulánà 'Alí Ahmad Nishání, were also numbered among the sages, poets, and saints of that period (may the mercy of God rest on them all!). Besides these, there were many more learned and talented men, as well as poets, both in this and other cities of Hindústán, a detailed

[1] There is a play on the Persian word *Saif* in this line. The verse may be also translated: "Saif has passed away from my society, and my heart is therefore severed in twain." The term "orphan," as applied to a pearl, signifies a very large and handsome one.

account of whom would lead to prolixity; whereas the object at present in view is to furnish a memoir of those deceased authors only who have left some work or remains behind them, and not to quote merely a host of names and persons.

One of these, who within a very recent period has opened his lips in poetry, and reached the highest standard of literary merit, is Faizí of Ágra, so eminently distinguished for the graceful ease and fervid eloquence of his periods; but, alas! that he should have drawn censure, obloquy, and misfortune on himself through sinking into the abyss of error and infidelity, for now all men of piety and religion, and all friends and supporters of the apostolic faith, refrain from ever uttering his name or speaking of his accursed clique (may the Lord have patience with them, if they be true believers!).

Among the blessings, too, of which the good fortune of people in these times announces glad tidings, as a favour for which it is incumbent on all impartial and liberal characters to return thanks, is the auspicious child, the light of the eye of wisdom and intelligence, Núru-l Hakk, commonly called Mashrikí; for the effulgent luminary of his talent and learning in each of the two paths of literature and erudition has almost reached the zenith of the firmament of excellence and maturity. I feel convinced that if he were to direct his attention to the matter, and, after the manner of the poets of the present age, were to apply his energies night and day to practising composition, and brooding over poetry, he could both imitate and rival the five standard works of Nizámí and of Khusrú. His time and attention, however, being entirely devoted to the departments of science, virtue, and essential religion, they will not admit of his applying himself to poetry after the manner of poets. May the Sublime and Noble Protector preserve the star of his prosperity and good fortune from sinking into obscurity! The beloved child, Muhammad Hásham, likewise, is a good imitator and follower of his brother in the acquisition of science and virtue; and his innate disposition is eminently distinguished for its liberality, soundness and vigour, both in theory and practice, and more especially in the knowledge of the scriptural law, and traditions. May God, the helper of mankind, aid him in attaining his object! ✿ ✿ ✿

(The author then enters into a fabulous dialogue with his pen, at whose urgent request he eventually proceeds to give an account of himself and his writings.)

A brief memoir of your humble servant is contained in the following paragraph: The poet Hakkí, who roams a wanderer over the road of humility and superiority, was a crazy fellow, who, under the influence of companionship with the wise, according to the adage, "Madness delights in the sciences," exerted himself for some time in mastering and acquiring the sciences; but ultimately, in verification of the saying, "The sciences produce madness," finding his capacity unequal to the task, he gave way altogether to madness. o o o

(The pen next requests him to give some particulars of the lives of godly and pious men, to which he replies thus:)

A detailed account of them also is introduced in certain places; the commencement of the narrative being at the conclusion of the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, which contains the memoirs of the *shaikhs* of this country; the middle portion in the *Jazbu-l Kulúb*, which is a history of the glorious city (Medina); and the finale in the *Zádu-l Mutakiyín*, which gives the lives of the *shaikhs* at the two holy shrines. However, I will produce a summary of these particulars in a brief style, as well as some of the things that have not been recorded and set down in that book, in order that by these memiors the main object in view, which is the enumerating and classifying of my writings, may be faithfully accomplished and carried into execution. o o o

(The author next speaks of the progress he made in his studies during his youth, and of his pilgrimage to Mecca, with the immense intellectual profit he gained from it; after which he thus continues:)

The works which are about to be enumerated were all composed subsequently to my return from this auspicious journey, with the exception of the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, the *Adábu-s Sálihín*, and one or two more treatises on grammar and logic, the rough copies of which were written previously, during the period of my education, but were only finally corrected and methodically arranged some time subsequently. Now, after bringing forward the said works, I shall conclude my dissertation; and as a separate treatise on their

names, entitled *Tálíf-i Kalbi-l Alíf-ba-kitábati Fihristi-t Tawálíf*, has been already written, I shall copy them in the same fashion. These books and treatises, moreover, being in different languages, some in Arabic, and a few in Persian, the descriptions of the former have also been given in Arabic, and those of the latter in Persian.

(He then commences a descriptive catalogue of his writings.)

Tárikh-i Salátín-i Hind (History of the Sovereigns of India). The original copy consisted of 3000 verses; but after adding the annals of the princes who ruled in all the various quarters of this country, which had been omitted in the former collection, it amounted to somewhat more than 4000, and became known by the title of *Chronicle of Kings* (*Zikr-i Mulúk*), which is his principal historical work. ✿ ✿ ✿

Risálah Núriyah Sultániyah (The Glorious Imperial Volume), which treats of the regulations of government, its statutes and institutions, the ways and means of its just administration, and the conduct and management of its important affairs, is embellished with the august name[1] of the Emperor of the Time and Monarch of the Age (may the Lord ever keep his kingdom and sovereignty in prosperity, and augment his power and glory!), and consists of nearly 1000 verses. ✿ ✿ ✿

The sixty-second work, *Talabu-n Núr* (Search after Light), describing the incidents of the Lahore journey. ✿ ✿ ✿

[1] The monarch alluded to is the Emperor Núru-d dín Jahángír, son of the Emperor Akbar.

Note C.

INSTITUTES OF JAHANGÍR.[1]

These Institutes have been highly lauded by the Emperor's admirers. Let us see how far he is entitled to praise, either for their original promulgation or personal observance.

First.

I forbad the levy of any duties under the name of *tamghá* and *mír bahrí*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *jágírdárs* of every *súba* and every *sarkár* had been in the habit of exacting on their own account.

Commentary.

This casts an ungenerous reflection on the administration of his father, who had been equally stringent in his prohibitions, both with respect to *tamghá*[2] and *mír bahrí*.[3] Bábar had been equally imperative with regard to *tamghá* from Musulmáns—"Orders have been given that in no city, or town, or road, or street, or passage, or port, should the *tamghá* be levied."[4]

"His Majesty Akbar, from the excess of his beneficence, has remitted duties in this department that equalled the revenues of a kingdom. Nothing is now exacted upon exports and imports, except a trifle taken at the ports, which never exceeds two and a half per

[1] [This is the work of Sir H. M. Elliot. The translations of the Institutes, suprà p. 284, were made independently of those here given.]

[2] Bird's *History of Gujarát*, p. 407.

[3] Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i. pp. 288, 309.

[4] See the enactment at length in Erskine's *Memoirs of Bábar*, pp. 355-7. These perpetual repetitions of the same edicts show either the very weak authority of the original promulgators, or the vain-glory of their descendants, in assuming to themselves credit to which they were not entitled.

cent. Merchants account this reduction a pefect remission."[1] It will be seen from one of the extracts given above that Jahángír's total reduction also implied a levy of two and a half per cent.[2]

"Mukrab Khán (Viceroy of Cambaya, who had no command in Surat except what regarded the King's customs), to get possession of my goods, took what he chose, and left what he pleased, giving me such price as his own barbarous conscience dictated; when thirty-five was agreed, giving me only eighteen."[3]

"All caravans must remain at Multan ten or twelve days, before leave can be procured from the governor to proceed, on purpose that the city may benefit by their stay. We remained five days, and were then glad to get leave to depart, by means of a present."[4]

"I found that the English who were settled at Ahmadábád were injured and oppressed by the governor in their persons and goods, being fined, subjected to arbitrary exactions, and kept as prisoners; while at every town new customs were demanded for their goods on their passage to the port."[5]

Second.

I enjoined that on the line of those roads which were infested by highway robbers, a *saráí* and a *masjid* should be built on the most deserted spots, and that a well should be sunk in order that the country might be reclaimed, and a few people be induced to reside there. Where these occurred on *jágír* lands, the *jágírdárs* were to complete the arrangements at their own expense; but on *khálsa* land, the Government undertook the work.

Commentary.

This was considerate towards the *jágírdárs*, and must have considerably diminished the value of the tenures which in the tenth Institute he says he confirmed to the holders of his father's time. At a later

[1] Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 233.
[2] *Suprà*, pp. 291, 354.
[3] Capt. Hawkins's narrative in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 208.
[4] Journey of R. Steel and J. Crowther, *ib.* p. 521.
[5] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 264.

period, even on the more populous routes, the Government relieved itself of this burden on the *khálsa* lands, and placed it on the shoulders of the unfortunate landholders.[1] This erection of *saráís* must have been proceeded with very generally before his time, for Sher Sháh and Salím Sháh are represented to have done the same at shorter distances than those contemplated by Jahángír.[2]

"Sir R. Shirley remained at Thatta till a fit opportunity offered of proceeding to Agra, where he went at last, finding the way long and tedious, and much infested by thieves."[3]

His father also had directed the same. His orders to the *sipah-sálár* are: "He must give attention to the digging of reservoirs, wells, and watercourses; to the planting of gardens; to the erecting *saráís* and other pious and useful foundations; and see that such as have fallen into decay be repaired."[4]

"In this kingdom there are no inns or houses of entertainment for travellers and strangers. But in the *cities* and *large towns* there are handsome buildings for their reception called *saráís*."[5] These also appear to be the work of private individuals. "Many Hindús devote their fortunes to works of charity, as in building *saráís*, digging wells, or constructing tanks near highways."[6]

The arrangement must have fallen heavily upon the Exchequer if we are to judge of the state of the police as drawn by our travellers. "The country is now so full of thieves and outlaws, that one can hardly stir out of doors in any part of his dominions without a guard, as almost the whole people are in rebellion."[7] "I waited during the remainder of that month for the arrival of a caravan, going from Agra to Srat, by which I might transmit my papers in safety."[8] Of one of the most frequented roads it is said, "Cambaya is thirty-eight *kos* from Ahmadábád, by a road through sands and woods much infested by thieves."[9] "I was plundered on the way of my

[1] Price's *Memoirs*, p. 90.
[2] See Extract from the *Tárikh-i Baddúní*, *sup.* Vol. V.
[3] Capt. Walter Peyton, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 530.
[4] Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 297.
[5] The Rev. E. Terry, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1470.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 1475.
[7] Narrative of William Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 230.
[8] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Col. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 320.
[9] Observations of William Finch, Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 230.

clothes, and everything else about me. * * One may travel as soon from Agra to Scinde as to Surat, but there is more thieving on the Scinde road."[1] Even on the famous high road from Agra to Lahore, which was planted on both sides with mulberry trees, Richard Steel and John Crowther observe: "In the night this road is dangerously infested with thieves, but is quite secure in the day."[2] In such days as those, therefore, *saráis* must have been built, or there could have been no travelling or trade.

Third.

No person shall open any package of merchandize on the road, without express permission of the proprietor. Throughout the empire no officer of Government shall claim the property of any deceased Infidel or Musulmán; his whole estate, real and personal, descending to his heirs solely. If there be no heirs, then officers specially appointed for the purpose shall take charge of the effects, and the produce thereof shall be applied to the building of *saráis*, repairing bridges, and digging tanks and wells.

Commentary.

The descent to heirs is a mere repetition of Tímúr's Institute;[3] but how little it was acted upon may be seen by reference to the history of Jahángír's grandson, Aurangzeb, who again abolishes the same custom of confiscating the estates of deceased subjects, which he says was constantly practised by his *predecessors*.[4]

"Daulat Khán was the chief of the eunuchs of my father's seraglio, and obtained in this employment the title of Náziru-d daula. Of this man I will venture to say, that in the receipt of bribes, and his disregard of every principle of duty, there was not his second in the empire. In specie alone he left at his death no less a sum than ten *krors* of *ashrefies* of five *methkals*, exclusive of

[1] Nicholas Whittington, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 131.
[2] Journey from Ajmír to Ispahan, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 520.
[3] Davy and White, *Institutes of Tímúr*, p. 373.
[4] *Miratu-l 'Alam.*

jewels, etc., to the value of three *krors* more (120 millions sterling!), the whole of which became an accession to my father's treasury."[1]

His father's order was still more liberal. "Let him look after the effects of deceased persons, and give them up to the relations or heirs of such; but if there be none to claim the property let him place it in security, sending at the same time an account of such to Court, so that, when the true heir appears, he may obtain the same. In fine, let him act conscientiously and virtuously in this matter, lest it should be the same here as in the kingdom of Constantinople."[2]

In the towns there appears to have been less scruple about opening packages of merchandize. The inhabitants of Lahore were directed to afford every assistance towards rendering the reception of the Prince as magnificent as possible, by decorating the streets and bazars with gold-woven carpets, figured draperies or tapestry, both European and Chinese, and canopies also of cloth-of-gold, both within and without the city, to the distance of nearly four *kos*. All this the *kotwál* was to keep in readiness for the space of four or five days.[3]

"The custom of the Mogul is to take possession of all the treasure belonging to his nobles when they die, giving among the children what he pleases, but he usually treats them kindly. In my time, Rájá Gaginat, a great lord or prince among the idolators, died, when, his effects being seized to the King's use, besides jewels, silver, and other valuables, his treasure in gold only amounted to sixty *mans*, every *man* being twenty-five pounds weight."[4]

"The preceding night, at the Guzalcan, the jewels of Shaikh Farid, governor of Lahore, who was lately deceased, were presented to him."[5]

"This I supposed to allude to his servant Hergonen, lately dead, whose goods had been seized to the King's use."[6]

[1] Price's *Memoirs*, p. 34. As Daulat Khán died in the seventh year of Jahángír's reign, this enormous property of a deceased Musulmán must have fallen into the son's instead of the father's treasury. See Kewal Rám's *Tazkiratu-l Umará* (MS. fol. 85 v.).

[2] Bird's *History of Gujarát*, p. 403, and Gladwin's *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 302.

[3] Price's *Memoirs*, p. 136.

[4] Narrative by William Hawkins in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 220.

[5] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 283.

[6] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 346.

"No subject of this empire holds any lands by inheritance, neither have they any titles but such as depend on the will of the King. Owing to this, many of the grandees live up fully to the extent of their means. Merchants also, and others, are very careful to conceal their wealth, lest they be made spunges. Some small means of living are allowed by the King to the sons of his great men, which they can never make better, unless they succeed to the favour enjoyed by their fathers." [1]

"The seaports and the customs were full of gross abuses, the governor seizing on goods at arbitrary prices. Even Roe, though otherwise treated with hospitality and respect, had his baggage searched and some articles taken by the governor." [2] His own words are: "We continued there to the 30th October, suffering much vexation from the governor, who forcibly caused search many of our chests and trunks, taking away what he thought fit." [3]

"The Prince had intercepted the presents and goods on their way up, to satisfy his own base and greedy inclinations. * * It is the custom in this country, for the great men to see all merchant goods before even the King, that they may choose first." [4]

"During this interval the King had caused the chests to be privately brought to him, and had opened them." [5] "He opened the cabinet, and sent for the *padre* to read the letter, and to see everything contained in the boxes; but finding nothing to his liking, he returned all." [6]

"I said, that if our goods continued to be taken from us by force, so that we could neither get back our goods, nor yet their value in money, it would be impossible for us to subsist. This was delivered with some heat, and the King, catching at the word *force*, repeated it to his son, whom he sharply reprehended. The Prince promised to see me paid for all that had been taken. He said likewise that he had taken nothing, having only caused the presents to be sealed;

[1] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 414.
[2] Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 323.
[3] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 255.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 327.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 329.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 341.

and, as his officers had received no customs on these, he desired to have them opened in his presence."[1]

"This humiliating personal search was a system favoured by the local authorities, along with an unscrupulous examination into luggage, by means of which they obtained valuable articles at indifferent prices; and their subordinates did not allow such opportunities to escape without the appearance of gold, or what was deemed by them equally substantial. Choice, and taste, and cupidity, were at work on these occasions, and all the older travellers complain of this unhappy means of extortion."[2]

"In one case he seized on a convoy coming to the ambassador from Surat, and consisting of presents intended for himself and his court, together with the property of some merchants who took advantage of the escort: he rummaged the packages himself with childish curiosity; and had recourse to the meanest apologies to appease and cajole Roe, who was much provoked at this disregard of common honesty."[3]

"The collection of *jehat*, which brought in an annual revenue of several *krors* of *dams*, had before been remitted throughout the empire in confirmation of a regulation made by the late Emperor. Jahángír now abolished the *sayerjehat* in Kabul, which produced annually one *krore* and twenty-three *lacs* of *dams*. When the *jehat* was collected, it fell very heavy in Kabul and Kandahar, and the abolition of that tax with the annual remission of the *sayerjehat* were great encouragements for the merchants of Iran and Turan to carry on a trade in those parts that was very advantageous to Hindustan."[4]

Fourth.

No person is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor which occasions inebriety; though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing, and from my eighteenth year until now,

[1] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Voyages*, vol. ix. p. 361.
[2] Briggs's *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 63.
[3] Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 326.
[4] Gladwin, p. 101.

which is my thirty-eighth, have always taken it. In the beginning, when I was devoted to the practice, I used to take from fifteen to twenty cups of double-distilled spirit. By degrees, when this began to have a visible effect upon my constitution, I determined to reduce the quantity till I attained a mean of only six or seven. The times at which I used to indulge in my cups also differed: sometimes it was in the afternoon, sometimes at night, sometimes in the daytime, till I reached my thirtieth year. From that time I have taken wine only at night, and at this present period I drink it solely to promote digestion.[1]

Commentary.

"The religion of the Christians was agreeable to him, chiefly on account of the license which it affords for the use of wine, and the flesh of all kinds of animals. This was the only view which he took of it. That spirit of patience, humility, charity, and temperance, which is the soul of Christianity, was never a subject on which he reflected. With prepossessions founded on such impure motives, did he declare himself openly in favour of the Christians, and violate, without scruple, the law of Mahomet. He drank wine in the face of his whole Court."[2]

"Four or five cases of red wine should be sent as presents to the King and Prince, as never were men more enamoured of that drink as these two, and which they would more highly esteem than all the jewels in Chepeside."[3]

"At the time Hemayun went upon an expedition against Ranna Sanka, he made a vow, that if he gained a victory over the infidels, he would ever after abstain entirely from the use of wine. Shahjehan was determined to excel his grandfather, by making an offering previous to the victory. He accordingly ordered that all the wine in the camp should immediately be started into the river."[4]

"The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them

[1] [See Jahângír's additional statement, *suprâ*, p. 341.]
[2] Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 138.
[3] Sir T. Roe's Travels.
[4] Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 52.

remaining sober, except Sir Thomas and a few other grave personages, who were cautious in their indulgence. Jahángír himself never left off till he dropped asleep, when the lights were extinguished, and the company withdrew. On these occasions he was overflowing with kindness, which increased with the effects of the wine; and once, after talking with great liberality of all religions, he fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight." [1]

"It was more particularly during the night that the King gave himself up to intoxication, in the society of his friends. All the Franks in Agra, that is, all Europeans of whatsoever nation, were allowed free access to the palace. He continued drinking in their company till the return of day; and he abandoned himself, especially, to these midnight debaucheries, at the season which the Mahometans observe as a fast with the most scrupulous exactness. When some of his nation of rather rigid principles happened to be present at these meetings, he compelled them to violate their fast, threatening them, in case of disobedience, with being abandoned to the rage of two lions, who were kept always chained under the windows of his apartments." [2]

"Mocurrab Khan now joining them, was permitted also to mount the elephant, but not till after he had received a wound from one of the Rajpoots. Kidmit Pirest, Jehangir's cup-bearer, scrambled up too, with a bottle and glass, and was crowded into the howdah with the Emperor." [3]

"He then goes into a private room, where for two years I was one of his attendants; and there he drinks five other cups of strong liquor. This done, he chews opium, and, being intoxicated, he goes to sleep." [4]

"So, drinking heartily himself, and commanding others to drink, he and his nobles became as jovial as could be, and of a thousand humours." [5]

[1] Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 325.
[2] Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 139.
[3] Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 81.
[4] Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i.
[5] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Coll. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 290.

"The King returned to the city on the evening of the 25th, having been far gone in wine the night before." [1]

"One day, that Jahángír happened to be recreating himself, attended by the musicians and female dancers of his palace, he exceeded the nine goblets to which he had been restricted by Núr Jahán. The Queen remonstrated, but the Emperor turned a deaf ear to her complaint, and carried his indulgence to the extent of intoxication." [2]

"The very day which he had appointed for dismissing the Queen, Mahábat inquired what he could do to afford him pleasure. 'Give me the Sultaness, and wine,' replied the Emperor. The generous minister refused him both. Wine, on account of his attachment to the law of Mahomet; and the Sultaness, lest she should succeed in destroying that returning reason, with which he had begun to inspire the Mogul." [3]

"He often disappeared in the evening from the palace, and dived into obscure punch-houses, to pass some hours in drinking and talking with the lower sort. Being in the hall of audience accessible to all ranks of men, after the performance of the usual ceremonies, he was often known in his nocturnal excursions. He often desired his companions at the bowl to ask no favours of him, lest Salim, in his cups, might promise what Jahangir, in his sober senses, would not choose to perform. When the liquor began to inflame him, he was rather mad than intoxicated." [4]

"He now took a decided aversion to opium, which had been his constant companion for forty years, and took nothing but the juice of the grape." [5]

"On the 8th I found the King so nearly drunk, that he became entirely so in half an hour, so that I could not have any business with him. . . . . All business being conducted at night, in the *guzalcan*, and then the opportunity is often missed, His Majesty being so frequently overcome by drowsiness proceeding from drunkenness." [6]

[1] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 307; see also p. 321.
[2] Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 146.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 153.
[4] Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 108.
[5] Muhammad Hádí, *Continuation of Memoirs*, Julús 22nd.
[6] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 321.

"Wine-houses, since the days of Akbar, had been tolerated in the capital. The Emperor took a seat near an artisan, who was drinking with great gaiety, and, inspired with the wine, was disposed to indulge his vocal talents. Jahangir was delighted to find himself in such pleasant society. A familiarity was soon established between them, and the artisan was particularly charmed with the liberality of the new guest, who paid the entire score, and made him drink deep."[1]

Fifth.

I declared that no one had a right to take up his abode in the dwelling of any other man. I prohibited magistrates from cutting off the noses and ears of culprits, whatever might have been their offence; and I myself made a vow to heaven that I would not inflict that punishment on any one.

Commentary.

"I then gave orders that the palace of Mohábat Khán should be cleared for the reception of Parwez; the Khán being absent at the time, employed in quelling some disturbances on the frontiers of Kábul, and his family being, by my directions, removed to another place of residence."[2]

This was no new prohibition. It had been issued by his father: "Have a care that no soldiers or others enter in any one's house without his permission." Mutilation was prohibited in the 6th clause of the same edict;[3] and this prohibition does not appear to have had much effect, for he again has to repeat it in the sixth year of his reign.

He did not care so much for the poor man's dwelling, when he chose to burn whole cities. Sir T. Roe says: "Necessity enforced me to remove, as the King had set fire to the whole leshkar at Agimere. The town was burnt, and utterly desolate; and I was in

[1] Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 158.
[2] Price's *Memoirs*, p. 122.
[3] Bird's *History of Gujerat*, pp. 391, 394.

great danger from thieves." Again: "The King caused the town near which he was encamped to be set on fire, appointing a new governor."[1] "The poor forsook the city of Mandu; many more were commanded away by proclamation."[2]

With respect to mutilations. Though noses and ears might not have been cut off, other more barbarous torments were commonly practised; and we are reminded of the Circumcellions, who used to beat their victims to death with huge clubs, *because* Christ had forbidden the use of the sword to St. Peter;[3] and Daulat Rao Sindia, who, on the plea of abstaining from taking the blood of Bráhmans, used to blow them up with rockets.[4]

"I accomplished about this period the suppression of a tribe of robbers, who had long infested the roads about Agra; and whom, getting into my power, I caused to be trampled to death by elephants."[5]

"The sons of Bhagwandas received the rewards of their perfidious deeds, having their heads crushed under the feet of my elephants, and being thus despatched to the hell prepared for them."[6]

He ordered a thief to be trampled to death by an elephant; and, at the culprit's request, allowed him instead to fight with the elephant. Upon being successful, he was rewarded; but for subsequently making his escape, he was hanged.[7]

"The King commanded one of his brother's sons to touch a lion on the head. But he refused it, being afraid; on which the King desired his youngest son to touch the lion, which he did, without receiving any harm. On this the King commanded his nephew to be taken to prison, whence he is never likely again to be released."[8]

"In the most inaccessible parts of Gujarat lived a race of men, known by the name of Kookies, who exercised perpetual depredations and cruelties upon the inhabitants of the open and cultivated

[1] Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. pp. 317, 325.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 335.
[3] Milman, vol. ii. p. 377.
[4] Noble's *Orientalist*, p. 175.
[5] Price's *Memoirs*, p. 34.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 37.
[7] See Extracts from *Memoirs of the eleventh year of the reign* [*Suprà*, p. 346.]
[8] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 275.

districts. The enormities of these people had lately risen to an extraordinary height, when Jahángír issued a sanguinary order for the utter extirpation of the race. Many were slaughtered; the rest hunted to their mountains and deserts."[1]

"Since that time he has caused all the adherents of his son to be put to cruel deaths. While I was at his Court I have seen him do many cruel deeds. Five times a week he orders some of his bravest elephants to fight in his presence, during which men are often killed or grievously wounded by the elephants. If any one be sore hurt, though he might very well chance to recover, he causes him to be thrown into the river, saying, 'Despatch him, for as long as he lives he will continually curse me; wherefore it is better that he die presently.' He delights to see men executed and torn in pieces by elephants."[2]

"This day a gentlewoman was taken in the King's house in some improper act with an eunuch, when another animal of the same kind, who loved her, slew her paramour. The poor woman was set up to the armpits in the ground, with the earth hard rammed round her; being condemned to remain there three days and two nights in that situation, without sustenance, her head and arms being exposed to the violence of the sun. If she survived, she was then to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants."[3]

"Whether owing to ill advice, wine, or some fault of his nature, he often issued very cruel orders. Happening to catch an eunuch kissing one of his women whom he had relinquished, he sentenced the lady to be put into the earth, with only her head left above ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and the eunuch to be cut in pieces before her face."[4]

"The King, however, insisted upon it, and the poor fellow was torn in pieces. Not yet satisfied, but desirous to see more sport, the King sent for ten of his horsemen, who were that night on guard, whom he commanded, one after the other, to buffet with the lion. They were all grievously wounded, and three of them lost their

[1] Mill's *History of British India*, vol. ii. p. 359.
[2] Narrative by William Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 220.
[3] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 278.
[4] *Modern Universal History*, vol. v. p. 399.

lives. The King continued three months in this cruel humour; in which time, merely for his pleasure, many men lost their lives, and many were grievously wounded."[1]

"The 9th of August a band of one hundred robbers were brought in chains before the Great Mogul. Without any ceremony of trial, he ordered them to be carried away for execution, their chief being ordered to be torn in pieces by dogs. The prisoners were sent for execution to several quarters of the city, and executed in the streets. Close by my house the chief was torn in pieces by twelve dogs; and thirteen of his fellows, having their hands and feet tied together, had their necks cut by a sword, yet not quite through, and their naked and bloody bodies were left to corrupt in the streets."[2]

"About four thousand were made prisoners, all of whom, as an example to other wretches who might be disposed to follow in their steps, were, by my command, trampled to death by elephants."[3]

"Seffy sent him forty-four persons who had been active in the late commotions in Gujárat, two of whom were trampled to death by elephants, and the rest committed to prison."[4]

"He sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, executions performed on offenders by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses?*"[5]

"I determined that the perpetrator of this horrible villany should be immediately led to the great plain, where, as an awful example, he was torn piece-meal with red-hot pincers."[6]

"One of his greatest pleasures was, putting to the test the constancy of the Persians newly arrived at his Court. He commonly carried in his girdle a stile, the point of which was particularly acute, with which he pierced the ear of the new comer, at a moment when he was quite unprepared for such a salutation. By his outcries, or by his silence, that is to say, by the impatience or the tranquil resolution which he manifested under the infliction of pain,

[1] Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 220.
[2] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 281.
[3] Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 40.
[4] Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 70.
[5] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 261.
[6] Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 119.

he formed his opinion of the courage of the Persian; and he measured his favours by the result of his experiment."[1]

"On the banks of the Chenab the Emperor received from Zuffer Khán the head of the rebel Ahdad, which was ordered to be placed over the principal gate of Lahoor."[2]

"One of the King's sons, Sultan Shariar, a boy of seven years old, was called by him one day when I was there. Because he had not said that he would go with all his heart along with his Majesty, he was sore beaten by the King, yet did not cry. . . On this his father struck him again, and taking a bodkin, thrust it through his cheek; yet he would not cry, though he bled much."[3]

"Some nobles that were near his person he caused to be whipped in his presence, receiving 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument of torture, having, at the ends of four cords, irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead, he commanded the standers-by to spurn them with their feet, and the door-keepers to break their staves upon them. Thus, cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried away, one of them dying on the spot."[4]

"The next morning Khusro was brought before his father, with a chain fastened from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of Chinghez Khan. On the right hand of the Prince stood Hassan Beg, and on his left Abdulraheem. Khusro trembled and wept. He was ordered into confinement; but the companions of his rebellion were put to death with cruel torments. Hassan Beg was sewed up in a raw hide of an ox, and Abdulraheem in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses, with their faces towards the tail. The ox's hide became so dry and contracted, that before the evening Hassan Beg was suffocated; but the ass's hide being continually moistened with water by the friends of Abdulraheem, he survived the punishment, and afterwards obtained the Emperor's pardon. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahoor, two rows of stakes were fixed in the ground, upon which

[1] Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 140.
[2] Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 79.
[3] Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ix. p. 307.
[4] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 307.

the other rebels were impaled alive; and the unhappy Khusro, mounted on an elephant, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers." [1]

"The story of Seif Alla remains as a monument of his savage justice. The sister of the favourite Sultana had a son by her husband Ibrahim, the Suba of Bengal, who, from his tender years, had been brought up at Court by the Empress, who, having no sons by Jahángír, adopted Seif Alla for her own. The Emperor was fond of the boy; he even often seated him upon his throne. At twelve years of age Alla returned to his father in Bengal. Jahángír gave him a letter to the Suba, with orders to appoint him governor of Burdwan. Alla, after having resided in his government some years, had the misfortune, when he was one day riding on an elephant through the street, to tread by accident a child to death. * * Alla obeyed the Imperial command; but he knew not the intentions of Jahángír, which that prince had locked up in his own breast. The youth encamped with his retinue, the night of his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river; and sent a messenger to announce his coming to the Emperor. Jahángír gave orders for one of his elephants of state to be ready by the dawn of day; and he at the same time directed the parents of the child to attend. He himself was up before it was light, and, having crossed the river, he came to the camp of Alla, and commanded him to be bound. The parents were mounted upon the elephant, and the Emperor ordered the driver to tread the unfortunate young man to death. But the driver, afraid of the resentment of the Sultana, passed over him several times, without giving the elephant the necessary directions. The Emperor, however, by his threats, obliged him at last to execute his orders." [2]

"The cap, or tiara, of the chief, containing jewels to the value of twenty laks of rupees, and ten thousand of the heads of the rebels, fixed on spears, with all the commanders who were taken alive, were conveyed to my presence; Abdullah Khaun remaining in full possession of the subjugated districts. To deter others from the

[1] Gladwin's *History of Jahangir*, p. 9. [*Suprà*, p. 300.]
[2] Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. pp. 110–12.

commission of similar acts of rebellion towards their sovereign, and of ungrateful perfidy towards their benefactor, I directed the bodies of the slain who fell in the defence of Kanouje, to the number of ten thousand, to be suspended from trees with their heads downwards, on the different high roads in the vicinity. And here I am compelled to observe, with whatever regret, that, notwithstanding the frequent and sanguinary executions which have been dealt among the people of Hindûstaun, the number of the turbulent and disaffected never seems to diminish; for what with the examples made during the reign of my father, and subsequently of my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle or by the sword of the executioner, five and six hundred thousand human beings have not, at various periods, fallen victims to this fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence. Ever and anon, in one quarter or another, will some accursed miscreant spring up to unfurl the standard of rebellion; so that in Hindûstaun never has there existed a period of complete repose."[1]

The Kotwal brought a culprit before me, who had been several times mutilated for thieving. On the first occasion his right hand was cut off, then the thumb of his left, then the left ear, then his heels, and at last his nose. On the present occasion I gave him over to be executed by the family of the man whom he had robbed.[2]

"About this time Ahdad and his rebellious Afghans were deserted at Cabul, by Motamad Khán, who made a pyramid of six hundred of their heads. He was rewarded with the title of Lushker Khan."[3]

"On the 1st December I went six cosses to Ramsor, where the King had left the naked bodies of an hundred men, put to death for robbery." "On the 4th I overtook a camel laden with 300 heads, sent from Candahar to the King, the people to whom these heads had belonged having been in rebellion."[4]

"I ordered that his tongue should be cut out, that he should be imprisoned for life, and that he should mess with dog-keepers and sweepers."[5]

[1] Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 128.
[2] *Authentic Memoirs*, twelfth year of the reign.
[3] Gladwin's *History of Jahangir*, p. 29.
[4] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 320.
[5] *Authentic Memoirs*, second year of the reign. [*Suprà*, p. 314.]

"In these circumstances I ordered a camel to be brought to my presence, and sending for Nour-ud-dein Kûly, I told him that the dress of the Hindu, with the valuable chaplet of pearls which encircled his neck, was all his own. But he was to conduct the unhappy man to the outside of the town, where he was to cause his bowels to be cut open, after which he was to be fastened to the side of the camel, and so carried round the camp." [1]

This tendency to cruelty, notwithstanding his asseveration to the contrary, was early exemplified in the career of the Emperor.

"A wakianavess, or intelligencer, and two other servants belonging to Sileem, had formed a conspiracy against his life; in which, being detected, they attempted to make their escape to Sultan Daniel, in the Dekhan; but their flight was soon discovered, and some horsemen being sent in pursuit of them, quickly brought them back. Sileem was so exasperated against them, that, in the fury of his passion, he ordered the wakianavess to be flead, one of the accomplices to be castrated, and the other severely beaten. These cruel punishments, which were executed in his presence, put an end to the conspiracy; neither were there any more desertions. This transaction, in itself sufficiently culpable, was reported to the Emperor with all the exaggeration that malice could invent. The criminals were represented as innocent sufferers; and it was asserted that the Prince commonly practised such barbarities in the paroxysms of inebriation, a vice to which, in common with his two brothers, he was unfortunately very much addicted. Akbar, who possessed a mind fraught with every principle of philanthropy and humanity, was shocked at these accounts of his son's barbarity. He wrote him a letter, in which he severely reprobated his conduct, and said, that not being able himself to see a sheep stripped of its skin without sensations of horror, he was at a loss to conceive how it was possible for his son so far to stifle the common feelings of nature as to suffer a fellow-creature to be flead in his presence." [2]

"The trials are conducted quickly, and the sentences speedily executed; culprits being hanged, beheaded, impaled, torn by dogs,

[1] Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 134.

[2] Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. ix. See also Kâmgâr Khân's *Ma-dsir-i Jahângîri* (MS. fol. 21*r*.).

destroyed by elephants, bitten by serpents, or other devices, according to the nature of the crimes; the executions being generally in the public market-place. The governors of provinces and cities administer justice in a similar manner."[1]

"The disrespectful language in which the son of Khan-i Douraun presumed to express himself, could not be overlooked. I therefore commanded that one side of his head and face should be flayed of the skin, and in that state he was led round the encampment, proclamation being made at the same time, that such was the punishment which awaited those who dared to apply disrespectful language to him who was at once their sovereign and benefactor."[2]

Sixth.

I ordered that the officers of government and *jágírdárs* should not forcibly seize possession of the lands of my subjects, and cultivate them for their own benefit.

Commentary.

"The administration of the country had rapidly declined since Akbar's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical."[3]

"The edict of his father, enjoining the observance of kindness and conciliation towards the cultivators, goes much further than this."[4]

"Bengal, Gujarát, and the Deccan, are likewise full of rebels, so that no one can travel in safety for outlaws: all occasioned by the barbarity of the government, and the cruel exactions made upon the husbandmen, which drive them to rebellion."[5]

"But this observation may serve universally for the whole of this country, that ruin and devastation operates everywhere; for since the property of all has become vested in the King, no person takes

[1] The Rev. E. Terry, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1476.
[2] Price's *Memoirs*, p. 131.
[3] Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 325.
[4] Bird's *History of Gujerat*, p. 394.
[5] Narrative by William Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 230.

care of anything; so that in every place the spoil and devastations of war appear, and nowhere is anything repaired."[1]

"For all the great men live by farming the several governments, in which they all practise every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions."[2]

Seventh.

I prohibited the Government *'ámils* and *jágírdárs* from contracting marriage, without my leave, with any inhabitant of the districts under their control.

Commentary.

This prohibition extended to other cases.

"Khojah Birkadar having married the daughter of Mehabut Khan, unknown to His Majesty, upon the discovery thereof, was ordered to the presence, where he was beaten, and then committed to prison."[3]

"Before his arrival, he betrothed his daughter to a young nobleman named Berkhadar, without first asking the Emperor's leave, as was usual with persons of his high rank. Jahángír was enraged at this apparent defiance: he sent for Berkhadar, and, in one of those fits of brutality which still broke out, he ordered him to be stripped naked, and beaten with thorns in his own presence; and then seized on the dowry he had received from Mahábat, and sequestrated all his other property."[4]

Eighth.

I established hospitals within the chief cities, and appointed physicians to attend upon the sick, and directed that the expense should be defrayed out of the royal treasury.

[1] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 321.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 338.
[3] Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 79. [*Suprà*, p. 396.]
[4] Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 339. See also Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 89.

Commentary.

This is one of the Institutes of his lying ancestor Tímúr, and was, no doubt, as much observed in one instance as the other.[1]

Ninth.

In imitation of my father, I directed that on the 18th of every Rabí'u-l awwal,[2] my birthday, no animal should be killed. There were also two other days of prohibition; viz. Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, on which my father was born, who used to pay that day extraordinary respect, not only because it was dedicated to the Sun, but because the Creation commenced on that day. On which account he also prohibited the killing of animals on Sundays.

Commentary.

Pope Pius V. allowed the inhabitants of Aberdeen the privilege of fishing on Sundays and Fast-days, provided the first fish caught were presented to the Church.

"The fast, which the Mahometans observe so scrupulously, for an entire month, was the subject of his derision. He invited to his table the most conscientious observers of the laws of their religion, and inveigled them into a companionship in his excesses in wine, and in eating prohibited meats. The Casi, and the Imams, who are the doctors of Mahometan law, in vain admonished him, that the use of certain meats was forbidden by the Alcoran. Fatigued with their importunities, he inquired in what religion the use of drinks and food of every species, without distinction, was permitted. The reply was, in that of the Christian religion alone. 'We must then,' he rejoined, 'all turn Christians. Let there be tailors brought to us, to convert our robes into close coats, and our turbans into hats.' At

[1] Davy and White's *Institutes of Timour*, p. 371.

[2] Gladwin translates this differently: "By as many days as he should be years old, commencing with his birth-day." The literal meaning will bear this construction; but it seems an improbable one. [The literal meaning certainly favours Gladwin's rendering. See *supra*, p. 286.]

these words the doctors trembled for their sect. Fear and interest made them hold a less severe language. They all declared that the sovereign was not bound by the precepts of the Alcoran, and that the monarch might, without scruple, use whatever meats and drinks were most agreeable to him." [1]

Tenth.

I gave a general order that the *mansabs* and *jágírs* bestowed by my father should be confirmed to their respective holders, and a short time afterwards I increased the *mansab* of each according to his deserts; thus, the holder of ten was raised to twelve, and so forth. The *ahadís* were raised from ten to fifteen, and the salaries of all the servants of my father were raised from ten to twelve; and the provisions supplied to the ladies of the royal household were raised in the proportion of ten to twelve, and ten to twenty.

Commentary.

"Many Subas were removed from their respective governments into other provinces; some were dismissed to make room for the Emperor's abettors and friends. The deprived governors repaired to Court to restore themselves, by money and intrigue, to their former dignities. Some succeeded in their views; others were reduced to despair, through want of success. The latter began to form treasonable designs to recover the consequence and power which they had lost." [2]

Sir T. Roe would lead us to question this proclaimed liberality. "Having venison of various kinds before him, he gave me half a stag, and said I should see the rest bestowed on his ladies. This was presently cut into four pound pieces, and was sent into the interior apartments, by his young son and two women, in their bare hands, just as if he had been doling out such small fragments to the poor by way of charity." [3]

"Hussein Beg Chan Buduchshe, who had been governor of the

[1] Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 138.
[2] Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 6.
[3] Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 333.

province of Cabul during a considerable part of the former reign, being turned out of his office by the Emperor, was on his way to court."[1]

Eleventh.

The holders of *ayima* and *madad-ma'ásh*, who form an army of persons invoking blessings, I at once confirmed in their holdings. according to the tenor of the *farmáns* held by each; and Mírán Sadr Jahán, one of the *saiyids* of pure descent in Hindústán, who held the high office of Sadr for some time under my father, was directed to look daily after the poor and needy.

Commentary.

Mírán Sadr Jehán had received the same order from Akbar. "His Majesty bestows upon the poor and needy money and necessaries of every kind. Many are allowed daily, monthly, or annual pensions, which they receive regularly, without any delay or deduction."[2]

"The affair required an agreement clear and explicit in all points, and a more formal and authentic confirmation than it now had, by ordinary firmans, which were merely temporary commands, and respected accordingly."[3]

"The prince gave us one day a phirmaund for our good usage, with a grant of privileges, and countermanded all the next by contradictory orders, in which proceedings there was neither honour nor good faith."[4]

Twelfth.

I ordered that all the prisoners in every fort and prison throughout the kingdom should be released.

Commentary.

A very foolish order, and one calculated to bring his father's police system into contempt.

[1] Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 8.
[2] Gladwin's *A'in-i Akbari*, vol. i. pp. 221–225.
[3] Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Coll. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 267.
[4] *Ibid*, vol. ix. p. 359.

Jahángír's sense of sympathy for prisoners was not always so acute.

"The King's manner of hunting is thus:—About the beginning of November he goes from Agra, accompanied by many thousands, and hunts all the country for thirty or forty coss round about, and so continues till the end of March, when the great heats drive him home again. He causes a tract of wood or desert to be encompassed about by chosen men, who contract themselves to a near compass, and whatever is taken in this inclosure is called the King's *sykar* or game, whether *men!* or beasts, and whoever lets aught escape loses his life, unless pardoned by the King. All the beasts thus taken, if man's meat, are sold, and the money given to the poor. If men, they become the King's slaves, and are sent yearly to Cabul, to be bartered for horses and dogs; these being poor, miserable and thievish people, who live in the woods and deserts, differing little from beasts."[1]

Precept and practice were never more forcibly contrasted.

[1] William Finch's Travels, 1611, in Kerr's *Voyages*, vol. viii. p. 294.

Note D.

SHASH FAT'H-I KÁNGRÁ.

This little work was written to show the author's ingenuity in composing, in six different styles, the account of the capture of Kángrá —an instance of *ματαιοτεχνία*[1] which has not often been exceeded. The authorship is doubtful; some attribute it to Ni'amat Khán 'Alí, others to Jalálá Tibátibá. The style, which is very difficult, certainly resembles that of the former, and the vicious redundance of ornament which serves to make him one of the most popular of the modern authors of India, as well as the frequent use of medical phrases, appear at first to convey internal evidence of the fact. It was certainly written after the time of Jahángír, because he is styled *Jinnat-makání*, his honorific title after death; and so far, it might have been written by either author to whom it is ascribed: but I entertain no doubt that it was written by Muhammad Jalálá Tibátibá; not only because the general voice concurs most in this opinion, but because in a common-place book in my possession, which must be at least a hundred years old, amongst other compositions of Jalálá, there are the first and last *Fat'hs* expressly ascribed to him.

He was fully capable of this versatility of style, and was, moreover, a *múnshí* of Sháh Jahán, which would account for his ascribing a conquest to him, individually, in which he had so little real concern. Ni'amat Khán 'Alí, who lived later, would not have had the same reason for flattering a bygone monarch at so much expense of truth.

Jalálá Tibátibá is the author of a history of Sháh Jahán, which will be noticed hereafter. He is also the author of the Persian translation of the *Taukyáti-Kisraviya*, or the Institutes of Khusrú

[1] Id est supervacua artis imitatio.—Quintilian, ii. 20. Where he instances a man who stuck vetches on a needle, and was rewarded by Alexander with a bushel of them —"præmium illo opere dignissimum."

Anúshírwán, translated originally from the Pehlaví into Arabic, and by Jalálá from the Arabic into Persian.[1] This is a very celebrated work in India, and was printed at Calcutta in 1824, and subsequently lithographed at Lucknow.

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SIZE.—Duodecimo, with 11 lines to a page.

It appears therefore that the first is the longest, and the translation of it is given below. Absurd as it may read, it gives but a faint idea of the extravagances of the original. Then follow the beginnings of the other five, in order to show the nature of the different narratives which have been attempted.

[The translation was apparently made by a *munshí*, but has been revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

First Conquest.

Before the agents of the illustrious court of the Supreme Ruler could visit the provinces of the kingdom of creation, and before the recorders of fate could paint anything in the gallery of beginnings; when time and place were not defined, when all things which we now see around us were screened in his designs, like life in bodies, or meaning in words; and when there was a state of perfect solitude, and all things, from the highest heavens to the lowest regions of water and earth, had their forms only in his imagination, the universal physician who has existed from all eternity, that is, the Almighty God, according to His wise dispensation, and with a view to preserve regularity and system, predestined that great and arduous works should be performed by the hands of man, and for this purpose endowed him with exalted

[1] *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, tom. iii. p. 290.

intellect. Certain men He made to surmount certain difficulties, and for each work appointed a time for its accomplishment. When that time comes, all obstacles and difficulties in the way of success are removed, and the key of its easy elucidation is soon found. When the individual whom fortune has made great, is born in this world, all circumstances become subservient to his purposes. That which gives pain to others, affords him delight, and dust produces the effect of collyrium in his eyes. All difficulties vanish of themselves; the dark rust turns for him into a glass, through which he is able to see the world. Through his good fortune the star of prosperity shines over a nation, and the hand of his generosity relieves people from their wants. From his perfection in the knowledge of the doctrine of jurisprudence, with which the Almighty enlightens his mind, he can effect the satisfactory management of his government, can awake people from the slumbers of idleness, and settle all disturbances by his judicious plans. He can rule over the seven climates of the earth, as the soul governs the body; and by his superior wisdom is able even to alter the effect of the revolutions of the heavens upon the affairs of mankind. His pleasure and displeasure, as shown in the government of people, has a much better effect towards perfecting their morals, than the heat of the sun has upon ripening fruit. His justice, severity, liberality, and frugality are more advantageous to the people than the sweet and bitter medicines or the plaister of a physician, or the bleeding instruments of a surgeon to his patients. His anger is as beneficial to the people as the animal heat to the body; and his dissatisfaction, like the bitter precepts of philosophers, gives men the fruits of precaution. The description of his virtues is worthy of forming a preamble to the book of holiness and justice, and the account of his generosity fit to introduce the history of sovereigns. Kings should make his morals their example, and his mode of administration their rule. This may be illustrated by the following brief account.

When under the influence of the fortunate star of Sháh Jahán, a victory was achieved over the Ráná, and the tribes of Jám and Bhárá[1] were subdued in Gujarát by the royal army, the Emperor

[1] By the Jám is meant the chief *Zamíndár* of Súrath in Gujarát; and by Bhárá, the *Zamíndár* of Kach.

Jahángír, who knew every person's worth by only looking at his face, was exceedingly happy to find the Prince possessed of every good and excellent quality, and, from the achievements he had performed, the Emperor had every reason to believe that he would become the most powerful prince of his age. From his excellent manners and good disposition, he found him quite worthy of being his successor; and it was a matter of great satisfaction to him that he had such an accomplished prince for his son. Hence it was that His Majesty, who was equally kind to all, nobles and plebeians, was often heard to speak in public of the high qualities of the Prince. His Majesty always took advice and assistance on all points which seemed difficult and doubtful, a fact which showed to all that there are things in the world which every man is not able to do, and that one key cannot fit every lock. To overcome particular difficulties, men are specially raised up; for every great work is destined to be performed by the exertions of one particular chief.

Since the shaking of the chain of prosperity produces all that is necessary for the accomplishment of any purpose, the Almighty God determined to reveal a wonder from the hidden chambers of secrecy, and effect a miracle by his beneficence in behalf of the Prince, who justly sustains the weight of the successorship of God. This was exemplified in the revolt of Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, who, overcome by excessive pride, and through vain ideas, having lost all his senses, and becoming delirious through the fire of his madness, which burnt up the storehouse of his wits, had altogether eradicated the tree of allegiance by the fingers of insubordination, and having, by his ridiculous fantasies and vile thoughts, made a breach in the fabric of obedience (as Magog in the wall of Alexander), and by the scratching of his bad fortune deformed with his own hand the face of his prosperity, the malignity of his dark fate, owing to the drunkenness of his neglect, made him break the bowl of his good faith. Through his folly he relied upon the precarious shelter of his forts, and exulted in having the hills for his defence, not knowing that the warriors of the royal army were so powerful that, even if he were to flee from water and fire, and to conceal himself under stones, they would easily destroy him with their blazing spears and

blades of good water, as a short-lived spark vánishes to nothing, or a little drop becomes absorbed by the earth. In short, when the Emperor, who by his generosity and kindness had confirmed him in the paternal dominions after the death of his father, had been informed of Súraj Mal's revolt, and that from the excessive bile of his pride he had soured the taste of the honey of his obedience, and through his shortsightedness having thrust his foot beyond his blanket, deserting the highway of loyalty, and entering on the plain of rebellion, had laid his rapacious hands upon some of the *parganas* of the Panjáb; he (the Emperor), according to the wishes of his heart, entrusted the duty also of punishing the rebel to the hands of the Prince, and that ornament of the world, and director of its conquests and administration, in order to display the excellence of his arrangements, gave the command to Rájá Bikramájít, an old, brave, and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne, for whom the Prince had used every endeavour to obtain advancement, the gold of whose friendship, when tried by the touchstone, had turned out pure and red, and who had successfully rendered many services to the Emperor on former occasions, and also in the conquest of the tribes of Jám and Bhárá, just alluded to above, against whom matters had been previously ill-conducted, and for whose present discomfiture the Government was indebted entirely to his exertions and valour. Agreeably to the orders of the Prince, he with a stout heart, experienced judgment, loyal intentions, pure friendship, and great precaution, marched from Gujarát against the rebel, at the head of a considerable army, in order to secure success, on the 12th of Shahriyár, the 13th year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding with the 1st of Sha'bán, A.H. 1027.

Súraj Mal,[1] on receiving the intelligence of his motion towards him, was so overwhelmed with fear that he dared not lay his rapacious hands upon the rich province of Panjáb, which he had intended to plunder. He ran with precipitation towards Pathánkot, and took shelter in the fort of Mau,[2] which is surrounded by hills and

[1] The local traditions and poems universally call Jagat Sing the son of Bású, and to him they ascribe the defeat of the Muhammadan armies.

[2] There are two Ta'lúkas of Mau, upper and lower, *bálá* and *zérí*, in the *pargana* of Núrpúr, to the S.W. of that town, and not far from Pathánkot. In the first are still to be seen the remains of the palace of the Rájás of Núrpúr.

forests, and is reckoned one of the loftiest and strongest forts in the country. From ancient times it had been the capital of the chiefs of that territory, and several times siege was laid to it, but no enemy was ever able to take it. Rájá Bikramájít, at the head of a royal army, soon reached the place, and laid siege to the fort. The refugees offered opposition, but they were soon defeated. About 700 persons on their side, male and female, were killed, many men were taken prisoners, and Súraj Mal himself, with a few others, fled to the fort of Núrpúr, which had been raised by Rájá Bású. This town, before the fort was built, was called Dhamrí, and subsequent to its conquest it was called Núrpúr, after the illustrious name of the Emperor Núru-d dín Jahángír. Bikramájít, having taken possession of the fort of Mau, and having collected his munitions of war, was bent on the destruction of Súraj Mal, and the conquest of Kángrá. With this intention he pursued Súraj Mal without delay; but the fugitive chief, not finding himself able to stand before the mighty torrents of the royal army, and being quite confounded, dared not stop there for a moment, but, before its arrival, fled away at midnight towards the mountains; and having entered the dominions of the Rájá of Chamba, concealed himself in the fort of Tárágarh,[1] which is very ancient, lofty, and strong, and is hemmed in by thick forests and mountains. He was, however, soon besieged there by the royal army. For three days the Rájá led successive attacks upon the fort, and on the fourth day stormed it with all his warriors, who, though they sustained a great loss in killed and wounded, yet bravely, and by the force of their arms, carried everything before them, took possession of the fort, and obliged Súraj Mal to flee. After he had lost more than one thousand men on his side, and a great number had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, he fled from Tárágarh to the Rájá of Chamba, and took refuge in a fort in which the Rájá and his family resided, and here he considered himself fortunate in obtaining a respite of two or three days.

[1] The copies read Isrál, but inquiries in the neighbourhood satisfy me there was no such place, and that we should read Tárágarh. Local tradition represents that Tárágarh held out for twelve years, when the siege was raised; the royal army having surrounded it long enough to eat the fruit of the trees they had planted there.

Bikramájít, after the capture of Tárágarh and the flight of the rebel chief, marched towards the fort of Núrpúr, where he determined upon staying for some days, and then to move from that place with his mighty army, and make at once all the neighbouring places his prey. He soon conquered the forts of Hárá, Pahárí, Thathá, Pakrotá, Súr, and Jawálí, which all lay in the vicinity of Núrpúr, surrounded with jungle, and were all very strong. Having so far succeeded in his undertaking, he determined now to seize Súraj Mal, and take the fort of Kángrá. While he was engaged in making preparations for this purpose, Mádhú Sing, brother of Súraj Mal, taking advantage of the opportunity, raised a rebellion in the same territory; but, through fear of Rájá Bikramájít, he chose to secure himself within the fort of Kotila, between Kángrá and Núrpúr. It is bounded on three sides by a large river; and on the land side, which was as dark and narrow as his own understanding, he fortified it with cannon blazing like the firmament of fire. The prudence of Rájá Bikramájít did not permit of his leaving behind him this new rebel unpunished. With all haste, therefore, he marched towards him, and having reached the place, suddenly laid siege to the fort. The enemy offered a bold resistance, but at last was defeated; and, after much bloodshed, the fort fell into the hands of the royalists. In short, Rájá Bikramájít, having wrested the whole territory from Súraj Mal and his agents, made himself master of it on the part of the Emperor. He removed all the rebel's officers from their different posts, and established his own *thánás*. He gave several *parganas* to the servants of the throne as *jágírs*. The unfortunate Súraj Mal, being properly punished for his insolence and rebellious conduct, and having suffered great loss, reflected now upon his conduct with regret. In a short space of time, so many strong forts had been easily taken, a large number of people had been slain, and many men had been taken prisoners. Being entirely humbled to the dust, and overwhelmed by sorrow and remorse, he was seized by a fatal disease, and soon after died in the fort of the Rájá of Chambá; who, after the rebel's death, wisely saw his safety in acknowledging obedience to the throne. With this conviction he sued Rájá Bikramájít for peace; and, having succeeded in gaining his favour, craved him to obtain the Emperor's forgiveness for his

past misconduct. Rájá Bikramájít called upon him to surrender all the property of Súraj Mal, and to make the most unconditional offer of surrender. The Rájá of Chambá accordingly made over the whole property of Súraj Mal, and Bikramájít despatched all the prize property, under a strong escort, to the Emperor; which, besides other valuables, consisted of fourteen large elephants, and 200 Arab and Turkish horses. Having thus got rid of the rebels, he now proceeded to the conquest of Kángrá.

Immediately on his approaching the fort, he surrounded it with his troops; and although his religion was calculated to make him revolt from such a proceeding, yet, for the sake of his master, he used all his exertions to conquer it. He acted contrary to his creed, of which he was a most devoted adherent, rather than become guilty of disloyalty and ingratitude, and considered the service of his master equal to the service of God; for in this fort there was a temple of Debí, who is one of the greatest goddesses of the Hindús, and to worship which idol people resorted to this place in great numbers from the remotest parts of the country. Rájá Bikramájít was one of the most faithful and obedient servants of the throne. He was attached to the Emperor's interests to such a degree that in promoting them he would fear no danger, and there was nothing too difficult to be surmounted by his bold and daring spirit. Although his ancestors did not possess the title of Rájá, and hereditary honours did not, therefore, inspire any confidence in his character, yet by his own meritorious services he obtained the title of Bikramájít, and the *mansab* or rank of a commander of 5000 horse. Entire power was placed in his hands in the execution of the present command. Indeed, the advantages of obedience and gratitude to a master are incalculably numerous and infinitely great. In short, Bikramájít, having surrounded the fort, ordered intrenchments to be made, and mines to be dug in their proper places. Each officer was appointed to a certain service, and he himself remained to superintend the whole. He led on several gallant attacks upon the fort. The warriors of the royal army fought very bravely with the enemy, and the Rájpúts displayed astonishing feats of valour. The besiegers at last effected a breach in the walls, and forced a passage into the fort. A most sanguinary contest ensued. The brave soldiers of the royal

army shot a great number of their opponents with their arrows, and like lightning opened a dreadful fire on them. The warriors fought so boldly that they rivalled the celebrated Sám and Narímán in feats of chivalry; and the musketeers threw such a shower of balls that the heavens appeared to have hid themselves under the veil of clouds. The whole atmosphere was filled with the smoke of the guns. The arrows of the archers made so many holes in the shields of their antagonists that they resembled the hives of bees; and the breasts of the fighters, from the wounds they received, became as hollow as the scales of a balance. The nooses which the besiegers threw towards the enemy were so strong that they might have drawn down the milky way in the heavens. The musket-balls, which fell at a very great distance and with much velocity, exceeded in number the drops of rain, and the noise of the drums drowned that of thunder. The shouts of triumph and the sounds of the musical instruments reached the heavenly regions, and confounded Jupiter in the fifth heaven. At last the opponents, being entirely defeated, found their safety in flight. Although they had made a vigorous resistance, and showed much intrepidity and courage in defending themselves, yet the brave warriors advanced to the attack with such great impetuosity, and their ardour and zeal were so unremitting, that towards the close of day the gale of victory blew upon the royal standards, and a complete overthrow was given to the enemy, whom their mighty hand compelled to surrender the keys of the fort. Rájá Bikramájít triumphantly entered the fort, appointed trustworthy officers to protect the property which might be found there, and placed *támils* at different stations where they were required. After this signal victory, he made the whole army happy by offering them his thanks, praising them for their valorous deeds, and rewarding every man with goods and cash according to his rank and deserts. He also increased the *mansabs* of those warriors who distinguished themselves in battle. He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the Rájás of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the informa-

tion of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms among the poor and the needy.

(*Having given an account of the conquest of Kángrá, the writer, agreeably to what he before promised, now gives a description of its fort.*)

The fort of Kángrá is very lofty, and stands on a very high hill, Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong; insomuch that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient Rájás, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan Kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720, or the commencement of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín's power, to the year 963, when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindústán, the fort has been besieged no less than fifty-two times by the most powerful kings and rulers, but no one has been able to take it. Fíroz, who was one of the greatest kings of Delhí, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts; for at last he was contented with having an interview with its Rájá, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kulí Khán Turkomán, entitled Khán-i Jahán, Governor of the Province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Panjáb; but, notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. To be successful in such a great and difficult task was beyond all expectation; but Providence has destined a time for all works, at which they must be accomplished; and hence it was that that Emperor, notwithstanding all his efforts, could not obtain its possession. It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahángír, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.

Second Conquest.

At the time when the page of creation was blank, and nothing had yet taken form or shape, the Supreme Wisdom, with a view to preserve regularity and order in the world, fixed the destiny of each man, and deposited the key for unravelling each difficulty in the hands of an individual endowed with suitable talents. A time is fixed for everything, and when that time comes all obstacles are removed. When the man who is destined to perform it is born, and illumines this world by the light of his mind, he finds very easily the way to its efficient performance. This may be illustrated by the following brief account.

As the Emperor Jahángír, according to the general custom, had entrusted the management of the affairs of government to the unerring wisdom of his son Sháh Jahán, this Prince, possessed as he was of a power which could surmount all difficulties, first achieved a very glorious victory over the Ráná; and then, by the instrumentality of his sword, subjugated the tribes of Jám and Bhárá. That the secret designs of the Eternal Wisdom and the mysteries of the heavens might be discovered, and the heavenly light which had adorned the mind of this Prince, who was an honour to the Muhammadan religion, might shine upon all people, it was reported to the Emperor, in these days of his increasing prosperity, that Súraj Mal, who was generously confirmed in the *zamíndárí* of his father Rájá Bású, had, through some vile ideas, raised disturbances in the country, and, under the influence of his declining star, revolted against the throne; and, having exceeded his proper limits, had begun to oppress the people of the *parganas* of the Panjáb by his plundering expeditions. His Majesty being well aware of the superiority of the Prince's talents, was conscious that no difficulty was too great to be surmounted by him, and no enterprise too hazardous to be achieved. * * *

The duty of punishing the new rebel was therefore entrusted to him; that, by the sharp edge of his sword, all disturbances might be quelled. The Prince accordingly resolved to take measures for the accomplishment of this trust, and gave the command to Rájá Bikramájít, who was one of the oldest and most experienced servants of the throne. * * *

Third Conquest.

The Emperor, by the divine guidance, had always in view, to extirpate all the rebels in his dominions, to destroy all infidels root and branch, and to raze all the Pagan temples level with the ground. Endowed with a heavenly power, he devoted all his exertions to the promulgation of the Muhammadan religion; and through the aid of the Almighty God, and by the strength of his sword, he used all his endeavours to enlarge his dominions and promote the fame of the religion of Muhammad. Through fear of his sword, which had the quality of fire, the country of Hindústán, like the Muhammadan faith, received every moment a new splendour. Under his powerful sway the song of Islám was sung anew with a loud voice, and the rose of the principles of religion bloomed and widely spread its fragrance. Under the care of this representative of the Almighty God, Islám got every moment a new lustre; and the bride of his fortune, adorned by the ornaments of his talents, which shone over all the world, appeared every hour with a new show of splendour. Being thus favoured by the grace of God, His Majesty, in the 13th year of his reign, or A.H. 1027, led his victorious arms into the territory of Gujarát. When the distance was travelled over, the bright sun of his glory reflected its rays upon the inhabitants of Ahmadábád, and filled that pleasant and delightful city with the light of justice, generosity, tranquillity, and peace. By his going there he exalted the rank of the place to a height much above the seventh heaven. While he was in this city it was reported to him that Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, from his folly and perverseness, had revolted from obedience, and by his ill-luck and depravity of conduct, having advanced beyond his proper limits, had begun to oppress the people of the *parganas* of the Panjáb. His Majesty, who had just before this learnt the victory achieved by Prince Sháh Jahán over the Ráná, and also of his success in subduing the tribes of Jám and Bhárá, was well convinced of the increasing prosperity of the Prince, and therefore entrusted to him the duty of rooting out the rebellion of Súraj Mal, and taking the fort of Kángrá, a concise account of which shall be given at the end of this book. The Prince accordingly undertook the adventure, and engaged in prepar-

ing his army, which he placed under the command of Rájá Bikramájít, the tree of whose fortune had blossomed under the care of the Prince, who was nourished in the bosom of the kindness of Almighty God, etc., etc.

Fourth Conquest.

The commencement of the 13th year of the Emperor Jahángír's reign was the beginning of the time in which several great victories were destined to be achieved. Every day of this year was as good as the Nau-roz, and every morning as pleasant as that of the great festival of 'Íd, or as happy as hope. Every night appeared as bright as the sun, and as delightful as that called the Lailatu-l Kadr or the night of power. In short, it was a time when the bud of the prosperity of this excellent reign was fully blown. It was in these happy days that the Emperor, having proceeded to Gujarát, adorned the city of Ahmadábád by his presence. While he was there, it was reported to him that Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, whom he had generously confirmed in the *zamíndárí* of his father, had, by his short-sightedness, revolted against the throne, and that, acting upon the dictates of his folly, and deviating from the path of prudence, he had the intention of stretching out his rapacious hand upon the *parganas* of the Panjáb. His Majesty, whose whole efforts were always directed to the extinguishing of the fire of Paganism, and removing the mischief of mutiny and rebellion, immediately ordered the Prince to take measures towards the punishment of the revolter. As, through the guidance of the Supreme God, his attention was always devoted to the extirpation of rebels and infidels, he directed the Prince, who was as wise as Jupiter and as prudent as Mercury, to undertake the capture of the fort of Kángrá, which from its foundation to this time was never approached by any sovereign. The Prince, who had already achieved a victory over the Ráná, and also subdued the tribes of Jám and Bhárá, lost no time, according to the Emperor's orders, in preparing the army, and placed it under the command of Rájá Bikramájít, whom the Prince had kindly exalted to great rank, and who on former occasions had rendered many meritorious services to the throne, and latterly conducted a successful war against the tribes of Jám and Bhárá, etc., etc.

Fifth Conquest.

When, in the 13th year of his reign, the Emperor Jahángír led on his ever successful and victorious arms to the territory of Gujarát, and, having reached the city of Ahmadábád, exalted its rank higher than the ninth heaven by his auspicious arrival, it was reported to him that Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, deviating from the way of prudence, had raised disturbances in the country, revolted against the throne, and having advanced beyond his bounds, had begun to oppress the people of the *parganas* of the Panjáb. The Emperor, who saw from the infancy of the Prince Sháh Jahán, that the light of fortune and greatness beamed forth from his countenance, and that the sun of his prosperity was rising higher and higher every day, was fully confident of the hope that no difficulty was too great to be overcome by his courage, and no enterprize too hazardous to be achieved by his valour. Just before the rebellion of Súraj Mal, a victory was gained by him over the Ráná, and the insurrection of the tribes of Jâm and Bhárá was totally subdued. The duty of punishing this new revolter, and the destruction of the fort of Kángrá, which was so strong that no king was ever able to take it, were also placed under his charge. He was accordingly obliged to turn his attention to this expedition. He gave the command of his army to Rájá Bikramájít, who, by his good luck and the effect of his fortunate star, had rendered him valuable services on all occasions, etc., etc.

Sixth Conquest.

The Emperor, having observed in the Prince those qualities which befit a great monarch, and which indicate the marks of future prosperity, and also being convinced that his praiseworthy character would soon enable him to become a most fortunate and powerful ruler, always took such measures which might show to the people that His Majesty wished to make him his successor, and hence it was that the achievement of every great enterprize was referred to the force of his arms, and the unravelling of each difficult proposition was entrusted to his talents. When a victory had been achieved over the Ráná by the ever-successful army of the Prince, the Emperor Jahángír, in the 13th year of his reign, proceeded to the

province of Gujarát, and the city of Ahmadábád, which is always as delightful as a garden in spring, was adorned by the marks of his footsteps. At this time, and immediately after the Prince had subdued the tribes of Jám and Bhárá, the Emperor received the news of the rebellion of Súraj Mal, and his oppressions over the inhabitants of the *parganas* of the Panjáb. The duty of punishing this new rebel was also entrusted to the Prince, who was at the same time ordered to take the fort of Kángrá, which had long been the object of His Majesty's desire. The Prince, agreeably to the royal mandates, prepared an army, and placed it under the command of Rájá Bikramájít, who had rendered many valuable services to the throne, etc., etc.

Note E.

INTRODUCTION TO FIRISHTA'S HISTORY.

[Firishta's history is preceded by an Introduction, giving, as his translator, General Briggs, has stated, "a rapid and imperfect account of Hindú history previous to the Muhammadan invasion." Sir H. Elliot spoke very disparagingly of this part of the work, and compared it "with the first ten Books of Livy, or Dr. Henry's first volume of the History of Great Britain based on the poems of Ossian."[1] General Briggs made only a partial translation of the Introduction, and evidently held a very low opinion of its value; but notwithstanding this, and the openly expressed condemnation of Sir H. Elliot, a desire has been often felt and expressed for a complete translation. The subject treated of in the Introduction is one of the greatest obscurity, and inquirers who are striving to penetrate the gloom of Hindú antiquity are eager for the smallest ray or spark of light. Firishta deals with it in a very bold and decided manner, nothing doubting; and a perusal of General Briggs's abstract, or a partial examination of the Persian text, might well excite a wish for a perfect translation. The Editor has therefore made the following complete version of all the historical part of the Introduction. If it does not satisfy, it will at least extinguish expectation; and the work will no longer be looked upon as a partially worked mine containing undiscovered or unappreciated gems of light. As a literary production, the work is certainly curious. Scattered Hindú traditions, which the author had gleaned from various sources, are unhesitatingly connected with the teachings of the Kurán and the legendary lore of the *Sháh-náma*: like as in Christendom there have been writers who have striven to bring all history into unison with the Old Testament. Musulmáns and their idolatrous forefathers are persistently represented as lords paramount of Hind, the land of infidels, and as regularly receiving and enforcing payment of tribute. It may be that there are in the account some faint glimmerings of

[1] Suprà, p. 210.

fact, some "synchronisms," as Sir H. Elliot says, "between Persian and Indian heroes;" but whether such are to be found or not, the investigator of Indian history will now no longer be debarred, by ignorance of the Persian language, from a complete investigation of this Muhammadan summary of ancient Hindú history. The translation has been made from General Briggs's lithographed edition, but a MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society has also been used.]

TRANSLATION.

[This Introduction contains an account of the tenets of the people of India, a record of their Ráís, and a description of the rise of the Muhammadan power in that country. At the present time there is no book more extensive and more trustworthy among the Hindús than the *Mahá-bhárat*. This book was translated from Hindí into Persian by Shaikh Abú-l Fazl Faizí, son of Shaikh Mubárak, in the reign of the Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar. It contains more than a hundred thousand couplets. The writer of these lines has undertaken the work of making an abstract of the book, and here gives an epitome of it, so that inquirers may obtain a knowledge of its contents from the beginning to the end. It is no secret that in this country there has been a variety of opinion among philosophers, devotees and doctors as to the creation of the world. Of these various views, thirteen are mentioned in the *Mahá-bhárat*; but no one of the writers has been able to give satisfaction on the subject to an inquiring mind, or to gratify his desires in the smallest degree. (*Couplets.*)

According to the faulty belief of the Hindús, the revolutions of time in this changeful world are marked by four ages—the first is called Sat Yúg; second, Tritá Yúg; third, Dwápar Yúg; fourth, Kalí Yúg. Whenever the Kalí Yúg shall be completed, the Sat Yúg will come round again, and an end will be put to the Kalí Yúg. The affairs of the world have always gone on in this way, and no sign has been given either of its beginning or its end. In one of the books of authority it is related that a person of false and frivolous character once asked the Leader of the Faithful: "Who existed three thousand years before Adam?" His Highness

answered, "Adam!" and as he repeated this three times, the man was silenced, and hung down his head. His Majesty then continued, "If you asked me three thousand times, 'Who was before Adam?' I would still reply 'Adam.'" So the age of the world cannot be ascertained, and the Hindú dogmas upon this point are sheer absurdities. From a saying of one of the old Bráhmans it appears that the world will have an end, and that a day of resurrection is certain. Their most acute and authoritative doctors confirm this doctrine.

The duration of the Sat Yúg was seventeen *lacs* and twenty-eight thousand years (1,728,000). During this age the works of the dwellers in the world were good and righteous. The lowly and the noble, the poor and the rich, never turned aside from the way of truth and rectitude, and from doing the will of God. The natural life of man in this age is said to have been one hundred thousand years. Gracious God, what a statement is this, and what a lifetime! (*Verses.*) The length of the *Tritá Yúg* is twelve *lacs* and ninety-six thousand years (1,296,000). In this age three-fourths of mankind lived in obedience to the law of God, and the natural life of man was ten thousand years. In the third age, Dwápar Yúg, there are eight *lacs* and sixty-four thousand years (864,000). In this age the dwellers in the world were of honest conversation and of upright conduct; and the age of man was one thousand years. But the age of the patriarchs Adam, Noah, and others, was a thousand years, or nearly a thousand years. The people of India aver and maintain that as these patriarchs lived towards the end of the Dwápar Yúg, their lives were of this short duration. The fourth or Kalí Yúg extends to four *lacs* and thirty-two thousand years (432,000). In this age three-fourths of mankind live an unrighteous and discreditable life; and the natural age of man is one hundred years. The duration of each age is ordered in this way: the length of the Kalí Yúg being doubled, gives the duration of the Dwápar Yúg; the years of the Dwápar being augmented by the number of the Kalí Yúg, shows the length of the Tritá Yúg; and the years of the Tritá Yúg being increased in the same way, the duration of the Sat Yúg is found. At the present time, in the year one thousand and fifteen (1015) of the Hijra, the

people of India in their reckoning make the date to be 4684 of the Kalí Yúg. (*Verses.*)

According to the belief of the people of India, the Almighty first created five elements, four of them the familiar (or terrestrial) elements, the fifth being *ákás* or ether. After that he made a person devoid of form, but a concentration of wisdom, who was called Brahmá. According to various accounts, God brought him forth from the void of non-entity into palpable existence, and made him the first means of creation, and the cause of the foundation of the world. The meaning of the word *ákás* in the language of the common people of Hind is heaven (*ásmán*); but the select few deny this, and say that the sages of Hind are not convinced of the existence of a heaven, and that which surrounds the mortal world is air. The planets (*kawákib*) are the celestial forms of departed great men, who, by keeping under their natural desires, and by devout worship, having obtained bright forms and spiritual embodiments, have been made like unto God in their nature and qualities, and move in the most elevated heights, where, in mortal phrase, they are the birds of the world above. Some who have attained to a high degree of perfection have become great stars, and they never return to the world below. Those who are of a lower standard of perfection, having enjoyed, according to their merit, a life in the highest sky, return again to the lower world. So the word *ákás*, as used in the Hindú books, has a variety of meanings; and it seems inexpedient to enter into a long explanation of it here. (*Verses.*)

Brahmá, having by the will of the Creator brought man out of the invisible condition into manifest existence, created four castes — Bráhman, Khatrí, Bais, and Súdra. He appointed the first caste to maintain a holy warfare, to practise austerities, to uphold the laws, and to enforce restrictions. To them he confided the direction of the mortal world. The second class he seated upon the throne of rule and government, and giving to it the sovereignty of the world, he provided for the due government of men. The third caste was appointed to carry on agriculture, trades, and crafts. The fourth caste was created to serve their superiors. By divine direction and holy inspiration, Brahmá brought forth a book about the future and the present life. This book was called *Bed.* Under the guidance

of the Supreme, his active and discriminating intelligence laid down principles for the guidance of all sorts and conditions of men; and having gathered his rules and precepts together in a book, he called it the Sacred Book. Mankind was thus supplied with a controlling power, so that, having a guide before and a guard behind, they might pursue a straight course without deviation. The *Bed* contains a hundred thousand *sloks*. The word *slok* signifies a verse of four *charan* (feet), and a *charan* cannot be of less than one nor of more than twenty-six *achars*. The word *achar* signifies a letter, or a compound letter. The sages of Hind agree that the lifetime of this Wonder of Creation, the author of the book in question, reached one hundred years; but these years were extraordinary ones, for each consisted of three hundred and sixty days, and each day contained four thousand years of the age above referred to, and each night, like the day, contained one thousand Yúgs. The learned Bráhmans of Hind affirm that up to the time when I write this book, several Brahmás have come into the visible world, and have departed into the unseen. I have heard from my Bráhman friends, that the present Brahmá is the one thousand and first; that fifty years and half a day of his life are past, and he has entered into the latter half of his existence. (*Verses.*)

Story-tellers and fabulists relate that, in the latter half of the Dwápar Yúg, there was a Khatrí Rájá at Hastinápúr, in Hindústán, who sat upon the throne of justice, and protected the rights of his people. His name was Rájá Bharat. He was followed by seven descendants in direct succession, who carried on the government, and departed to the other world. The eighth successor of his race was Rájá Kúr. Kúr-khet (or) Thánesar, which is a large city, still bears his name. His descendants were called Kuruvas. After six generations a son was born, who became famous under the name of Chaturburj. He was a great king, and had two sons, one called Dhritaráshtra, the other Pand. Dhritaráshtra was the elder, but he was blind; and so the government and sovereignty devolved upon his younger brother Pand. His power so increased that his sons were called Pándavas, after his name. His sons were five, Judishtar, Bhím-sen, and Arjun, whose mother was named Kuntí; and Nakul and Sahadeo, whose mother was called Mádrí.

Dhritaráshtra had one hundred sons by Gándhárí, who was daughter of the Rájá of Kandahár.[1] The eldest son was Duryodhan. He had another son by a daughter of a corn-merchant, who was named Yúyúchha. These sons were known by the name of Kuruva.

When Pand died, Dhritaráshtra took the kingdom by right of relationship, and his sons shared the honours of royalty with him. Duryodhan, his eldest son, being impressed with the duty and expediency of defending the State against enemies, became suspicious of the Pándavas, and resolved to overthrow them. Dhritaráshtra also, being informed of the hostility of the Pándavas, ordered them to build a residence farther away from the city, and to go and live there; so that a stop might be put to the ill-feeling. Duryodhan directed the architects and workmen to build the roof and walls of that house with lac and pitch, so that a spark might set fire to it, and that no vestige of the Pándavas might be left. The Pándavas got information of this; so, to secure themselves, they one night set their house on fire, and went off along with their mother to the desert. A woman named Bhíl, with her five sons, who had been commissioned by Duryodhan to set the house on fire, was there watching for an opportunity; and on that night she and all her sons were burnt. The spies of Duryodhan, thinking that this woman and her sons were the Pándavas with their mother, and that the Pándavas were all burnt, conveyed the glad intelligence to the Kuruvas, who were greatly rejoiced.

After this catastrophe, the Pándavas, as the translation of the Mahá-bhárat testifies, changed their names and appearances, left their desolated home, and went to the town of Kampilá. There by artifice they married Draupadí, the daughter of the Rájá of Kampilá, and all five brothers had her as their common wife. It was settled that each was to have her for seventy days; and upon this understanding, they lived in peace and unity. Some Hindús maintain that this was unlawful, and explain the fact away: God knows the truth! But the nobility of their character was evident, and the fame of them spread abroad until it reached Duryodhan; who, having made inquiries, ascertained the facts, and that the report of the burn-

[1] This name is written with ق as the modern Kandahar is written, but Gandhárí got her name from the old Gandhára on the Indus.

ing of the Pándavas was untrue. With friendly professions, but selfish designs, he brought them to Hastinápúr. After courteously entertaining them, he divided the hereditary dominions as between brothers. So Indarpat, which is near Old Dehlí, with half the territories, fell to the lot of the Pándavas; and Hastinápúr, with the other half of the territories, remained in the possession of the Kuruvas.

In course of time many of the chief nobles, observing the intelligence and excellent qualities of the Pándavas, entered into their service: outwardly they were loyal to the Kuruvas, but in their hearts they were hostile to them. At this time it came into the mind of Judishtar that he would perform the sacrifice called *Rájasúya*, that being the name given to a large fire which is kindled, into which all kinds of odoriferous things, fruits, grain, etc., are thrown, to be consumed in fire, the mother of the elements; that performing this sacrifice with due ceremony and all the proper observances, he would thus seek for a nearer approach to the deity. One of the requirements of the *Rájasúya* sacrifice is, that the princes of the whole world should assemble and pay homage at the time of its performance. Judishtar accordingly sent out his four brothers in four different directions to effect the conquest of the remainder of the world. Under the favour of the Almighty, this object was in a short time accomplished. The enterprising brothers, under Divine guidance, marched through the world, and brought the reigning monarchs of every country, from Khatai, Rúm, Abyssinia, Arabia, Persia, Turkistán, Máwaráu-n nahr, and all the other regions of the world, with vast treasures, to Indarpat; and having performed the *Rájasúya* sacrifice, accomplished the object of their wishes.

At the sight of all this greatness and glory and power, Duryodhan was unable to contain himself. The fire of envy which was smouldering in his bosom burst forth, and he took counsel with the crafty men of the time. Gambling was then very prevalent. It was resolved to play at *ka'batain* (two dice), which, like back-gammon (*nard*), is a kind of gambling game. It was agreed that Duryodhan should play with Judishtar and his brothers. Accordingly the Pándavas were invited with great ceremony from their capital Indarpat to Hastinápúr. They were entertained sumptuously; and when

they became engrossed in play, the *ka'batain* above mentioned were brought forward. The Pándavas, in the honesty of their hearts, never thought that they were playing against cheats; and having no knowledge of the game of *ka'batain*, they lost wealth, kingdom, and everything. Duryodhan was desirous of ruining them, and kept his mind intent upon the game. The final stake was made. If the Pándavas won, they were to get back all that they had lost; but if they failed, they were to leave their home for twelve years, and, putting on mendicants' attire, were to go out into the wilds, and dwell with the birds and beasts. After the completion of that time, they were to go to some city, and pass one year in seeking for a livelihood, but so that no one should know them. If this condition was not fulfilled, they were to go out once more into the wilds for the same period of time, and undergo all the same hardships. They played again, the dice were against them, and they lost. So, in fulfilment of the wager, the five brothers expatriated themselves, and dwelt for twelve years in the wilderness. In the thirteenth year they proceeded to the country of Wáín,[1] which is one of the districts of the Dakhin. There they passed a year in such a way that, although Duryodhan made active search and inquiry, they were not discovered.

At the termination of the prescribed period, they sent Kishan, son of Básdeo, as an ambassador to demand the restoration of their country. Duryodhan complained about the condition not having been fulfilled; and as he had no honesty of character, he failed to carry out the agreement. The affairs of the Pándavas became known to the nobles of the country, and war was resolved upon. The Pándavas assembled their forces, and the rival armies met in the field of Kúr-khet, which is situated near Thánesar, in the early years of the Kalí Yúg. The opposing armies were drawn out in array according to the rules of warfare, and a battle began, which lasted for eighteen days, when the victors could not be distinguished from the vanquished. But the career of the wicked ends in shame, so at length Duryodhan and his allies were overpowered, and fell upon the field of battle. According to the belief of the Hindús,

[1] A town on the banks of the Krishna, near the fort of Pandu-garh, twenty miles north of Sattara.—*Briggs.*

there were in this battle eleven *kushúns* on the side of the Kuruvas, and seven *kushúns* on the part of the Pándavas. *Kushún*[1] is a word used by the Hindús for twenty-one thousand six hundred and seventy (21,670) elephant-riders, an equal number of chariot riders, sixty-five thousand six hundred (65,600) horsemen, and one *lac* nine thousand six hundred and fifty (109,650) infantry. It is said that not more than twelve men of both sides were left alive. Four persons survived of the army of Duryodhan: first, Kripa Áchárj Bráhman, the preceptor of both parties, who was both a man of the sword and a man of the pen; second, Ashwatthámán, son of the sage Dron, who also had been a preceptor of both parties; third, Kiratu Varmán, of the race of the Yádavas; fourth, Sanji, who was distinguished at the Court of Dhritaráshtra for his wisdom. Of the Pándavas, eight men survived: Judhishtar and the rest of the five brothers; the sixth was Sának, of the tribe of the Yádavas, who was renowned for his bravery; seventh, Jujutash,[2] the half-brother of Duryodhan; eighth, Kishan, the blazon of whose fame is beyond description, but some little will be written about him.

Kishan was born at Mathurá. There are various opinions about him current among the Hindús. Some stigmatize him as the greatest rogue in the world, and the most artful cheat of all the sons of Adam. Some believe that he was a prophet, others raise him to divinity. It is well known that the astrologers, having obtained fore-knowledge of his graceless character from his horoscope, gave information to Rájá Kans, the chief of the Yádavas; and he issued an order for putting Kishan to death. Kishan passed eleven years in the house of Nand, who was by occupation a milk-seller and cow-herd. At length, by tricks and stratagems and magic, Kishan killed Rájá Kans, and gave the name of king to Ugrasen, father of Kans. He himself was openly carrying on the government. By degrees,

[1] *Kushún*, as used in Persian, is, as Firishta says, a word of Hindú origin, being an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *Akshauhint*. The copies vary as to the numbers. The published text has been followed here; but it is not quite accurate, as, according to Sanskrit authorities, the *akshauhint* consisted of 21,870 elephants, 21,870 chariots, 65,610 horse, and 109,350 foot, making a grand total of 218,700. As Briggs observes, these numbers are quite incredible. He proposes to reduce them by "the sacred and mystical figure" 9, which divides them without a fraction. But the reason for this process seems insufficient, and his method of applying it is unintelligible.

[2] Or, as called above, "Yúyúcha."

and with the aid of deception and impostures, he set up a claim to divinity, and large numbers of people put faith in his absurd pretension. For thirty-two years after his departure from the house of Nand, he passed his life among the libertines of Mathurá, and his wonderful pranks and actions are notorious. Rájá Jarásandh, of the country of Bihár and Patna, marched against Mathurá with a large force to overthrow him. Another Rájá also, called Kál Yavan, of the race of the Mlechhas, that is to say, a race that did not follow the Hindú religion, came up from the west to attack him. It is said that this Rájá came from Arabia ('Arabistán). Krishna was not able to withstand the attack of these two Rájás, so he fled to Dwáraká, which is on the sea-shore, one hundred *kos* from Ahmadábád in Gujarát. There he fortified himself, and continued to dwell there for seventy-eight years. He strove for his deliverance, but without effect, until he had attained his one hundred and twenty-fifth year, when, through the malice of Gandhárí, the mother of Duryodhan, he was treacherously killed. It is the belief of some that he withdrew into retirement, and that he is still alive.

The cause of Gandhárí's hatred was very curious, so I will record it. The story runs, that when the time drew near for Gandhárí to give birth to a child, she reflected that, as her husband Dhritaráshtra was blind, and would never see his child, she also, to sympathize with her husband, would keep her eyes from the child in this world. So on the day that Duryodhan was born, she bound up her eyes, and kept them so bound for many years, until her son Duryodhan grew up, and went to war with the Pándavas. When the forces were assembled, and the opposing armies drew near for battle, on the day before the fight, she said to her son, "Oh light of my eyes! the eyes of parents are to the person of their son a sure protection and defence against all troubles and calamities. To-morrow the battle will begin, and as your tender body is not defended with this armour, I am fearful lest some evil should befall thee. Therefore come naked before me, so that I may uncover my eyes, and look upon your figure." Duryodhan asked how he should attend upon her, and she replied, "My son, there is no one in the world like unto the Pándavas in intelligence, wisdom, excellence, truth, and integrity; — hasten to them, and make inquiry." Duryodhan went

alone to the Pándavas, and told them the reason of his coming. They showed him the greatest hospitality, and, although they knew that there was the most violent animosity between them, they never let the thread of rectitude slip from their hands, but spoke out with sincerity, and said, "The child comes naked from his mother's womb, and the eyes of his parents fall upon him first in that state. As this is the first time your mother will have seen you, to-day is as the first day of your existence; therefore it is right that you should strip yourself naked, and so go into the presence of your mother, so that her eyes may behold the whole of your person, and preserve it from dangers." Duryodhan took leave, and started to return. On the way he was met by Kishan, who asked him what was the reason of his coming alone into the army of his enemies. Duryodhan informed him. Kishan said to himself, "What a pity! if he acts upon the advice of the Pándavas, his body will become as brass; no weapon will take effect upon it, and he will prevail over us." So he laughed loudly, and deceitfully said, "O simple man, they who seek the advice of their enemies, and follow the course which they prescribe, will assuredly fall into the pit of destruction. They have been making sport of you. When you were born, your members were small and mean; but you are grown large and vigorous,[1] how can you show yourself to your mother without shame! When Duryodhan heard this, unsuspicious of deception, he seized the garment of Kishan, and said, "What the Pándavas told me was true; but I will throw belts with long ends over my shoulder, so that the privy parts of my person may be covered." Duryodhan did so, and went before his mother, and said, "Behold, here I am: uncover your eyes." His mother, believing him to have been instructed by the Pándavas, and being assured that they had not spoken improperly, uncovered her eyes. When she perceived the sword-belt, she uttered a cry, and fell down in a swoon. Upon recovering her senses, she wept bitterly, and said, "O my son! did the Pándavas tell you to adopt this trick of the sword-belt?" And he told her that Kishan had advised it. Gandhárí raised her hands in prayer, and in deep affliction cursed Kishan. Then, wringing her hands in sorrow, she said, "O my son! in the very place which

[1] The language of the text is much more explicit.

thou hast hidden from my eyes shalt thou receive a wound, which shall prove thy death." Kishan, as above stated, died after great suffering.

Judishtar, upon the death of Duryodhan, and the extermination of the Kuruvas, was established in the sovereignty of Hind and other places, and ruled as monarch. Thirty-six years after this event, he, under divine guidance, became convinced of the emptiness and instability of this world; so, before entering into the future state, he gave up the vanities of the world, and along with his four brothers retired into seclusion, and at length departed this life.

The Kuruvas and the Pándavas reigned together for seventy-six years. Duryodhan reigned alone for thirteen years, and after the termination of the war, Judishtar reigned over the whole world for thirty-six years, making altogether one hundred and twenty-five years as the duration of their supremacy. Gracious God, what a marvellous and out-of-the-way story is this! In no history throughout the world, excepting in Hindústán, is such a circumstance to be found.

Old historians have recorded that in later days, after two breaks, the son of a son of Arjun was born, and he, having ascended the throne, carried on the government with justice and clemency; and making the events of the past the monitors of the future, he acted in obedience to the will of God. One day it came into his mind to inquire what was the cause of the dissensions of his predecessors, and what were the facts of the war between them. He made inquiries of a learned man of the age named Bhisham Báín (Vaisampáyana), and Bhisham told him that his preceptor, the sage Byás, had witnessed the various events, and was minutely acquainted with their causes; so he had better make inquiries of him. The King showed the sage Byás every princely courtesy, and sought from him the information which he desired. Byás, through the weakness of old age and spiritual pre-occupation, had given up talking; but he slowly reduced to writing this story with its precepts and counsels, and formed it into a book. He called the work Mahábhárat, the signification of which name, as I have heard from common report, is, that *mahá* means great, and *bhárat* war; for as the book commemorates the great wars, he gave it the name of

Mahá-bhárat. But there is an objection to this, because *bhárat* in the language of Hind does not mean "war." The book records the history of the race descended from a famous king named Bharat, and so apparently the book is named after him, the letter *a* having been lengthened by use—but God knows! This Byás is considered to be an emanation of the Divine Spirit, and it is believed that he is still alive. Some Hindús affirm that a person named Byás appears in every Dwápar Yúg to record the events which occur among mankind; but others believe that he is a person who makes his appearance in time of war.

It is admitted by common consent that Byás compiled the Bed, which was delivered by the tongue of Brahmá, and arranged it in four books. 1. Rig Bed. 2. Jajur Bed. 3. Sám Bed. 4. Atharban Bed. It was by doing this he got the name of Byás, because the meaning of that word is compiler or arranger. His original name, as it was known in the middle of the Doáb, was Dadí Báin (Dwaipáyana). Wonderful and incredible stories are related about this Byás; but, fearing to be prolix, I have not repeated them. This wonderful book consists of sixty *lacs* (6,000,000) of *sloks*. After its completion, he (Byás) repaired to the banks of the Sarsuti, near Thánesar, and his labours being ended, he there prepared a great feast, to which he invited the learned from all parts and quarters of the world. The festival was kept up for a lengthened period, and he enriched the people with valuable gifts. The sixty *lacs* of *sloks* are divided as follows: Thirty *lacs* were allotted to the *deotás*, who are heavenly spirits or divinities. Fifteen *lacs* were assigned to the inhabitants of the *Satar-lok* (*Satya-loka*), who dwell in the world above. Fourteen *lacs* were appropriated to the *Gandharbs*, one of the varieties of created beings endued with the property of life. One *lac* he left for the benefit of mankind. This he divided into eighteen *parbs* (*parvvas*) or books, for the benefit of men of merit. This one *lac* of *sloks* is still extant among men, and is known by the name of *Mahá-bhárat*. Twenty-four thousand *sloks* are occupied with the wars of the Kuruvas and Pándavas; the remainder consists of precepts, homilies, apologues, stories, explanations, and details of the dissensions and wars of former generations. The Bráhmans believe that a prophet or apostle in each Yúg writes a book, and

that, notwithstanding the long periods of time which have elapsed, these works are still extant.

The infidels of Khatá, Khutan (Tartary), Chín, and Hind deny that the deluge of Noah reached their country, or rather they have no belief at all in the deluge. It is the belief of some (Hindús) that the Bráhman and Khatrí castes have existed from the most ancient times. There are many other castes which came into existence at the end of the Dwápar Yúg or third age, and the beginning of the Kalí Yúg or fourth age. Thus the Rájpúts were not known at first, but sprang into existence in later times. After the death of Rájá Bikramájít Khatrí, who lived 1600 and some years before the time in which I write, they (the Rájpúts) attained the sovereign power, and the manner of their gaining it is thus related: According to a custom which is still prevalent, the *ráis* of the Khatrís make their damsels wait upon them during the day, but give them liberty to do as they please at night; so each fair one chooses whom she will, and gives birth to children. These are brought up with great care, and are looked upon as the children of the great *ráis*. As sons of the house, they consider themselves as of noble birth, and call themselves sons of the Rájás. If you ask one of them whose son he is, he will tell you he is a Rájpút, that is, son of a Rájá; for *Raj* means the same as Rájá, and *pút* signifies "son." It is related that the sons of Rájá Súraj, whose history will be told subsequently, were called Rájpúts.

Another article of faith among the Hindús is that Adam[1] formed of earth has existed from the beginning of creation, and will continue to exist hereafter. The world is ancient (*kadím*), and will never pass away. But it is no secret to men of wisdom and perspicacity, that although from the beginning of creation, a period supposed to be 800,000 years, it may be that as many thousands of Adams have appeared on the face of the earth, they have all passed away behind the curtain of oblivion. Ján bin Abú-l Ján, whose history is recorded in the Holy Book, is the only exception; but he was not born of the earth. Some were formed of air, some of fire; but the race was always given to disobedience and rebellion, and

[1] The word used is "Adam," but it seems to be used here both for Adam and mankind in general.

under the behests of the God of vengeance, they were destroyed. Another race sprang up, who were not formed of earth. It appears indeed that the Hindús supposed these beings to be men formed of the dust; but how can this be? For the statements they make about the magnitude of their bodies and the length of their lives, and the wonderful and miraculous powers which they attribute to Rám, Lakhman, and others, are inappropriate to the nature of man. All this is mere talk and sound, and is of no weight in the balance of intelligence. If by accident there are any such, they must belong to that class of which mention has been made. Before Abú-l Bashar (the father of mankind), there was no Adam of earthy extraction; and from the time of Adam to the time when I write, not more than 7000 years have passed. So what the Hindús say about hundreds of thousands is all extravagance, and mere falsehood. The truth is, that the country of Hindústán, like other parts of the habitable world, was populated by the descendants of Adam, and the explanation of the matter is this: After the deluge, the Patriarch Noah, under the orders of the Creator of heaven and earth, sent his sons Sám (Shem), Japhet, and Ham into different parts of the world, and directed them to engage in agriculture.

History of the sons of Noah.—Sám was the eldest son and representative of Noah. He begat nine sons.[1] Arshad, Arfakhshad, Kai, Núd, Yúd, Aram, Kabta, A'ád, Kahtán, were their names. All the tribes of the Arabs and their congeners draw their descent from them. So the patriarchs Húd and Sálih and Abraham sprang from Arfakhshad. The second son of Arfakhshad was Kayúmars, great ancestor of the Kings of Persia. He had six sons, Siyámak, Fárs, 'Irák, Túz, Shám, and Damaghán. Of these Siyámak was the successor of his father. The other sons separated, and they gave their names to the countries in which they severally settled. Some men believe that one of the sons (*pisar*) of Noah was named 'Ajam, and that the country of 'Ajam takes its name from his descendants. The eldest son of Siyámak was named Hoshang, from whom the Kings of Persia down to Yazdajird and Shahriyár all descended.

The children of Yáfat.—In obedience to the command of his father, Yáfat went towards the east and north. There children were born

[1] Genesis x. 22.

to him. His eldest son was named Turk, and all the races of the Turks, the Mughals, Uzbeks, Chaghatáis, Turkomans of Irán and Armenia, are all descended from him. Yáfat's second son was named Chín, and from him the country of China was named. The third son of Yáfat was Árdes, whose descendants settled all the north country to the extreme regions of darkness: the Tájíks and the people of Ghor and Sclavonia sprang from him.

Account of the descendants of Hám, with a brief description of the settlement of Hindústán.—Hám, under his father's command, went southwards, and engaged actively in settling that country. Six sons were born to him, named Hind, Sind, Jash, Afranj, Hurmuz and Búyah. The countries of the south received their names from them. Hind, the eldest son of Hám, went to that country, which from him received the name of Hind, and employed himself in settling the country. His brother Sind settled in Sind, where he built the cities of Thattá and Multán, which received their names from his sons' names. Hind had four sons—1. Púrb; 2. Bang; 3. Dakhin; 4. Nahrwál; and they populated the countries which are known by their names. Dakhin, the son of Hind, had three sons, among whom he divided the territories of the Dakhin. Their names were Mahrát, Kanhar and Tilang; and these three races are still extant in the Dakhin. Nahrwál also had three sons, Bahroj, Kambáj and Málráj;[1] whose names he gave to cities which he founded. Bang also had sons by whom the country of Bengal was peopled. Púrb, who was the eldest son of Hind, had forty-two sons, and in a short time their progeny became numerous. They raised one of their number to be their ruler, and he exerted himself in bringing his country into order. His name was Kishan.

History of the reign of Kishan.—It must not be concealed that the first person who ascended the throne of royalty in Hind was Kishan. He was not the celebrated Kishan about whom the marvellous stories are told, wonderful adventures are related, and to whom a divine origin is attributed. This Kishan was wise, learned, brave and generous. He was of gigantic form, and unable to ride; so, after mature reflection, he gave directions for catching elephants and other wild beasts in snares. His plans having succeeded, he had animals

[1] Broach, Kambay, and — ?

on which he could ride. During his reign a person named Bráhman, descended from Bang, the son of Hind, made his appearance. He was very wise and intelligent, and Kishan made him his minister. Many crafts, such as carpentry and working in iron, sprang from his intelligence; and some maintain that writing and reading also derived their origin from him. In those days the city of Oudh was built, which was the first city established in India. Kishan was cotemporary with Tahmúrasp, and he lived more than four hundred years. During his reign nearly two thousand towns and villages were built. He left thirty-seven sons, the eldest of whom, Mahá Ráj, succeeded him.

History of Mahá Ráj, son of Kishan.—With the assent of the chiefs of the tribe and of his brothers, Mahá Ráj ascended the throne; and he was more active even than his father in settling the country, and in establishing a government. The men who descended from Púrb he appointed to the duties of rule and government; and to those who descended from Bráhman he allotted the duties of acting as ministers and clerks and the sciences of astrology and medicine. One tribe he appointed to carry on trade and agriculture, another he directed to practise all sorts of crafts and trades. He also busied himself in the spread of agriculture, so that he brought many distant parts of Hindústán under cultivation, and founded many cities. In these cities he settled men of knowledge and character, whom he gathered together from all parts. He also built many temples and colleges, and assigned the revenues of the lands near to them as endowments. The *sannyásís* and *jogís* and *bráhmans* were engaged in teaching, doing good, and in scientific pursuits. His reign lasted seven hundred years. The kingdom of India reached a high degree of prosperity and glory, and vied with the empire of Jamshíd and Farídún. To secure the stability of the government, and to promote the happiness of his soldiers and people, he made excellent laws and regulations, some of which are acted upon to the present day. He gave to each tribe a distinctive name, such as we now find in the Ráhtors, Chauháns, Powárs and the like. He kept up friendly relations with the Kings of Irán. But one of his brother's sons being offended with him, went to Farídún, and that monarch sent Gurshasp, son of Atrúd, with a valiant army, to

assist the fugitive. So Gurshasp marched to Hindústán, and inflicted great evil on the country, ravaging and devastating it for the space of ten years. Mahá Ráj gave his nephew a portion of territory, and so satisfied him. He also sent a rich tribute by Gurshasp to Farídún. Towards the end of his reign, the *zamíndárs* of Singaldíp (Ceylon) and Karnátak came up with their forces, and expelled Sheo Rái, the ruler of the Dakhin. He came to seek assistance of Mahá Ráj, who sent his eldest son with a large army and mighty elephants along with Sheo Rái. The *zamíndárs* of the Dakhin united, and having collected a large and powerful force, made ready for battle. A terrible conflict ensued, in which the son of Mahá Ráj was killed, all the baggage and elephants were lost, and Sheo Rái, with his auxiliary army, fled wounded and defeated. At the news of this defeat, Mahá Ráj writhed like a snake, and bit his hands with vexation; for up to that time none of the *zamíndárs* of distant lands, such as the Rájá of Tilang,[1] Pegu and Malabar, had ventured upon disobedience or rebellion.

About this time Sám Narímán,[2] under the orders of the King of Írán, marched to invade Hindústán, and came up to the Panjáb. The commander-in-chief, Mál Chand, with the flower of the army of Hindústán, went to oppose him; but he was not able to arrest his progress. Being compelled to treat, Mál Chand sent clever envoys with gold and jewels and elephants, and made peace by ceding the Panjáb to Sám Narímán. Some writers maintain that from the reign of Farídún the Panjáb was held by the Kings of 'Ajam, and that the descendants of Gurshasp, among whom were Rustam and his ancestors, held the Panjáb, Kábul and Zábul, Sind and Nímroz in *jágír*. Mál Chand was a distinguished general, and the country of Málwá derived its name from him. After returning to Mahá Ráj, he marched without delay in great force against the Dakhin. As soon as the enemy heard of his approach, their hearts sank, and they

[1] The original words are, "*zamíndárán-i jazáir-i dúr dast misl rájá-i Tilang*," etc. Briggs's translation is: "The islands of Acheen and Malacca and Pegu." Malacca is clearly an error for Tilang; but some warrant may be found for "the islands of Acheen" in the words, "*jazáir-i dúr*," which mean literally "distant islands"; but the following words, "such as Tilang, Pegu, and Malabar," show that the word *jazáir* is not used literally.

[2] Grandfather of Rustam.

dispersed. Mál Chand so used the sword of retribution upon them, that not a vestige of them was left. He placed garrisons in several places, and on his march he founded the forts of Gwálior and Bayána. Mál Chand brought back with him from Telingána and the Dakhin the sciences of singing and music. He spent much of his time at the fort of Gwálior, and there he had many children by the singers whom he had brought back with him;—so music flourished in that country. After seven hundred years, Mahá Ráj died, leaving fourteen sons, and he was succeeded by the eldest, Keshú Ráj, who took his seat upon the glorious throne of Hindústán.

History of Keshú Ráj, son of Mahá Ráj.—At the very beginning of his reign, he sent his brothers (on service) in various directions while he marched by way of Kálpí to Gondwára. Then he pursued his course to the Dakhin, and rode as far as the boundaries of Singaldíp. There he exacted tribute from the rebellious *ráís*, and exerted himself in bringing the various tribes into subjection. On his return, the *zamíndárs* of the Dakhin leagued together, and raised the banner of hostility. Day by day their forces increased, till they became powerful enough to threaten Keshú Ráj. Finding himself unable to resist, Keshú Ráj made peace, and returned home. He sent letters and many gifts to Minuchihr, and begged for his aid. Minuchihr then sent Sám Narímán with a powerful army. Keshú Ráj went to Jálandhar to meet his ally, and after having entertained him, marched with him towards the Dakhin. The *ráís* of the Dakhin were dismayed at the approach of the army of Írán, and so that country came back into the possession of the Rájá of Hind. Keshú Ráj showed every attention to Sám Narímán, and accompanied him homewards to the borders of the Panjáb. Then he sent presents and rarities to Minuchihr, and went to dwell in the city of Oudh. There he spread the protection of his justice over the realm of Hind, and secured the happiness of his people. After he had reigned two hundred and twenty years he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

History of Fíroz Rái,[1] *son of Keshú Ráj.*—Fíroz Rái was well versed in the Hindú *shástras* or sacred books. He was fond of the society of learned and religious men, and took no thought of riding

[1] Briggs's translation calls him "Munere Ray."

or warfare. He devoted himself entirely to religious men, and bestowed much money on the poor. He went twice to the city of Bihár, and there dispensed large sums in charity. The city of Munír was built in his reign. One very improper action of which he was guilty was this: When, through the death of Sám Narímán, weakness fell upon the government of Minuchihr, Afrásiyáb, seizing the opportunity, raised a force against him, and defeated him. Fíroz Rái, then, throwing aside his obligations to Minuchihr and Sám Narímán, marched an army to the Panjáb, and wrested that country from the possession of Zál,[1] son of Sám Narímán. He then made Jálandhar his capital, and sent an ambassador with presents to wait upon Afrásiyáb, and to enrol himself among the numbers of his tributaries. The Panjáb remained in the possession of the *ráis* of Hind, until the reign of Kai-kubád. When Rustam, son of Dastán,[1] the champion of the world, had won the fame of a hero by his own deeds, he marched to recover the Panjáb. Fíroz Rái was unable to resist his attack, so he fled to the hills of Tirhút. Rustam having taken Sind, Multán, and the Panjáb, set off towards Tirhút. Then Fíroz Rái, in the greatest fear, fled by way of the desert to the hills of Jhárkand and Gondwára. He never saw another happy day, but died soon afterwards, having reigned five hundred and thirty-seven years.

Account of Rustam's bestowing the sovereignty of Hind upon Súraj.—They say that when intelligence of the death of Fíroz Rái reached Rustam, son of Dastán, the dishonesty and faithlessness of the deceased Rái made him averse to permitting any one of his sons to succeed to the throne. Accordingly he raised to the regal dignity one of the chiefs of Hind, named Súraj, who had been early in making his submission. Rustam then returned to Irán. Súraj established his authority, and became a powerful King. From the shores of the sea (*daryá*) of Bengal to the confines of the Dakhin, his governors and officers sat (in authority). He was very active in promoting the erection of buildings and the spread of agriculture. During his reign, a Brahman came from the hills of Jhárkand to wait upon him, and as he was deeply versed in the occult sciences and magic, he obtained a complete ascendancy over the mind of Súraj, and converted him to idolatry.

[1] Zál and Dastán are names of the same person, the father of Rustam.

Establishment of Idolatry. — They say that Hind obéyed and worshipped the true God, as he had seen and heard of his father Hám, the son of Noah. His descendants, generation after generation, pursued the same course. At length, in the reign of Mahá Ráj, a person came from Irán, who inculcated the worship of the Sun. That worship spread widely, and some men became worshippers of the stars, others of fire. But when idol-worship arose, it spread more widely than all. Because that Bráhman told Súraj that whoever made a large image of an ancestor[1] in gold or silver or stone, would find the way to salvation; so many people, small and great, formed images of the departed, and engaged in the worship of them. Súraj, having built the city of Kanauj on the bank of the Ganges, applied himself to idolatry. This sentiment spread among the people, and every man formed an idol according to his own devices, and paid it his adoration. So ninety tribes, each in its own way, engaged in idolatry. Súraj made the city of Kanauj his capital, and dwelt there for some years. During his reign, it spread to the distance of twenty-five *kos*. Súraj died after a reign of two hundred and fifty years. He was cotemporary with Kai-kubád, and every year used to send tribute to him. He also acknowledged the claims of Rustam, son of Dastán, gave him his own sister's daughter in marriage, and continually sent him presents and rarities. He had thirty-five sons, the eldest of whom, Bah Ráj, succeeded him.

History of the reign of Bah Ráj, son of Súraj.—When Bah Ráj ascended the throne, he built a city, which he called Bahráj,[2] from his own name. He studied music for many years. He exerted himself actively in completing the city of Benares, which his father had founded in the latter days of his life, but had not been permitted to finish. Showing great affection and kindness to his brothers, he made them happy with suitable *jágírs*. Some assert that Bah Ráj gave to his brothers, the sons of Súraj, the name of Rájpút. He also gave names to other tribes. But he set at nought the regulations of Mahá Ráj, which had been the mainstay of the State; so the affairs of government fell into disorder, and madness seized upon

[1] "*Buzurg*," simply, "great,"—and hence "ancestors" or "great men." The subsequent use of *guzashtagán* "the departed," makes clear what was meant.

[2] Bahráich or Bahroj (Broach)?

every brain. A bráhman named Kídár came down from the Siwálik hills, and raised a rebellion against him. After some fighting, the bráhman obtained the mastery, and the sovereignty of Hind fell from the hands of Bah Ráj. His reign lasted for thirty-six years.

Account of the reign of Kídár Bráhman.—When this man took the bride of the sovereignty of Hind to his bosom, he was well acquainted with the science of government, and became a great king. He acknowledged himself tributary to Kai-Káús and Kai-Khusrú, and sent offerings to them. He built the fort of Kálinjar. Towards the end of his reign, a powerful man named Shankal came from Kúch, and raised a rebellion. First he got possession of Bang (Bengal) and Bihár. Then he collected an enormous army, and fought several hard battles with Kídár, over whom he obtained the victory. Kídár reigned nineteen years.

History of the reign of Shankal.[1]—After Shankal obtained the throne, he affected great pomp and state. He founded the city of Lakhnautí, better known under the name of Gaur. For two thousand years that city was the capital of the Kings of Bang (Bengal), but in the days of the descendants of Tímúr, the place went to ruin. Tánda became the seat of government, instead of it. Shankal got together a force of four thousand elephants, one hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand infantry, and was very proud and magnificent. In his time Afrásiyáb sent a messenger to demand payment of his tribute and dues; but Shankal sent him back again with great scorn and contempt. Afrásiyáb was greatly enraged at this, and sent his general Pírán Wasiya, with an army of fifty thousand fierce Turks, to Hindústán. Shankal resolved to fight, and having assembled a mighty force, marched to the encounter. The armies met in the hills of Kúch, near the frontier of Bengal, and the battle began. For two whole days the conflict raged. The Turks showed great resolution and bravery, and put fifty thousand of their opponents to the sword; but the enemy was so numerous that they made no great impression upon them. The Turks on their side had lost seventeen thousand men, and matters at length went so hard with them, that on the third day they were compelled to retreat. Their country was far away, and the enemy overwhelming;

[1] See *suprà*, Vol. II. p. 159.

so they fled into the hills of the neighbourhood, and got possession of a stronghold. Pírán Wasiya drew up a despatch containing an account of his condition, and sent it by some brave young men to Afrásiyáb. Pírán was engaged night and day in fighting, for the Hindús swarmed around, and pressed him vigorously. They endeavoured to force an entry with showers of arrows, and all were in perplexity as to how matters would end.

Arrival of Afrásiyáb in Hind and Relief of Pírán Wasiya. — At this time Afrásiyáb was at the city of Kankdazh (Kunduz?), between Chín (China) and Khutan (Tartary), one month's march on the other side of the city of Khánbáligh. When he was informed of the situation of Pírán Wasiya, he resolved to go to his rescue with a hundred thousand choice cavalry. Pressing on with all speed, he arrived just as Shankal had summoned his Ráís, and by means of the vast force he had collected was pressing Pírán Wasiya to extremity. Afrásiyáb instantly made his attack, and the Hindús were so dismayed that he scattered them like chaff. All their equipments and baggage fell into his hands. Pírán Wasiya being released from the grasp of the enemy, waited on his master. Afrásiyáb then pursued Shankal; and as often as he came up with him, he inflicted loss upon his men. Shankal fled into Bang, and went into the city of Gaur; but the Turks pressed after him so closely that he could only stay there one day, but continued his flight into the mountains of Tirhút. The Turks so completely devastated the country of Bang that no trace of a town was left. Afrásiyáb got information about Shankal, and prepared to pursue him. But Shankal was driven to extremity; so he sent some prudent men with a message to Afrásiyáb, asking forgiveness, and offering to do homage. Afrásiyáb consented, and Shankal came to his presence, with a sword and shroud (hanging on his neck), and begged permission to be allowed to go with him to Turán. Afrásiyáb approved of his proposal, and bestowed the throne upon Shankal's son. So Afrásiyáb took Shankal with him, and Shankal served him faithfully till he was killed by the hand of Rustam in the war of Hamáwarán. Shankal reigned sixty-four years.

Rahat, son of Shankal, raised to the throne by Afrásiyáb.—Rahat was a devout and well-meaning Rájá. He divided the revenues of his

kingdom, which stretched from Garhí to Málwá, into three portions. One he dispensed in charity, the second he appropriated to the support of his father Shankal and the tribute to Afrásiyáb, and the third he devoted to the maintenance of his army and cattle. Through this arrangement his army diminished, and the Rájá of Málwá, who was subject to him, and paid him revenue, threw off the yoke of obedience, and wrested the fort of Gwálior from the possession of his officers. Rájá Rahat had built the fort of Rohtás, and he had erected a large idol temple, where he was then engaged in worship. He led an army against the Rájá of Málwá, but returned unsuccessful.[1] Rahat reigned eighty-one years, when he died. As he had no son who had attained to years of discretion, a disturbance arose at Kanauj, which was the capital. A man named Mahá Ráj, of the Kachhwáha tribe, and a native of Márwár, raised a rebellion, seized upon the capital Kanauj, and became King.

History of the reign of Mahá Ráj Kachhwáha.—After a time, and when Mahá Ráj had established his power, he led a large army against Nahrwála. He wrested that country from its *zamíndárs*, who were *ahírs* or cowherds, and established ports on the sea-shore for the purposes of traffic. There he built ships and launched them, after which he returned. He died after a reign of forty years. His cotemporary was Gushtásp, to whom he sent tribute every year.

History of the reign of Kaid Ráj.—Kaid Ráj was nephew by the sister's side of Mahá Ráj, in accordance with whose will and testament he ascended the throne. At this time, Rustam, son of Dastán, had been killed, and as the Panjáb had for some time had no vigorous governor, Kaid Ráj led his army thither, and easily obtained possession of the country. He dwelt for some time in one of its ancient cities named Behra, and then built the fort of Jammú. In it he placed one of his adherents, a man of the Gakkhar[2] tribe named Durg, and made him governor of it. From that time to the present, that fortress has remained in the possession of that tribe. After a while the Gakkhar tribe, and a tribe called Chobeh, who are *zamíndárs* of consequence in the Panjáb, allied themselves with the

[1] The lithograph is defective here.

[2] This is clear enough in the lithograph, but Briggs's translation has "Boolbas," and a MS. "Malnás."

dwellers in the desert, and with the people who live in the hills between Kábul and Kandahár. The allies marched against Kaid Ráj, and he, being unable to resist, relinquished that country (of the Panjáb) to them. From that time this tribe spread, and took possession of every hill which had a chief. It would seem that this tribe is the same as the Afgháns of the present day. Kaid Ráj reigned for forty-three years.

History of the reign of Jai Chand.—Jai Chand was the commander-in-chief of Kaid Ráj, and, finding himself strong enough, placed his feet upon the throne. In his reign there was a great famine; and as he was not of royal race, he had no sympathy for the sufferings of the people. He spent his days at Bayána in debauchery and pleasure, while his soldiers and subjects were perishing. Many villages and towns went to ruin, and Hindústán was many years before it recovered from the effects of his neglect. Jai Chand reigned for sixty years. His cotemporary was Dáráb, to whom he sent tribute every year. He left a son of tender years, whom his mother placed upon the throne, she herself carrying on the government as regent. But Jai Chand's brother, named Dihlú, conspired with several chiefs, put the boy aside, and placed the crown upon his own head.

History of the rebellion of Rájá Dihlú.—Dihlú was a Rájá of considerable courage and daring, and he was kind and gentle to the people. His great object was to promote their happiness. He built the city of Dehlí, and named it after himself. When he had reigned forty years, a man named Fúr, who was related to the Rájá of Kamáún, and dwelt in that country, broke out in rebellion. He first got possession of the country of Kamáún, and then he marched against the fort of Kanauj. A great battle was fought between him and Rájá Dihlú, in which Dihlú was taken prisoner; and Fúr sent him to be confined in the fort of Rohtás.

Reign of Rájá Fúr.[1]—Fúr soon afterwards led an army to Bang, and extended his sway as far as the shores of the Indian Ocean. He became a very great Rái, and, according to Munawwar Khán, no Rái was ever equal to him. After he had ascended the throne, he relinquished the practice of sending tribute to the King of Irán.

[1] Porus.

Iskandar led his army to India; and as Fúr would not submit, Iskandar marched with his army like a swarm of locusts or ants to encounter him. A great battle was fought near Sirhind, and Fúr was killed. Fúr reigned for seventy-three years. It must not be concealed that the Ráís of the Dakhin also had grown in power and dominion;—such as Kul Chand, who built the city of Kulbarga; Mirich Chand, who built the town of Mirich, to which he gave his own name; Bijí Chand, who built and populated the city of Bijanágar, and made it the seat of the government of the Dakhin. There were other Ráís besides these; but to name them all would be a tedious task. When Iskandar came to India, there was a great Rájá named Bídar, who had built the fort of Bídar. The tribe of Rájbídars, which still exists, and is renowned as one of the bravest of all the tribes of the Dakhin, is of his lineage, and by the decrees of Fate is established in the sovereignty of the Dakhin. When this Rájá heard of the arrival of Iskandar, and the death of Fúr, he sent his son, with valuable presents and elephants, to Iskandar, with the object of inducing him to abstain from the conquest of his kingdom, and to return to Irán. After the death of Fúr, and the return of Iskandar, a man named Sínsár Chand[1] seized the reins of authority in Hindústán, and in a short time became master of the whole country, which had fallen into a state of anarchy. He had seen with his own eyes the destruction of Fúr; so, through fear, he every year sent the tribute before it was demanded to Gudarz, who at that time was reigning in Irán. His reign lasted seventy years. A man named Júnah then obtained the throne by force.

Rebellion of Júnah.—Some state that Júnah was son of a daughter of Fúr. After he ascended the throne, he performed many good deeds, and exhibited many excellent qualities. He endeavoured to promote the prosperity of the kingdom, and established many towns and villages on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna. He also made great efforts to administer justice. He was contemporary with Ardashír Bábagán. One year Ardashír marched against India, and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind. Júnah was very much alarmed, and hastened to do homage to him. He presented pearls and gold and jewels and elephants as tribute, and so induced

[1] Chandragupta?

Ardashír to return. Júnah then went back to Kanauj, and lived there for some time in tranquillity. After a reign of ninety years, he died, leaving two sons, the elder of whom, Kalyán Chand, succeeded him.

Reign of Kalyán Chand.—Kalyán was a violent and tyrannical ruler, who for trifling faults put his people to death, and upon mere suspicion seized the wealth and property of innocent men. He also exacted contributions from the *raiyats* by force. So the people emigrated to other parts, and Hindústán became desolate. Kanauj, the capital, was reduced to such a state of wretchedness that only the Rájá and a few inhabitants were left. The splendour of his Court had departed, and the realm of Hindústán was full of misery. The Ráís on all sides grew strong in power and high in dignity, so that it is necessary to write something about them. But as it is not necessary to record all the matters relating to the Ráís of Hind and Kanauj, I will write about the affairs of Rái Bikramájít, who reigned in the kingdom of Málwá.

History of Bikramájít the Just, King of Málwá.—Bikramájít belonged to the tribe of Powár. His excellent character is apparent in the many stories and tales about him that are current among the Hindús. In his youth he put on the garments of a religious mendicant, and wandered over many countries in the society of devotees, submitting to their discipline. When he reached his fiftieth year, under the guidance of heaven, he placed himself at the head of his army. It was ordained by the Almighty that he should attain a high position, and should rescue God's servants from the violence and oppression of the tyrannical Ráís. Day by day his power and prosperity increased, so that in a short time all the territory of Málwá and Nahrwála came into his possession. He spread the shadow of his justice and equity and kindness over the inhabitants of every city, so that violence was repressed, and protection secured. The Hindús believe that he had a fore-knowledge of what would happen to men, and that whatever he foretold came to pass without lack or fail. Whatever of good or evil, of benefit or injury, occurred in his dominions during the night, all, without the least exception, became known to him in the morning as clear as the light. Notwithstanding his royal station, he associated with his

people in the most brotherly way. In his dwelling he had only earthenware vessels and ordinary mats. The city of Ujjain was built in his reign. He also founded the fort of Dhar, and chose it as his place of abode. The temple of Mahá-kál at Ujjain was built by him, and he made fixed endowments for the *bráhmans* and *jogís* whom he appointed to live in that temple, and perform the worship. He passed much of his time in the worship of the creation and in the worship of the Creator (*parastish-i khalk wa parastish-i khálik*). The faith of the people in him is unbounded, and they tell most wonderful and miraculous stories about him. An era of years and months dating from his death is used in documents, and at the time when I write this, in the year one thousand and fifteen of the Hijra, one thousand six hundred and sixty-three years of this era have elapsed. Rájá Bikramájít was a cotemporary of Ardashír, or, according to others, of Sháhpúr. Towards the end of his reign, a *zamíndár* of the Dakhin named Sálibáhan rose in rebellion against him, and a battle was fought between them on the banks of the Nerbadda. Sálibáhan was victorious, and Bikramájít was killed. There are many statements as to the length of the reign of Bikramájít; but as none of them are acceptable to reason, nothing is here said about it. For a long time after the death of Bikramájít, the country of Málwá was in a wretched state, and had no just and liberal ruler. At length a Rájá named Bhoj seized the reins of government.

Reign of Rájá Bhoj.—This Rájá also belonged to the tribe of Powár. In justice and liberality he vied with Bikramájít. He did not do as people usually do at night, but wandered about the city, looking into the circumstances of the poor and needy. His constant anxiety was to better the condition of men. The cities of Ghargún (Gágrún?) and Bíjagar and the town of Hindiya were built in his reign. He was very fond of gathering women together. Twice every year he held a great festival, to which musicians and singers resorted in flocks from all parts of Hindústán. For forty days the amusements were kept up, and nothing went on but dancing, singing, music, and story-telling. In those days, all classes received food and wine and betel from the Court, and at the time of departure each person received a robe and ten *miskáls* of gold. He died after a reign of fifty years. In those days, a ruler named Bás

Deo sat upon the throne of Kanauj. He recovered the countries of of Bihár and Bengal, which had been lost to the Ráís of Kanauj, and he was a monarch of great power and dignity. In his reign, Bahrám Gúr disguised himself in the dress of a merchant, and went to Kanauj for the purpose of ascertaining the truth about the kingdom of Hindústán, and inquiring into the manners and customs of the Hindús. It is said that in those days a fierce and terrible elephant frequented the neighbourhood of Kanauj, and not a day passed without his trampling to death some of the wayfarers who were going to or coming away from that city. Bás Deo made repeated attempts to destroy him, but had returned unsuccessful. It so happened that on the very day on which Bahrám reached Kanauj, that elephant approached the outskirts of the city, and made a terrible trumpeting and bellowing. The Rájá ordered the gates of the city to be shut, but Bahrám went out of the city alone, attacked the animal, and despatched him with one wooden arrow (*chobah tir*). All the people of the city, small and great, who had gone out to see the sport, fell at the feet of Bahrám, and their shouts and acclamations reached the skies. When Bás Deo heard of this, he sent for him to his presence. On Bahrám's approaching the Rájá, one of the attendants of the Court, who had in a previous year conveyed the tribute to Bahrám's country, recognized him, and informed the Rájá. Thereupon the Rájá descended from his throne, and paid homage to Bahrám. Afterwards he gave him his daughter in marriage, and sent him back with all honour. As long as he lived, he every year sent him rare and choice presents. He died after reigning seventy years. The fort and city of Kálpí were among the works of his reign. He left thirty-two sons, and for ten years after his death there was a continual struggle and war among the brothers for the throne. At length Rám Deo, the commander-in-chief of Bás Deo, with the aid of other leaders of the army, took possession of the throne, and became a powerful monarch.

Reign of Rám Deo Ráhtor.—Rám Deo belonged to the tribe of Ráhtor. He was a man of much courage, determination and vigour. By degrees he put down the rebellious chiefs who had shown signs of disaffection, and made himself quite secure against domestic revolts. Then he equipped an army, and marched against Márwár,

which he wrested from the possession of the tribe of Kachhwáha, and established his own tribe, the Ráhtors, in their place. From that day to this they have held the country. He removed the tribe of Kachhwáhas, and settled them in the vicinity of the fort of Rohtás. He took in marriage the daughter of a chief of that tribe. Afterwards he marched against Lakhnautí, and having taken possession of it, he gave it to his nephew, and carried off enormous spoil. At the end of three years, he returned to Kanauj, and remained there two years. Then he led an army against Málwá. Having made the country amenable to his revenue officers, he founded many towns and villages. He repaired the fort of Narwar, and placed a Ráhtor in it as commandant. Then he demanded of the Rái of Bíjánagar his daughter in marriage. Sheo Rái, who then held in his hands the reins of authority over the Dakhin, was alarmed at Rám Deo's power, and sent him his daughter, with a handsome dowry. Rám Deo stayed for two years in Gondwára, and killed many of the powerful *zamíndárs*. He then returned to Kanauj, and dwelt there seven years in happiness. After that, he marched into the Siwálik hills, and made all the *zamíndárs* tributary. The Rájá of Kamáún, who was the most important person in those mountains, and whose ancestors had ruled the country for nearly two thousand years, came out against Rám Deo, and gave him battle. The conflict raged from morning till night, and there was dreadful slaughter on both sides; but victory at length inclined to Rám Deo, and the Rájá of Kamáún, leaving his equipage and elephants, took refuge in the mountains. Rám Deo took his daughter and tribute, and having confirmed the country to the Rájá, he next turned his attention to the country of Nagarkot. He ravaged all that country, and pursued his course until he came to a place called Sankot[1] Pindí. There he stopped, and went no further, in consequence of the sanctity of a temple of Durgá, near Nagarkot. He sent a messenger to summon the Rájá of that place; but the Rájá refused to come to him. Some Bráhmans then came to Rám Deo, and gave assurances to him, that if he would go and visit the temple, the Rájá would wait upon him. So the two Rájás saw each other. Rám

[1] The lithograph has "Hankot," but the translation has "Sankot," with which the MS. agrees.

Deo gave much gold to the attendants of the temple, and having asked the hand of the Rájá's daughter for his son, he went on towards the fort of Jammú. The Rájá of Jammú, confident in the valour of his army, the strength of his fortress, the difficulty of access, the density of the jungle, and the abundance of his supplies, refused to surrender, and came forth to battle. But he was unable to stand against Rám Deo, and his army fled. Rám Deo sent a force in pursuit, while he himself invested the fortress, which he shortly took. He made many prisoners, and obtained much spoil. Afterwards the Rájá of Jammú came humbly to wait upon him. He demanded a daughter of the Rájá for another son of his, and then departed. From the river Behut, which descends from Kashmír, that land of Paradise, into the Panjáb, he proceeded to Bengal and the shores of the sea, which is far distant from the Siwálik hills, as much perhaps as five months' march. Nearly five hundred *ráis* and *rájás* who dwelt in the hills were reduced, and compelled to pay tribute. With gold and jewels, and stores and elephants, he returned to Kanauj, his capital; there he took his seat upon his throne, and held a great festival. Then he assembled his soldiers, and made them an increase of twenty (per cent.). Having rewarded his brave men, he distributed a third part of his booty among the people. After this, he stayed at home in ease and happiness, and never travelled abroad, until, like other mortal men, he died, after a reign of fifty-four years. The Hindús are agreed that they never had a greater king than Rám Deo. He was the cotemporary of Fíroz Sháh Sámání, son of Kai-Kubád, to whom he every year sent tribute, and never failed to show his obedience.

Reign of Partáb Chand Sansodiyah.[1]—After the death of Rám Deo, quarrels arose among his sons, and war and bloodshed followed. Many calamities fell upon the State of Kanauj, and the enormous treasures of Rám Deo were squandered. One of Rám Deo's generals, named Partáb Chand, took advantage of the brothers' quarrels, and assembling a numerous army, and marching to Kanauj, he easily took possession of the throne. His first act was to remove all the sons of Rám Deo who were the heirs to the throne, and he left no trace of any one of them. He then repressed all the *zamíndárs*,

[1] The Ránás of Udípúr are of the Sansodiya or Sasodiya tribe.

who in various parts had cast off authority and gathered strength. Having brought them into due subordination, he became a powerful King. He was successful in many of his enterprises; so he became puffed up with a sense of his own greatness, and withheld the tribute due to the Kings of Irán. When a person came from Naushírwán to demand it, he sent him back empty-handed. Naushírwán then sent the army of Irán, and overran the country of Multán and the Panjáb. Partáb Chand was in dismay, and repenting of his conduct, he begged forgiveness, and sent much gold and jewels to obtain a cessation from the ravaging and plundering. So long as he lived, he ever afterwards sent the tribute yearly. After his death, the Ráís of various parts became powerful, and seized upon much territory, so that little was left to his children. They were consequently called Ránás, because in Hindí a Rájá of small territory and inferior power is called Ráná.[1] The descendants of Partáb Chand continue to wield authority at the time of my writing this book; but the mountain land of Komalmír and the neighbouring country is all that they hold. Chítor, Mandisor, and many other of their possessions have been conquered by the descendants of Amír Timúr.

Reign of Anand Deo Rájpút.—Anand Deo was of the Bais tribe. After the death of Rájá Partáb Chand, he revolted in the country of Málwá, and his power increased from day to day, until he became possessed of all the countries of Málwá, Nahrwála, Mahrát (Mahratta country), and the territory of the Dakhin and Birár. He built the forts of Rámgar and Mahúr. The fort of Mándú also dates from his time. His cotemporary was Khusrú Parwíz. He reigned sixteen years, and then died. In the same year a Hindú, by name Mál Deo, rose in rebellion in the Doáb, and collecting a large army he wrested Dehlí from the hands of the sons of Partáb Chand. After the capture of Dehlí he led his army against Kanauj, which also he acquired. They say that under him Kanauj attained a high degree of prosperity, so that the shops of the betel-sellers increased from one to thirty thousand, and there were sixty thousand houses of singers and musicians. From these instances some idea may be

[1] Firishta is here inaccurate, for the Ráná of Udípúr was and is considered of the very highest dignity.

formed of the rest. Mál Deo died after a reign of forty-two years. He had no sons, and in every part of the country the Ráís assumed independence, so that until the rise of the great and glorious Muhammadan power, there was no great paramount Rájá sitting on the throne of Hindústán. When Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní made his holy war against Hindústán, there was a Rájá ruling at Kanauj who was called Kúr; the Rájá at Mírat was Dharm Datt; at Mahában was Kul Chand; at Láhore was Jaipál, son of Hatpál; at Kálinjar was Bijí Ráo; and so in each of the countries of Málwá, Ajmír, Gujarát, and Gwálior, there was a different ruler. Of these I shall take no notice, but shall proceed to describe the rise and progress of the Muhammadan Empire, and the exploits of its Sultáns.

Rise of Islám in Hindústán.—The first leader of Islám who placed his foot upon the territory of Hindústán, and waged the holy war with the people of that country, was Muhallab, son of Safra. In the year twenty-eight of the Hijra, 'Abdu-lla, son of 'Ámar, governor of Basra, marched against Persia on behalf of the Khalífa 'Usmán, as the people of that country had cast off their allegiance after the death of the Khalífa 'Umar. He led his army thither, and returned victorious to Basra. In the year thirty the Khalífa 'Usmán removed Walíd 'Akaba from the government of Kúfa, in consequence of his habit of drinking, and appointed Sa'id, son of 'Ás, to succeed him, In the same year, Sa'íd went towards Tabaristán. The Khalífas Hasan and Husain also took part in that invasion, and under their auspicious influence, the country of Júrján, of which Astarábád is the capital, was conquered. As the price of peace, the men of Júrján, two hundred thousand in number, accepted the faith of Islám, and thus made their home flourish.

In the year 31 the Khalífa 'Usmán commanded 'Abdu-lla bin 'Ámar to make the conquest of Khurásán; so he marched against that country by way of Kirmán, with a large army. His advanced force was under the command of Haníf bin Kais. He afterwards subdued Sístán, Khután and Naishápúr. The *marzbán* of Túsjoined him, and then Sarakhs, Hirát, Bádghís, Ghor, Ghurjistán, Marv, Tálikán and Balkh came under Muhammadan sway. After 'Abdu-lla had in a short time achieved all these conquests, he appointed Kais bin Háshim to Khurásán; Haníf bin Kais to Marv, Tálikán

and Naisháp̣úr; and Khálid bin 'Abdu-lla to Hirát, Ghor and Ghurjistán. Having left these governors, he himself returned to the holy places at Mecca.

In the year 32 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Rabí'a, under the command of 'Usmán, had gone out to war against Balkh; but he and many of his men were slain. Such of them as escaped the sword fled into Júrján and Jílán. In the same year Kárún, one of the *amírs* of 'Ajam,—when he found that 'Abdu-lla 'Ámar had gone to visit the holy places, and that Khurásán was left without any Persian Musulmáns,—collected forty thousand men from Tabbas, Hirát, Bádghís, Khután, Ghor and other places, and then rose in rebellion. 'Abdu-lla 'Ázim, who was with Haníf at Naisháp̣úr, with forty thousand men, put down his rebellion, and for that service received the government of Khurásán.

In the year 44 Mu'áwiya, son of Abú Sufiyán, appointed Ziyád bin Ummaiya governor of Basra, Khurásán and Sístán. In the same year Abdu-r Rahmán bin Samar, under the permission of Ziyád, effected the conquest of Kábul, and reduced the inhabitants to obedience. About that time Muhallab bin Abú Safra, one of the great 'Arab *amírs*, came from Marv to Kábul and Zábul. He then proceeded to Hindústán, to wage holy war against the infidels. He made ten or twelve thousand boys and girls prisoners. At that time many of the people of Hind, by the will of God, became Muslims.

In the year 53 a disease[1] made its appearance in the fingers of Ziyád bin Ummaiya, and he died. Mu'áwiya then appointed his son 'Abdu-lla to be governor of Kúfa. After a while, he marched towards Máwaráu-n Nahr; and after capturing several cities, he returned, and received the government of Basra. He sent before him Islám bin Zirá'at al Gilání to take charge of Khurásán.

In the year 59[2] Mu'áwiya appointed Sa'd bin 'Usmán 'Affán to the government of Khurásán. In the year 62 Yazíd bin Mu'áwiya appointed Salam bin Ziyád to the government of Khurásán and Sístán. Among the men whom Yazíd sent with Salam was Muhallab, son of Abú Safra. He appointed Salam, son of his

[1] *ta'aún*, a plague or pestilence.

[2] The lithograph erroneously gives the date as "50."

younger brother Yazíd bin Ziyád, to the government of Sístán. When he heard that the King (*pádsháh*) of Kábul had broken out in rebellion, and had imprisoned 'Abdu-lla bin Ziyád; the 'Arab governor (*hákim*), he immediately collected an army, and marched against the people of Kábul. After a severe fight, he was defeated with heavy loss. When intelligence of this reached Salam Ziyád, he sent to Kábul Talha bin 'Abdu-lla bin Haníf Khuzái, who is well known by the title of "Talha of the Talhas," with the object of buying back Abú 'Ubaidah for five hundred thousand *dirams*. After that, Salam gave the government of Sístán to Talha. He then sent the armies of Ghor and Bádghís against Kábul, and compelled the people of that place to become obedient. Then he appointed to the government of Kábul Khálid bin 'Abdu-lla, who, according to some, was of the lineage of Khálid Wálíd; but according to others, he was of the stock of Abú Jahl. When Khálíd bin 'Abdu-lla was dismissed from the government of Kábul, he, through fear of the governor of Majad, thought his journey to 'Irák-'ajami would be difficult and dangerous. So, with his wives and children, and with a party of 'Arabs, he, under the guidance of some of the chief men of Kábul, proceeded to the Sulaimán mountains, which lie between Multán and Pesháwar, and there took up his abode. He gave his daughter in marriage to an Afghán of repute, who had become a convert to the Muhammadan faith. That woman bore sons, from whom sprang two individuals, who obtained high renown. One was Lodí, the other Súr. The Afghán tribes of Lodí and Súr spring from this source. In the book, *Matla'u-l Anwár*, written by a trustworthy author, which I saw at Burhánpúr, in Khándes, it is affirmed that the Afgháns are (descended from) nobles of Pharaoh. For when the Prophet Moses prevailed over the reprobate Pharaoh, many of his chiefs were repentant, and were converted to the religion of Moses. Some of the chiefs who were devoted to Pharaoh and his god, in the grossness of their ignorance, rejected Islám; and having left their native land, emigrated to India, and settled in the Súlaimán mountains. There their tribes grew numerous, and received the name of Afgháns. When Abraha went up to attack the Ka'bah, many infidels from far and wide accompained him. Among them were the Afgháns, who joined him for a certain time. When

they arrived at Mecca, they met their punishment, and went to destruction. The Musulmán Afgháns engaged in agriculture, and in other occupations, for obtaining a livelihood. They became rich in horses, cattle and sheep, and they formed connexions and kept up communications with those Muhammadans who had followed Muhammad Kásim through Sind to Multán, and there dwelt.

In the year 143, when their descendants had greatly increased, they descended from the mountains, and took possession of certain places in Hindústán, such as Karmáj, Pesháwar, and Shanúrán. The Ráját of Láhore, who was related to the Ráját of Ajmír, resolved upon preventing their inroads, so he sent against them one of his nobles, in command of a thousand horse. The Afgháns advanced to meet him, and slew many of the Hindús. After this the Ráját of Láhore sent his nephew with two thousand horse and five thousand foot, well fitted out, against the encroaching Afgháns. On this occasion the people of Khilj and Ghor, and the men of Kábul, who were now adorned with the glory of Islám, considered it their duty to assist their countrymen, so they sent four thousand men to support them. When they joined, the flag of resistance was unfurled. In the course of five months seventy battles were fought with the infidels, and in many of the fights the confederates were victorious. But when winter brought up its forces, the infidels were unable to endure, and were reduced to great misery, so they abandoned the contest, and returned to their homes. When the winter was over, the nephew of the Ráját of Láhore returned to the attack with a fresh army. On this occasion, also, the men of Kábul and of Khilj brought up their reinforcements. The armies met between Karmaj and Pesháwar. Sometimes the infidels gave battle, and drove the Musulmáns to the hills; sometimes the Musulmáns took the offensive, and repulsed the infidels at the point of the sword. When the rainy season came on, the infidels were anxious about the rising of the waters of the Indus, so, without knowing whether they were victorious or defeated, they retired to their homes. The men of Kábul and Khilj also went home; and whenever they were questioned about the Musulmáns of the Kohistán (the mountains), and how matters stood there, they said, "Don't call it Kohistán, but Afghánistán; for there is nothing there but Afgháns and dis-

turbances." Thus it is clear that for this reason the people of the country call their home in their own language Afghánistán, and themselves Afghán. The people of India call them Patán; but the reason for this is not known. But it occurs to me, that when, under the rule of Muhammadan sovereigns, Musulmáns first came to the city of Pátná, and dwelt there, the people of India (for that reason) called them Patáns—but God knows!

When the peace between the Rájá of Láhore and the infidel Gakkhars ended in war, the Gakkhars formed an alliance with their neighbours the Afgháns. The Rájá of Láhore made peace; and, to put an end to contention, he ceded to them some districts of the Lamghánát, and associated with them the tribe of Khilj, which, in the infancy of the Afgháns, had settled in that desert (*sahrá*). The conditions were, that they were to guard the frontier, and prevent the armies of Islám from entering into Hindústán. The Afgháns erected a fort in the Kohistán (mountains) of Pesháwar, which they called Khaibar; and they took possession of the country of Roh. During the ascendancy of the Sámánians, these (Afgháns and Gakkhars) prevented them from doing any injury to the territories of Láhore. This is why it was that the incursions of the Sámánians from first to last were made by way of Sind and Bhátiya. Roh is the name of a particular mountain, which extends in length from Swád and Bajaur to the town of Siwí, belonging to Bhakar. In breadth it stretches from Hasan Abdál to Kábul. Kandahár is situated in this territory.

When the throne of Ghazní came to Alptigín, his general Subuktigín made several attacks upon Lamghán and Multán, and carried off many prisoners. Unable to endure these attacks, the Afgháns applied in their extremity to Jaipál, the Rájá of Láhore, and complained of Subuktigín's inroads. Jaipál was aware that the army of Hindústán could not continuously occupy those parts, in consequence of the extreme cold; so he consulted with the Rájá of Bhátiya, and by his advice he called to his presence Shaikh Hamíd, a man of great consideration among the Afgháns, and raised him to the dignity of *amír*. Shaikh Hamíd in this way obtained possession of the territory of Lamghán and Multán, and carried on the government on his own behalf. Thus, at that date the Afgháns obtained an *amír*

of their own, and became people of importance. When Alptigín was dead, and Subuktigín had succeeded him, Shaikh Hamíd thought it advisable to avoid war; so he sent to Subuktigín a message, saying: "You and I are both Musulmáns, and so there is a bond of union between us. It will be a gracious and proper course, if you will consider my people as your own, and give instructions to your victorious forces, that when they attack the country of Hindústán, they shall do no harm to us, your well-wishers." Subuktigín, through the exigencies of the time, agreed to their proposal. After the death of Jaipál, Subuktigín, dealing in a friendly spirit with Shaikh Hamíd, conferred on him the *ikta'* of Multán. Sultán Mahmúd's course of action was different from his father's. He subdued the Afghán tribes, put their leaders to death, and reduced the people to a state of obedience and service.

Note F.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF WORKS OF THE PERIOD.[1]

I.

TÁRÍKHU-L JANNÁBI;

AKHBÁRU-D DAWAL.

The first work, of which the correct name is supposed to be *Bahru-z Zakhkhár*, "the swelling sea," comprises a general history from the beginning of the world to A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589). D'Herbelot quotes the author of the *Kashfu-l Zanún* as saying that this history is called by some *'Ilmu-z Zakhkhár*, "superabundant knowledge," and that it is the most copious history which the Muhammadans have. Háji Khalfa says it has no known title, but that the author of *Akhbáru-d Dawal* mentions it under the name of *Bahr*, and that some learned men call it, *'Ailmu-z Zákhir fí ahwálu-l-awáil wau-l-awákhir*, "an overflowing well in the transactions of ancients and moderns."

It gives an account of the creation of the world, the Prophets, Syrians, Sabians, Jews, Christians, the four ancient Persian dynasties, the Kings of the Greeks, of the Israelites, Sultáns of Egypt, the Arab tribes, Muhammad, the first four Khalífs, and those of the Ummayide and 'Abbáside dynasties, the Mamlúks who ruled over Syria, the several dynasties of the Saffárians, Sámánians, Ghórians, Ghaznivides, Dilamites or Buwaihides, Saljúkians, Khwárazm-sháhís, Changiz Khán, Timúr, and their descendants, the Ottoman Emperors, and others.

The work was originally written in Arabic, and translated by the author into Turkish, and abridged by him also in that language. Hence some confusion has arisen in describing it, and a second

[1] [These are works which Sir H. M. Elliot had never met with, but about which he has drawn information from other sources.]

...or arises from there being another author of this name, ... history of Tímúr.

...ded into 82 sections, each containing a different dynasty; ... Hájí Khálfa notices that several dynasties are omitted ... mentioned in the *Jahán-árá*, yet he states that he knew ...ually copious as a compendium. He therefore abstracted ...ort into his own historical work, entitled *Fazlaka*, but ... number of the different dynasties to 150. He states ... *Akhbáru-d Dawal wa ásáru-l-awwal*, "the annals of ... the monuments of ancient things," in 380 folios, ... 1008, by Ahmad bin Yúsuf bin Ahmad, is an abridg-...abi's history, to which the epitomator adds a little ... omitting at the same time many dynasties given by ...

...varies in giving the name of this author. Under the ...*abi*," he gives it as, Abou Mohammed Mosthafa ben ...yd Hassan al Hosseini, and under "*Tarikh al Gianabi*," ...n, al Gianabi ben Seid Hassan al Roumi. Uri gives his ...as, Abu Muhammed Mustafá ben al-Said al-Hasan ben ...uan ben al-Said Ahmed al-Hosaini al-Hashemi al-Carshi. ...H. 999 (A.D. 1591).

...of no Manuscript of this work in India, but there was ... Sir Gore Ouseley's collection. The name of *Bahru-l* ... is familiar, as being the title of a ponderous work devoted ...es of Muhammadan Saints. It is also the name of the ...e of a modern compilation, called *Majm'au-l Muluk*.

...bic history exists at Oxford and St. Petersburg, and the ... in the Royal Library of Vienna. The Bodleian has two ...oth in two volumes; one copy is in folio, comprising 553 ...ut there are only 76 sections included in it; another is in ...prising 880 leaves.[1]

[1] ...re Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or.*, pp. 150, 170, 173, Nicoll and Pusey, ..., 595; Fraehn, *Indicationes Bibliograph.*, No. 221; Kohler, *Eichh. Repert.*, ...274; *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, vol. iv. p. 235; Hájí Khalfa, *Lex. Bibl.* ...ol. ii. p. 124; *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde*, p. xxviii; *Wien. Jahrb.*, no. lxix. ...3; *Fundg. d. Or.*, vol. iv. p. 329, vol. vi. p. 370; Fleischer's *Cat.*, no. 80; *Soc. Beng.*, p. 7; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 120, vol. ix. p. 329; Gemäldesaal, xi.

II.

TÁRÍKH-I HÁJÍ MUHAMMAD KANDAHÁRÍ.

This work is very frequently quoted by Firishta, b
General History, as well as in the Histories of Bengá
Gujarát, and throughout a period extending from
Ghazní to the accession of Akbar. It is, therefore,
General History. The work is also quoted by Ghulá
probably at second hand.

In the *Sahíhu-l Akhbár*, Sarúp Chand quotes as
authorities to which he is indebted, *Táríkh-i Sadr-i Jal*
Muhammad Kandahárí, in which he has confounded
together, and rendered himself open to the suspicion
works which he never saw,—a practice by no means
with our modern historiographers.

I cannot learn that there is any copy of this work extan
(See Briggs's *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 52, 408, vol. iv. pp. 48,

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III.

FUTÚHU-S SALÁTÍN.

The "Victories of the Sultáns" would seem, if we may
the title, to be a General History. It is quoted in the
the *Tabakát-i Akbari* as one of the authorities on which th
is founded.

Firishta, under the reign of Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik,
anecdote from it.

"As the King was near the hills of Tirhút, the Rájá ap
arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army
penetrate them, the King alighted from his horse, call
hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own ha
troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with suc
that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They a
length at the fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of wa
defended by a high wall. The King invested the place, fil
the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Rá

his family were taken, and great booty was obtained, and the government of Tirhút was conferred upon Ahmad Khán."

Briggs observes in a note, "I understand this is a compilation of little authority, and may be ranked with the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*, or other collections of historical romances."

IV.

TÁRÍKH-I HÁKIMÁN-I HIND.

History of India; comprising an Introduction, twelve Sections and a Supplement.

Introduction.—The sovereigns of India, from Shem, the son of Nú, to Anand Deo.

1st Sect.—The Sultáns of Láhore, from Násiru-d dín Subuktigín, to Khusrú, son of Khusrú Sháh.

2nd Sect.—Kings of Dehlí, from Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám to Akbar.

3rd Sect.—Kings of the Dakhin in six Chapters, treating of the Kings of Kulbarga, Bijápúr, Ahmadnagar, Telingána, Birár and Bídar.

4th Sect.—Princes of Gujarát.

5th Sect.—Princes of Málwá.

6th Sect.—Princes of Burhánpúr.

7th Sect.—Kings of Bengal.

8th Sect.—Kings of Sind and Tatta.

9th Sect.—Princes of Multán.

10th Sect.—Kings of Kashmír.

11th Sect.—Rulers of Malabár.

12th Sect.—The holy men of Hindústán.

Supplement.—A description of Hindústán.

Author unknown; the work follows the same order, and so would appear to be an abridgment of Firishta.[1]

[1] *Mackenzie Collection*, vol. ii. p. 126.

V.

TÁR KH-I HAIDAR RÁZ.

This is a very good general history of the world, which was begun in 1611 A.D., and took the compiler twenty years to complete. The author was a native of Eastern Persia, and a contemporary of Firishta. He avows that he is a mere copyist, even of the words of his authorities, and states that the chief source of his History of Hindústán is the *Táríkh-i Alfí*, from which he has extracted less than sixty thousand lines. Wilken, who makes great us this author in his notes to his translation of the History of Ghaznivide Emperors, says that the first volume alone of this w which is in the Royal Library of Berlin, comprises no less than leaves, and even this is not perfect. I have never heard of work in India, but it is quoted under the name of *Táríkh-i M Haidar*, by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshi,[1] as one of the chief sou of his information.[2]

[1] This cannot be the same work, for Nizám Ahmad's work does not come d later than 1592.

[2] *Journ. As.* 1851, p. 147; *Jahrbücher*, no. 73, p. 25; *Fræhn*, no. 218; *Gol Horde*, p. xxiv.

END OF VOL. VI.

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